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THE

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AND

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VOL. IV.

'SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE.'

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THE

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Miscellany.

REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

[The Editor is happy to enrich his work with an important article from the pen of the celebrated Sismondi, which first appeared in the *Revue Encyclopedique*, and has excited much attention abroad. The following translation was made expressly for our work. We beg it to be understood, however, that we do not hold ourselves responsible for every sentiment here advanced. From some of the views of Sismondi, we certainly dissent. But we respect the understandings and the rights of our subscribers too much, to withhold from them an important document, the work of a distinguished writer, because we reject a part of his opinions. M. Sismondi holds a high rank among the advocates of civil and religious liberty in Europe; and the enlarged and generous spirit which breathes through these pages, will ensure him the respect of the friends of that great cause in this country. The notes appended to the original, are omitted in the translation, as not of essential importance.]

The nineteenth century appears to us eminently religious. It is so from choice, and therefore more profoundly religious than any preceding age. A greater number of religious writings, from every sect, and in every language, appear simultaneously. These writings make a deeper impression on the public mind, and in every class of society religious opinions are treated with more respect than formerly.

'The progress of the age, and the developement of mind, are much spoken of,' says M. de Bonald, 'but no one has remarked a phenomenon well deserving the attention of the statesman and legislator. In the last century, the minds of men, led astray by disastrous doctrines, were impelled with extreme violence against religion. But, having arrived at its apogee, the irreligious movement ceased, or, rather, a contrary and wholly religious impulse sent the mind in an opposite direction. Buonaparte understood this, and took advantage of it. From that period, the religious spirit has always been increasing, and has so appeared to every eye attentive to the condition of Europe. Who can misunderstand its influence on the movements of Greece; in the troubles of Ireland; in those vague inquietudes that are exciting minds to high contemplations? From one extremity to the other, Europe is agitated by a religious ferment, infused into the mass of the social body. *Mens agitat molem.*'

This ferment has not been alone observed by the French, the catholics, and the royalists. In a Swiss republic, a protestant preacher thus remarks upon it, before a 'Society for Evangelical Missions to Pagan Countries.'—'In order to accomplish the work of missions,' he says, 'there must be a simultaneous awakening *(réveil)* among a great number of christian nations. This awakening is manifest, not only in England, and Germany, and Russia, and our own Switzerland, but also, and with a still more striking aspect, in the United States of America, and even in the colonies, heretofore so corrupt, of the Peninsula of India. A breath of life is every where felt, and, as at the return of spring, it penetrates continents and isles, valleys and mountains, palaces and cottages. The soul is every where awakening to a consciousness of its misery, fearing the wrath to come, turning to the Holy Bible, to Jesus, and there receiving peace.'

We may cite, in proof of this phenomenon, the most independent philosophers of the age, who, far from disturbing religious faith by their attacks, as did their predecessors, are, on the contrary, laboring to consolidate the union of reason with religion; we may produce antiquaries, who, like Frederic Kreutzer, have employed all their zeal in unfolding to us, and explaining ancient religions; or we may appeal to that fine work of Benjamin Constant's, in which he has combined vast erudition with the most forcible thoughts, and has demonstrated that the religious sentiment is a fundamental law of our nature

There are those, it is true, who maintain an opposite opinion. They reproach the age in which we live, with its eagerness to throw off the religious yoke; with the blindness and arrogance with which it would rush into atheism. But those who thus speak, are influenced not so much by fanaticism, as by the desire of converting religion into an instrument of domination. They menace and insult the generation in the midst of which they live, that they may invest themselves with superiority, and usurp the rights of a divine mission. The little harmony that exists between the words and actions of these men, is a sufficient proof that they deceive, or wish to deceive us. They must have perceived a powerful auxiliary in the dispositions of the people, or they would not have chosen this moment, as propitious to their ambitious projects. But, though they wish to delude us, they delude themselves; for it is the *religious* sentiment that has spread freely and vigorously through men's souls; it is not the *sacerdotal* spirit; it is not superstition, nor fanaticism, the passions on which the priests must erect anew their empire.

The religious spirit, such as we find it in the great mass of the present generation, is a spirit of mutual support, and charity, and respect for every diversity of faith. The sacerdotal spirit, such as it appears in a portion only, but in the most active portion of an ambitious clergy, is a spirit of exclusion, intolerance, and anathema. This double movement, produced by the faith that consoles and elevates man, and by the abuse of that faith, certainly deserves our closest attention. It is here that we may find the germs of our future; and, if we want space to give an account of the innumerable works that are daily appearing on these subjects, we cannot, without neglecting our duty, excuse ourselves from calling the attention of our readers to the general progress of opinion.

Support and respect for every faith, are, as we have said, the distinguishing characteristics of the present age. Every one seems to acknowledge, that all religions are true in the sense that they are so many languages, by which the feeble creature expresses his respect, his gratitude, and his love for the Ruler of the Universe. This identity of the religious sentiment, is the fundamental idea, which one of the most eloquent orators and spiritual writers of the age has developed, in the first book of his great work. M. B. Constant has shown, that this sentiment manifests itself in man in his most barbarous and most civilized condition, ever allying itself to whatever is pure and elevated in his soul, and always constituting the basis of what this writer denominates the religious forms, *(formes religieuses,)* which tend to perfection in proportion as man becomes enlightened.

M. B. Constant sees, in this religious necessity, inherent in the human race, a mysterious relation between man and the invisible world; a proof, a kind of first revelation of that great object of fear and love, towards whom the heart of every human being turns, and for whom every variety of worship expresses a common sentiment.

We shall go, perhaps, still farther than he has gone in analyzing the religious sentiment, as it seems to us that we ought to do so, instead of regarding it as a primitive attribute of man. We shall find, that this sentiment is the necessary result of the passions designed for the preservation of our race, *(des passions conservatrices ;)* love, fear, the necessity of aid, the necessity of faith, which are forced to the Infinite, because the finite is insufficient for them. We shall find also, that, in revealing to us the immortal world, this sentiment always directs us towards the truth, through the darkness, more or less intense, which overshadows our progressive civilization ; that our religious knowledge is more or less mixed up with error ; but that this knowledge is not religion ; that religion is wholly in that sentiment which operates at the same time upon all men.

Love is the first of those passions designed for the preservation of our race. Without love, which binds human beings together, which makes one confound his own welfare with that of another, which places infancy and weakness under the protection of experience and strength, our existence would not only have been joyless, but it could not have been maintained. The heart then was formed for love. It was endowed with a susceptibility of infinite love, in order that our progress, which multiplies our bonds, and developes the faculties of our souls, might not exhaust it. But the more we know of the creature, the more we find it insufficient for our love. We seek perfection, but perfection is not given to it. We continually demand more beauty, more intelligence, more power, more love for us. We thus elevate ourselves, by our desires, to a sense of infinite perfection. Infinite perfection ! this is God. The heart's need of love has revealed him to us.

Fear, not less than love, is one of the preserving passions of the human race. If man did not avoid danger, he could not preserve his life, surrounded as he is by blind force, continually threatening him. If his fear were not previous to knowledge, he would a thousand times be overwhelmed in his inexperience. Thus the terror of the unknown is most conspicuous, where the unknown maintains the widest empire; in the infancy of man; and in savage life, which is the infancy of society. Every unknown power, real or supposed, receives man's homage, while it excites his fear. Every manifestation of this power, at first, appears to him a God. As his knowledge extends, the unknown retires before him. He then sees, in all these manifestations, but the works of a single cause; a cause still unknown, but which enlarges in proportion as secondary causes fade from his sight. Fear reveals to him the omnipotence of God, and thus conducts him to the same end as love.

Pain was not alone a warning to man of the presence of danger. It served to develope in him the social principle. By pain he learnt his need of aid and consolation. When he suffered, he appealed to his fellow creatures. He had faith in their remedies, he had faith in their spells. When any one among them pretended to associate supernatural power with the succor afforded, he believed in this supernatural power. And finally, he believed in the power of powers; in God, whom his necessities revealed to him as the physician and consoler of every creature.

Independent of this need of aid, and prior to it, faith was one of the wants of our nature.

Belief is both the faculty by which the understanding is instructed, and the imagination exercised. The advance of one individual in knowledge and experience, would never benefit another individual, if man were not disposed to receive upon trust; to believe that which he does not comprehend. The faculties which have been given us for our good, produce pleasure by their exercise simply. Thus there is pleasure in loving, pleasure in fearing. There is pleasure in hoping, in being grateful, and there is pleasure also in believing. This, which is one of the pleasures of the imagination, seems to be enhanced by the difficulty of believing; by the very incredibility of that which is to be believed. The Divinity was so far exalted above our intelligence, that faith was essential to raise us to him.

Still, faith, an avidity for believing, a passionate attachment to a faith in spite of its absurdity, has been the cause of the corruptions of religion; of the profane use which priests have made of all the religious passions, and of the universal opposition of men to conform their religion to the developement of the human mind.

If we should trace, in like manner, all the other affections and passions implanted in man, and necessary to his preservation, we should perceive that they all, after having impelled him towards his immediate and corporeal good, elevate him to a supreme and infinite good; that all, as his views extend, and his mind is developed, lead him to the contemplation of God; God, supremely good, all powerful, all wise; God, who is spirit and truth.

These passions, then, these preserving affections, which first introduced the mind of man to the knowledge of superior powers, taught him that these powers were intelligent, and at last, when one great light shone before him, led him to resolve these great intelligences into one, every where present. These affections then have directed him in the worship he owes to superior beings, or rather to the Supreme Being. Man was led by his natural faculties to the divine perfections. By them he attained the knowledge of omnipotence, omniscience, and unlimited goodness. The perfection of the object of his worship, prompted him to aspire after perfection for himself. If he would be worthy of God, he must strive to resemble him. Thus the moral proceeded directly from the religious principle; gross, certainly, in proportion to the ignorance of man, but always founded on the desire, the necessity of assimilation to the object of worship, in order to deserve his favor. This primitive alliance of morals and religion always, and from a necessary association of ideas, exists in the heart of man, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made to divorce them, by those who in all ages have tampered with religion.

A sentiment thus profound, universal, and inherent in the nature of man, has commended itself to the ambitious, as particularly suited to subserve their purposes; and religion, originally pure, has been corrupted by the priest, that he might turn it to his own advantage. He is not satisfied with the generous passions, which have given him birth; he enlists in his favor all those evil passions, which also have their germ in the human heart, and, by their aid, has made of the universal bond of the human race, a standard of discord, and a cause of persecution.

Religion, in its relation to man, ought always to be progressive. It should continually give him clearer views of truth, as he becomes more capable of comprehending it, and purify and perfect itself with the progress of light and civilization. Now this progress must destroy the influence of the priest, since it supposes the inferiority of the present to the future teacher. Thus the priest is every where compelled to arrest the march of religion, or rather to make it retrograde. To effect this, he makes it consist essentially in dogma and faith, not in love and perfectibility, or morals.

Dogma is the explanation which the priest of every religion gives of that which is least known to us; of that, in the spiritual world, which is incomprehensible, and of which we can only have presentiments. According to the degree of light diffused in the world at the epoch when a religion is formed, these dogmas may be a theogony and cosmogony more or less gross; or they may be true and revealed notions of the Divinity, but always transmitted by human language, consequently incomplete and obscure; or they are mysteries, represented by contradictory words, which may be submitted to, but cannot be admitted into the mind, because we can only believe what we can comprehend.

M. Benjamin Constant has denominated *religious forms*, all that part of religion which is diverse among different people, whilst the religious sentiment is every where the same. These words express imperfectly our idea, or, at least, we shall go farther than he, and say boldly that religion is not dogma. It consists in man's relation to God, and not in the notion that he forms of God, or in the words by which he expresses it. Religion is a sentiment, and not a science. It is composed of the expression of the love and gratitude of the creature to the Creator, and of the efforts he makes to conform himself to his will; not of the opinion he conceives of the essence of God, or of the words by which he essays the description of what human words cannot describe, nor human intelligence conceive. It is evident that our conceptions of the nature of the Divine Being must be imperfect, and in proportion to our finite intelligence; and this conception must vary with each individual according to the measure of his faculties. If we express by words our belief concerning that which is incomprehensible in the Divinity, we may all repeat the same words, but the sense of these words will be to each one as different as one human mind is different from another. Our theology, that is, our *knowledge of God*, or, to express ourselves more exactly, our language concerning God, *(notre parler sur Dieu,)* is the measure of our knowledge, or our ignorance, in comparing ourselves with others. It does not depend on us; it can neither offend God, nor please him.

It is then a religious, as well as a charitable sentiment, that makes us respect the faith of a man of another sect, however different it may be from our own. For whatever may be the degree of his ignorance or barbarism, whatever errors may veil his understanding, his homage is addressed to God, and it is the God of the universe who receives it, by whatever name it is offered to him. The poor savage perceives the agency of a God in the thunder which threatens him, in the rain which fertilizes his field, in the fever that abates his strength, and in the medicinal bark that restores him. He seeks this God. He fancies he finds him in his cabin, or in the surrounding forest. He may imagine his presence in an unhewn stone, a tree, or a bird. His error is certainly gross; but when he prays, he thinks of the Invisible Being, or of the being whose agency is invisible, more powerful than man, who rewards and punishes, and whose protection he implores. But there is but one such being. A little farther, he finds another idol. He adores him also, for he believes him endowed with another portion of invisible power. One has ripened his harvests, another has multiplied his game. One protects the borders of his river, another threatens in the roar of the waterfall. He does not yet know that it is the same Being whom he finds every where. One hand comes out of the cloud to bless him, another sustains him in his adversity. One chastises, another heals him. His eye is not yet clear enough to perceive, through the cloud, the Being with a hundred hands, who follows him every where. His gratitude stops at the hands he sees or imagines. Still the Being who has put them all in operation, will accept the homage, which, with all these mistakes, and under various names, is addressed alone to him. It is God, whom the savage adores under these gross symbols, that our priests have named his *fétiches*. It was God, that the Greek and Roman worshipped, even while each of his attributes was to them a person of the Divinity. It is the same God that we all adore; Jews, Moossulmans, and Christians; for there is none other.

For the same reason that, as a Christian, I reject the personification of infinite power, on which polytheism is founded, I have rejected, as a protestant, the mysteries of Catholicism. But let us look a little farther. Perhaps we shall find, that we only differ in words, whilst we are united by a religious worship, which we offer with a common feeling to the same being. The catholic priest tells me the Divinity is present in the consecrated host. I believe it; for he is omnipresent. But, 'No!' replies he, 'it is the Divinity himself, changed into this substance; our eyes see him; all our senses perceive him on this altar.' Does he then deny that God is omnipresent? Oh no! It is a part of the system he teaches, that God is at the same time in substance upon all the altars where this mystery is accomplished, and that at the same time his presence fills the universe. I do not understand him, it is true; but there is nothing in his belief that shocks me. It relates to the different degrees of intensity of the presence of the Divinity, if I may thus express myself, which is beyond my intelligence, but does not confound it.

Among the protestants, there are those who are called Unitarians, because, though they admit the divine mission of Christ, they do not admit his divinity. We know what disturbances have been caused in the church by this controversy, from the origin of Christianity. It is nevertheless a dispute in words. Do the Trinitarians acknowledge three independent Gods, who may be opposed to each other? No, certainly not. Do they believe that man can please one, and displease another? Not at all. The same attributes, the same goodness, the same omnipotence, the same omnipresence, are the developement of this *consubstantiality* which the Orthodox inculcate. Words may distinguish the different persons of the Trinity; but the mind always confounds them in the adoration addressed to the God of the Christian. The Trinitarian gives him three names; I give him but one. He has fixed opinions upon the independence of the different attributes of the Infinite Being, which he names *divine persons,* which I do not comprehend, and consequently ought not to dispute. But what does it signify to me, that he calls him now Jesus, and now the Holy Ghost, whilst I always call him God? Do I not know, that, by whatever name he is addressed, the Supreme Being equally listens to us all?

If I am not offended that the Germans call him *Gott*, the Spaniards *Dios*, why am I offended, that the name of *Christ* should be given to the Master of the World? Will this being of unlimited goodness repel the homage, which is offered to him by another name than that which it pleases me to give him?

Till now I have reasoned as if others were in the wrong. Perhaps I am myself in error. I am perhaps blind, not to perceive the Divinity in Christ, in the sacrament, in the various manifestations that other people have adopted. But of what consequence is this? Do I therefore withhold my homage? Do I not pray to Him as God, whom I have not invoked in the sacrament, or in Christ? Is it not always to him that my worship is addressed, though I may not use the same words, or the same symbols? Have I carried my vows to another God; to the rival of the Master of the Universe? In this supposition there would indeed be blasphemy. This would bring the Divinity down to the level of the kings of the earth. This admits division of power, enmity, and revolt against the Being of beings. These are the shadows of polytheism, which still keep alive intolerance. The more religion is spiritualized, and elevated to the idea of one only God, of perfect goodness, all powerful, and omnipresent; the more it teaches us the vanity of the words about which we dispute, and the more it shows us the accordance of all men who are seeking the Being of beings.

Perhaps it may be said, that I annihilate the faith to which the apostles of Christianity have attached so great an importance. Faith is a word, of which the sense varies. When it designates a virtue, it is to me equivalent to confidence. It expresses the union *(l'ensemble)* of that fear, love, and hope, which have reallied man to the Divinity. It cannot mean the knowledge of that which man is not capable of knowing. But faith, it may be said, is exercised upon the history of revelation. No. The history of revelation belongs to history. It must, like all other histories, submit to the laws of criticism. It requires profound research, vast erudition, the habit of judging of truths, and of weighing testimony. It depends on such a knowledge of man as will explain the origin of opinions; on the knowledge of language, by which the errors of translators may be rectified; and on traditions, taken and compared at their source. It is, in fine, a science, and one of the most vast and complicated that are accessible to man. Religion, the homage of the creature to his Creator, cannot be a science; for it is a want of our nature; a pleasure and a duty to all. It has its source in the heart, and cannot be denied to the ignorant, and to those whose intelligence is not fully developed.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, I am far from the conclusion, that all religions addressed to the true God are equally good, and that the choice among them is a matter of indifference. But it is not the truth of their dogmas, which constitutes the difference of which we can judge. Our sight, too feeble to penetrate the mysteries of heaven, can scarcely attain truth on earth. It is by the influence of religion on our conduct, that we can, with the most certainty, elevate ourselves to the best. Our opinions about God, his essence, his persons, his names, his history, if we may presume to use such a word in relation to him, will not change him, nor offend him, nor prevent him from hearing us. He will not reproach us with our weakness, or our ignorance. But our opinions will influence ourselves, and our own conduct. We are taught, by the revelation God has made of himself as a being of infinite perfection, that our duty to him, is an unremitting effort to perfect ourselves. The attributes of the Divinity are the source of our moral light; and absurd dogmas, if they do not render us guilty towards God, at least render us unfortunate, because they degrade us.

A close connexion subsists between the dogmas of a religion and the conduct of its professors; especially when the priest has moulded these dogmas according to his own interest. It would not be difficult to show how one faith has rendered men cruel and implacable; how another has impaired their industry, and plunged them into idleness; how a third has disgusted them with the exercise of their reason, by making them rest content with absurdity; how a fourth, by delivering them up to ascetic ecstasies, has subjected them to the empire of the senses which it pretended to subdue; and how nearly all, if they have not changed vice into virtue, have at least confounded the order of moral duties.

If morals are the best criterion by which to judge of religion, those moralists and historians who are acquainted with the present times, and can compare them with preceding ages, should, of all others, be the best witnesses to support the truth announced at the beginning of this article; viz. that our age is religious, and that it is more so than those that have gone before it, because it is more moral. Morals are assisted by every advance of reason. As a nation becomes civilized, they are better understood, and better observed; they are gradually growing perfect, and acquiring the regularity of a rational system; the moral sense is rectified, and prejudices, that we have mistaken for its dictates, are removed.

It is by the light of an improved morality, that we perceive the atrocity of those actions, by which our fathers fancied they honored the Supreme Being. All historians agree in the declaration, that the more they study past times, the more they are impressed with the superiority of our own; the more they feel that we do not, as our ancestors did, confound justice and injustice; that we are far less than they in the habit of claiming religious authority for our atrocities; and that we are less deserving of the reproach of bad faith and gross wickedness.

We certainly do not mean to say that public morals have made all the progress they should, or that they are to make. Neither do we say that religion has as yet that influence on the conduct of governments which it has on the mass of the people. Great public crimes, committed even now under our eyes, fill our souls with horror, and sometimes make us doubt the religious progress that we have here attempted to maintain. It suffices to name Africa, condemned, by the continuation of the slave trade, to endure every year more suffering, and more atrocities, than were inflicted by the whole course of the French revolution; Greece, devoted, by a frightful combination, to massacre, to slavery, or to national apostasy; Spain, at the very moment she was struggling to escape from her barbarous institutions, forced again to bend to the yoke of a frenzied populace, who madly destroyed the light and virtue that would have elevated their condition. But these memorable and sad examples of depravity themselves attest the progress of public morals. Those who have dragged the states of Europe into this bloody career, do not belong to our age. All their opinions are retrograde, and their policy is that of past ages. Within the last half century, the slave trade was, with all governments, an object of emulation and competition. Not a solitary nation was ashamed of it. Now, those who secretly encourage it, dare not speak of it but as of a scourge, which they promise us shall cease.

In the sixteenth century, Henry II. attempted to sacrifice Italy to the Turks. He called thither Solyman and Barbarossa.

French knights fought in concert with Moossulmans. A Grand Prior of Malta convoyed them to the Italian shores. It is not owing to Henry II. that Naples, Rome, and Milan, did not endure a fate that has been inflicted, in our own time, on Chios and Ipsara. Now, a universal clamor is heard throughout Europe against the sacrifice of Greece, and policy must recede before public opinion. The long anarchy of Poland was the work of the neighbouring powers of that republic. They never blushed for it, but labored for ages to plunge that unfortunate country deeper and deeper in suffering, ruin, and civil war. Now, Spain puts to shame the Holy Alliance, and they must soon be compelled to rescue the unhappy country they have crushed.

Let us then hope, that the triumph of moral sentiment is approaching. We see it springing up in every heart. We hear it proclaimed by all the organs of opinion. The depositaries of power cannot long resist its ascendency; and when morals shall have modified policy, religion will have achieved a conquest far more important than all those anticipated by the missionaries.

We have thus far* endeavoured to show, that the religious sentiment is the natural and necessary result of the faculties of man; that every affection, every want of our nature, reveals the Divinity; that every advance we make in knowledge, brings us nearer to him; and that,—whatever may be the degree of our civilization or our barbarism, our wisdom or our stupidity, by whatever name we may adore the Supreme Being, into whatever number of persons or manifestations we may, in our ignorance, distribute his omnipotence,—it is always to the one God that we offer our worship; so that, in the essence of religion, adoration, and the efforts for perfection which assimilate us to the all perfect Being, we are in harmony with every human creature.

Whence comes it, then, that religion has become a standard of persecution and hatred; that, itself sustained by sentiments of humility, love, and perfectibility, its ministers have been almost universally inspired with acrimony, and have, under every hideous form, manifested contempt and hatred of those they condemn, and a desire for their utter destruction? Whence comes it, that controversy is the only language in which even the forms of charity are not preserved?

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* [The first of Sismondi's articles ended with the last paragraph. We have here accommodated the phraseology to the form in which we now present them.]

The bitterness of bigots has been but too conspicuous in all communions. They have almost universally reciprocated these odious expressions, which are found in most confessions of faith; 'We detest all heresies; all the diabolical inventions of our adversaries; we pronounce anathema upon them.'

But the Christian seems at last to be triumphing over the priest; charity, which covers the errors of others, and humility, which admonishes us of our own, are subduing the habit of anathema. Still there is one sect in the Catholic church, which, denouncing the lukewarmness of that church, essays to rekindle its zeal, and renews its imprecations against the rest of mankind. The '*Catholic Memorial*,' '*the Friend of Religion and of the King*,' are filled with expressions of bitterness, contempt, and horror against all those who do not adopt the opinions of these journals.* They are conducted by a large class of men of letters, and the most eloquent among them, the Abbe de La Mennais, has signalized himself by his philippics against the civil and political order under which we live. He seems, in his impetuous zeal, to demand the reestablishment of those human sacrifices, for which Christianity has so long blushed.

Let us not hesitate to confess it; it is because religion is a means of power, that it has been so often sullied by a passion the most irreligious, the most destructive of all charity, hatred of those who do not think as we do. It was natural that the religious sentiment, so powerful, universal, and irresistible, so pure in its origin and its end, should inspire men with an ambition to become its organs and directors, and with a desire to use all its power in the accomplishment of their private purposes. Perhaps, such is our weakness, opposition to that which is nearest our hearts, is of itself sufficient to excite all our severity against those who think differently from us. The love of rule soon comes in to envenom these disputes; and it is this that inspires our priests with the desire of avenging God, and punishing us.

Let man abandon himself without scruple to those inspirations of his heart that raise him to God. He will find in them consolation, hope, and courage, all that he needs to purify his immortal nature, and sustain him through his earthly pilgrimage. But let him be suspicious of that man, who would interpose between him and his God. Let him suspect the man, who would teach him what he ought to believe, and who dares to affirm, that on a doctrine, which he communicates, depends the mercy of the Universal Parent. This man, who is not nearer to God than himself, deludes him; be it that he is himself in error, or that he means to deceive, he deludes him for his own advantage. He would invest himself with the power and the wisdom of God, but never with his goodness; for goodness affords no foundation for usurped power. He soon begins to hide from us this chiefest of God's perfections. He represents him as an inflexible judge, an incensed avenger, whose wrath can only be appeased by expiations and sacrifices; and he, who prescribes these sacrifices, converts them to his own profit. This man is the true creator of idolatry, and of the only idolatry that is a crime. He turns away from the benevolent Being the homage that his creatures offer him, to present it to those malevolent passions which have originated in his own mind. Instead of acknowledging the Master of the Universe,—who, while he appears to unite unlimited goodness to unlimited power, is essentially the same, though addressed by every variety of name,—he creates for deluded man a God that cannot exist. He combines in him wickedness with power, and then demands for him a worship in accordance with these execrable attributes. Let not this man be surprised, if the term of atheist, which he lavishes on all who differ from him, be sent back upon him; for he denies the living God, and demands adoration for a false deity, who has no existence.

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* As a proof that these fanatics represent only a portion of the Catholic church, the journals opposed to them may be consulted; such as *La France Catholique*.

The accusation of atheism is, in some sort, the watchword of the sect to which we allude. They bestow it on every opinion that differs from their own. All philosophy is, in their eyes, imbued with atheism. Protestants are but atheists in disguise. The liberals are atheists. The great body of savans, who have illustrated France; the men of letters; in short, all who do not live in the most abject submission to this sect, are atheists. Their journals are filled with these denunciations.

The most eloquent man of the sect goes still farther. 'The state,' he says, 'that extends an equal protection to opposite modes of religion, has evidently no religion. The state which pays ministers for teaching contradictory doctrines, has obviously no faith. The state that has neither faith nor worship, is evidently atheistical.'

We begin by observing, that this reasoning, apparently so close, rests on a figure of speech. It supposes that faith, an attribute of the soul, may exist in a fictitious being, the State, which has no soul. But, let us admit this figure, and there is no justice in the deductions from it. The word atheist, in an odious sense, should signify one who does not believe in the existence of God; and this is its common acceptation. If M. de La Mennais understands by atheist, one who does not *speak* of God, he may, in accordance with etymology, in accordance with the advocate, or even the tribunal that he has cited as having admitted this charge, call the laws of France atheistical, because they maintain a respectful silence concerning the Divinity. But then he should give the same name to grammar, to physics, to all the arts and sciences, which, as well as legislation, exercise the faculties that God has given to man; which, admitting the existence of God and his laws, as an anterior fact, without proving or decreeing it, make no mention of it, because, though every thing in this world rests on the existence of its author, this existence does not depend on human sciences; it does not belong to us to sanction it, or, in any sort, to make it valid by affixing our seal to it.

Every thing else in this reasoning is equally false. The State does not extend an equal protection to opposite religions. It protects its citizens in the manifestation of all their honest sentiments, in the performance of all their innocent actions, and, in particular, in the varied expression of the homage they pay to the Divine Being, in as far as the worship, which their heart and reason direct, does not encroach on the rights of other men. But the State does not protect any religion that contravenes morality, the universal revelation. It ought not to protect, in India, the religion that sacrifices a wife on her husband's funeral pile, nor other abominations that outrage public decency. It no longer protects, in France, those human sacrifices, that were customary for so many ages, under the name of *Sermons publics*, and which we now designate by the foreign name of *Auto da fé*, as if the Holy Inquisition that decreed them, were not of French origin; as if French priests had not sacrificed, in these fires, thousands of victims; and as if the *Catholic Memorial* had not, even at this day, assumed the defence of the institution of the Holy Office.

The State would have done better, perhaps, to have left every sect to pay its own ministers; but, because it pays dissenting ministers with others, it does not follow that it has no faith. The faith of the State, so far as we can apply this expression to it, is limited to that part of its ministers' teaching which is common to all. The State pays the clergy of three christian sects only. It encourages, then, the inculcation of those doctrines that are common to them all; that is to say, the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the divine mission of Jesus Christ. But, if the same government pays at Pondicherry, a thing which I have never heard, Mahometan muftis and Indian bramins, though its collective faith be thereby reduced to a smaller number of articles, it is not the less true, that, in supporting various sects, its object is to encourage all its subjects to persist in their belief in Providence, under whatever name adored, and in the performance of the duties that this faith imposes. As to the rest, the faith of a State is, as M. de la Mennais says, but the enunciation of a fact; that of the universal agreement of its members in a greater or less number of fundamental truths. If they did not agree upon a single one, so that the State had no common faith, it would not therefore be atheistical. It would not deny, nor combat, the existence of God.

'How many times,' says the same author elsewhere, 'has it been remarked, that the name of God is in vain sought for in our codes; the only monument of the kind in which man comes forward to command, in his own name, his fellow man!' A singular reproach indeed to cast upon our legislators, that they have not imposed on their compatriots and the world, by giving their human language, and their work, stamped with the seal of every human imperfection, as the language and the work of God himself! God has chosen, in his wisdom, his own mode of commanding men, and speaking to them. If his commands are not comprehended by all, it would appear that he does not wish they should be. He needs not our lips to repeat his laws. Let us leave man to receive from God, that which comes from God. And, as to the laws that we fabricate after our own light, our interests, our passions, do not let us blaspheme, by demanding for our littleness, the adoration that is alone due to his greatness.

'The revolution,' says this writer, 'which has been, and continues to be confounded with what was but one of its horrible circumstances, is in reality the overthrow of those doctrines, which, from the beginning of the world, have been the foundation of human societies.' Again, 'depravity increases, family bonds are relaxing, or rather scarcely is marriage or fraternity known. A man has his female and his little ones; this is all; and too often no one knows to whom they belong! Vices are diffused and shamelessly displayed before our eyes. They encompass the child from the cradle, and their hideous nakedness neither inspires horror, nor astonishment. To the almost extinguished moral sense, has succeeded a sort of blind impulse, which impels degraded creatures towards whatever promises gratification to their gross appetites. Sometimes a ferocious instinct is developed. They thirst for blood, and terrify the world with unheard of crimes.'

Whilst we copy this eloquent declamation, we may be carried away with the charm of its style, but we certainly do not perceive its justice. *Unheard of crimes!* Whilst an ambitious priest monopolized the counsel of the king, making of the name of God an instrument of policy, and of religion a cloak to cover his tyranny, he exhausted the list of crimes.

'The revolution that has agitated Europe,' M. de la Mennais says, 'has made even the last traces of christian monarchy disappear.' Does he then reserve this name for an absolute government; a government by which the interest and consent of the people have been counted for nothing? If so, he has no right to lament it in the name of morals. Let us compare, since he compels us to it, the present with past times. Let us seek a period in this monarchy that he names christian, to which he cannot object, because the darkness of ignorance and barbarism was still dense, and those reforms, of which he has such horror, had not yet begun in the minds of men. Let us pause at the half century that followed the death of St Louis. France was never more catholic, nor more sacerdotal. Besides, the virtues of this good man should still have influenced those who had been near him. We will select historical crimes only; and, from the barrenness of the annals of that epoch, the greatest number must escape us. Nevertheless let us look into them. In 1276, the son of Saint Louis, Philip III suspected his wife of having poisoned her son; and, to enable him to direct the blow, which he must strike, in the dark and without a trial, either at her or her favorite, he consulted sorcerers by the intervention of three of the first prelates of his kingdom.

In 1282, this same king, by means of Cardinal Chollet, obtained a release from his oaths, that he might attack his ally and brother in law, the king of Arragon.

In 1285, he captured Elna, the first town of Arragon, and 'the legate of the holy Romish church administered absolution to the French soldiers, directing them not to spare an individual, but to massacre all the inhabitants.' All, in truth, were abandoned to the sword; women, old men, children, all were massacred in the cathedral church, where they had sought refuge.

The pride of Philip IV, grandson of St Louis, was wounded by Pope Boniface VIII. Not satisfied with arresting the old man, and hastening his death by the wrongs he inflicted, he wished to cover his memory with opprobrium; and, in the infamous process which he instituted for this purpose, M. de la Mennais may see *vices in all their shameful nakedness.* It is the most christian king who accuses; a pope who is accused; men distinguished in church and state, who depose as witnesses; cardinals who receive the depositions; but, the manners of the present times will not allow us to translate them. Whether we believe these witnesses true or false, the ideas we obtain of that depraved age are equally shocking.

To gratify his insatiable cupidity, the grandson of Saint Louis despoiled his subjects by classes, and levied his contributions by the aid of the torture and the executioner. On the first of May, 1291, all the Italian merchants established in the kingdom were arrested, threatened with the torture, and deprived of all their property. The twentysecond of July, 1306, all the Jews were in like manner arrested. Some were threatened, others given over to punishment, but all alike robbed. The thirteenth of October, 1307, it was the Templars' turn; and it is well known by what infamous accusations fifteen thousand gentlemen, the flower of Europe's nobility, were dishonored; by what frightful punishments they lost their lives, after the torments they had suffered had driven them to accuse themselves! Such was the security enjoyed by the various classes of subjects under this christian monarchy! Such are the manners that M. de la Mennais regrets! and little does it affect their proper estimation, whether he believes the fifteen thousand Templars guilty, or the two thousand witnesses, who deposed against them, suborned. What will M. de la Mennais say of the daily alteration of money, which exiled good faith from all pecuniary transactions? what of Philip IV being suspected of having poisoned Benedict XI? what of Philip, in his turn, on the occasion of his wife's death, charging a like crime on the bishop of Troies? what of the fact that several women were buried alive in Paris for having poisoned less illustrious personages? In fine, what says he to the accredited accusation of adultery, made against the three daughters in law of the king, and the punishments, alike frightful and obscene, by which this reign of blood was terminated?

New horrors signalized the reigns of his sons. Louis X, who filled the throne but a few months, delivered up to his executioners, the ministers and confidants of his father.—Philip V permitted the frightful sacrifices of the Inquisition to multiply to an excess, of which Spain has furnished no example; and the brothers of the third order of St Francis, victims to their zeal for evangelical poverty, perished by hundreds in the flames.

In 1320, some unfortunate peasants, shepherds, assembled to the number of fifty thousand, to deliver the holy sepulchre by a new crusade. The king could devise no better means of repressing the disorder of these poor people, than to drive them, without food, into the marshy plains d'Aigues-Mortes; to cause whoever attempted to escape to be hung, and the rest to perish by fever and famine. And, to crown so many horrors, this same Philip V condemned to the torture, and afterwards to perish in the flames, all the lepers, all who, in France, were attacked by any cutaneous disease, on the absurd suspicion that they wished to poison the rivers with the feet of toads, and hair of women.

These are a few of the most notorious crimes, which admit of being concisely stated, of the half century that followed the death of St Louis. This is the epoch, when, undoubtedly, in the eyes of M. de La Mennais, the spirit of the holy king watched over France; the epoch when public education was wholly in the hands of the clergy; the epoch when *religion, placed at the head of society, penetrated it entirely.*

But if he should prefer, from those fourteen centuries of monarchy that he names christian, because the priests could do every thing, and the people could do nothing, to select another period, it will be found equally to abound in crimes.

Let him take it from the bloody memorials of the Merovingian race; from the filthy records of the last of the Carlovingians; from the atrocities of the Albigensian war; or, finally, from that age of madness and civil war that immediately preceded the reformation, and of which M. de Barante has drawn so frightful a picture.

Much undoubtedly remains to be done to purify and elevate our souls, to amend our lives, and regulate them after the Divine laws. But it is by comparing our task with our weakness, that we must humble ourselves; it is not by looking behind, it is not by comparing ourselves with those who lived under the shameful yoke to which our necks are not subdued. Therefore, we will not say, with M. de La Mennais, 'we have so far degenerated, that it is difficult to conceive it possible there should be any deeper degradation.' Above all, we will not, like him, found our selfabasement on the fact, that 'in a college, a Calvinistic meeting is established contiguous to a Catholic chapel.' We believe, on the contrary, that a great advance has been made in manners and religion, when the Catholic has learnt that the Protestant, though he refuses to admit some of the mysteries to which the Catholic has subdued his reason, yet raises his heart to the same God, and feels himself constrained to the same efforts to amend his life; and when the Protestant, whose ancestors charged the Catholics with idolatry, has learnt to respect, as a manifestation of the religious sentiment, the mysteries that he does not admit; to renounce controversy about that which is beyond human intelligence; and, instead of maintaining a dispute about words, has learnt, from the heart, that there is harmony in the religious sentiment. We believe that both have become more religious, since they are more charitable, since they regard another sect as only addressing Heaven by a different language from their own, and as expressing by various symbols the same thoughts which they express.

This was in effect the happy change observable in the minds of men after the fever of the revolution had abated. During its duration, the change was not suspected. Men will not expose themselves to a combat, if they are not instigated by impetuous passions. When they arm and rush into the battle, the causes of the contest are exaggerated in their sight. When the reformation shook the hierarchy, and when the revolution overthrew the civil power, men saw all their grievances in the darkest colors. They were not, and they could not be just towards the abuses they wished to destroy. But after the victory, when they were no longer galled by their former chains, sentiments of fraternity and benevolence succeeded to old animosities, and, if they inclined to any error, it was that of judging with too much indulgence those whom they had ceased to regard as enemies. This disposition was, above all, conspicuous among the protestants. The catholic clergy reaped the fruits of it during the emigration, and it explains those conversions of the present day, in which interest has no part. The same spirit of tolerance and fraternity is diffused over England. We must not, certainly, seek it in that most obstinate portion of the oligarchy, which maintains the oppressive laws of which the Irish Catholics demand the repeal. With these men, very much disposed in general to admit the principles of M. de La Mennais, and very eager, when they come to France, to attach themselves to all his friends, *the protestant ascendency*, as they call it, is a means of augmenting the strength of government. But all the liberal part of the nation calls aloud for emancipation, and makes on this occasion so complete an apology, not only for religion, but for the Catholic clergy, that these ought to congratulate themselves that zealous Protestants say for them, what they cannot in conscience say for themselves.

When the storm of the revolution abated, a like benevolence animated the Catholics in favor of the Protestants. They had at first persecuted every religion. Now they were eager to acknowledge for their brethren, those who were inspired by a religious sentiment, though manifested under various forms. They sometimes visited Protestant temples, and were heard to speak of the reformed religion with the respect men owe to what their brethren regard as sacred. This harmony gave birth to some projects of a reunion of the two churches, which proved the progress of toleration. The time will undoubtedly come, when it will be acknowledged, that this reunion must consist in a reciprocal support of different opinions, and not in a common submission to the same rule. It is with grief that we see, at the present time, a contrary spirit animating a party in the Catholic church, not the most religious, but the most sacerdotal. This spirit is apparent in the numerous writings and journals, with which this party inundates France. The priests have regarded with terror, this concord among believers of different creeds; and politically they are right; but how opposed is their policy to the true progress of religion! As soon as we cease to hate, despise, and persecute those who think differently from us, as soon as we observe them with calmness, we perceive among them men of just minds and pure hearts, who, participating the same gifts as ourselves, have arrived at conclusions, in relation to the supernatural world, opposite to our own.

This contrariety recals us to the examination of the very principles from which we all set out, and to the inquiry whether they are sufficient to give us certainty? in what sense the measure of our intelligence is also the measure of our faith? and how far, though there be but one truth, our inability to seize it completely with our limited faculties, obliges each one to be content with perceiving but a portion of it, and that by different degrees of light? But the examination of the reasons of faith, is the examination of faith itself, and this is throwing off the yoke of authority. If faith is not the property of the priest, he can no longer command, or punish; he has no longer any other authority over the faithful than that which he derives from his superior intelligence and knowledge, and his duty is limited to giving examples and lessons of virtue.

But to this career of self devotion and sacrifice, the clergy, when the temples were again opened to them, did not deem it their duty to consecrate themselves. They had behind them the recollection of a domination nearly universal; about them the favor and kind wishes of those who had compassionated their sufferings. One religious impulse seemed to move the whole generation that reconducted them to the altar. The great, the powerful of the earth, who had been the first to turn into derision the old faith, and to pull down the religious edifice, were of all others the most zealous to rebuild it. The people were struck with horror at the profanations in which, at a moment of intoxication, they had taken part.

From these symptoms, the priests have imagined that their reign was about to recommence. They have renewed all the pretentions of the period of their greatest power. They have denounced every faith opposed to their own. They have cried scandal against every religion, of which they are not the ministers. They have reorganized the armies of monks, by which the church formerly led the populace. They have caused the laws to be rendered sanguinary, to protect their ceremonies. They have redemanded their portion of the riches of the earth. They have presented themselves every where as candidates for power; and, at the same time that they are ambitious of grasping the sceptre, they have declared themselves the champions of that authority which is opposed to the people. They have, in fine, proclaimed their rights by denying the rights of men. But they have misunderstood the times on which they have fallen, and the land in which they dwell. From the bosom of the people, who recalled and reconducted them to the altar, a loud voice rises, saying to them, '*This is not the religion that we have called back.*

'Our hearts were full of gratitude to God for the benefits with which he had crowned us. We wished, by your ministry, to offer to him the tribute of our adoration. We did not ask you to explain to us his incomprehensible essence, or to do violence to our reason by making us repeat contradictory words. We felt ourselves encompassed by his goodness; we did not ask you to speak to us of his vengeance, to threaten us with his judgments, to open a hell under our feet, when his providence smiles on us throughout nature. We wished to honor the invisible God in his visible works, above all in his most perfect work, in man, whom he has made in his own image. Our hearts were filled with benevolence for every creature, above all for our brethren, who, like ourselves, suffer and enjoy. We did not ask of you to make us perceive discords in the concert of our prayers, to denounce heresies, and to teach us to hate those that we would love. We have called upon you as men, devoted more constantly than ourselves to holy contemplations, to enlighten us with your light, and form us by your example, but not to be our masters. We ask of you counsel and teaching, not laws. We said to you, "Teach us to adore God." Perhaps there was too much humility in this request; for, before we heard you, our hearts already adored him. Never should we have said to you, "Teach us to obey men." Politics are not your province. As soon as you interfere with human interests, you lose your right to our confidence. You have sounded in our ears the united names of *the altar and the throne*, and you have sacrificed the one to the other. Leave the throne upon its national basis; it is the most solid. All that you have done to establish the divine right of power, has only served to make it questioned whether government is designed for the advantage of all. All the aid you demand on your return to power, only serves to convince us, that you neither are, nor wish to be the ministers of our religious opinions.'

Such is the language France holds, in the secret place of conscience, to those of her clergy selfstyled apostolic. Such is the language in which she uniformly claims for herself religion, but a purified, tolerant, and charitable religion. If the clergy succeed in imposing silence on her, she may become hypocritical, but never more faithful. She will never regret those ages of ignorance and crime that certain priests laud as the good old times. History is now well known, and its terrible lessons destroy the illusion of the great names M. de La Mennais for ever repeats. The French have their own opinion of this christian monarchy, over whose ruin he weeps; and if they could be deluded about the calamities their fathers have experienced, Spain is before them, to undeceive them; Spain, where the princes, warriors, and ministers of France have learnt the real value of the régime, there is such an eagerness to restore to them; Spain, '*where,*' says M. de La Mennais, '*the church and State have formed an alliance, not of funds, but of truth, faith, institutions, and laws;*' Spain, '*where the church is the first public institution, and the clergy the first order of the State;*' Spain, '*where there is a solemn recognition of the exclusive right of the church to direct the education of the young;*' Spain, so inundated with blood, so steeped in crimes, so rent by furious parties directed by the priests, that we blush to hear her call herself christian, whilst she only invokes the name of Christianity to profane it.*

Poetry.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

Maiden!—whose mirthful glances speak
 Youth's fulness of delight,
The opening rose upon whose cheek,
 Is delicately bright
As the spring flowers thy hand hath wove
 Thy sunny locks among,
All radiant in the light of love,—
 Forsake the festal throng,

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* [M. Sismondi, we believe, has written a third article upon this subject, which, if possible, shall appear in our next number.]

Draw near, and bow thy graceful head,
To gaze upon the youthful dead.

See! on her pale and placid brow,
  Parts the dark wavy hair;
Upon her breast her hands of snow
  Are clasped, as if in prayer;
And yet there lingers on her face,
  Like moonlight on the wave,
Shedding o'er all a tender grace,
  The angel smile she gave,
When from this pale but lovely clay
The sainted spirit passed away.

Maiden! what recks that spirit now
  How fair its earthly shrine;
That its frail dwelling place below
  Was beautiful as thine?
Those faded charms but yesterday
  Like thine resplendent shone;
A few short hours, and wan decay
  May prey upon thine own.
Yet shudder not; think'st thou that she
Would now exchange her lot with thee?

No! she must chill and tasteless deem
  The cup of earthly joy;
For she has tasted of the stream
  Of bliss without alloy.
Youth its gay visions may unfold
  Before thy dazzled eye;—
Its brightest dreams are dark and cold,
  To that reality,
Which mortal fancy cannot paint,
The bliss of the ascended saint!

Devote not at the world's vain shrine,
  Maiden! thy youthful heart;
But give thy love to things divine,
  Immortal, as thou art!
Then, if thy hope, thy treasure be
  Beyond the changing skies,
The opening grave shall seem to thee
  The gate of Paradise,

And Death will be the angel sent
To call thee home from banishment. A.

ON READING THE LIFE OF QUINCY, BY HIS SON.

Behold, they burst their tombs! they start to life!
The chiefs of other days, who nobly ranged
Around their infant country, prompt to guard
Her serpent-haunted cradle. Yes, they rise
From the red battle sods, from ocean's breast,
And from the student's cell, whose midnight lamp
Fed on the oil of life. They come to wake
Our lingering gratitude.
And one I mark
Amid that band, whose brief and bright career
Bold Sparta in her better days had claimed,
With stern and lofty joy. Ask ye what thoughts
Convulsed his soul, when his dear native shore,
Throng'd with the imagery of lost delight,
Gleam'd on his darkening eye, while the hoarse wave
Uttered his death dirge, and no hand of love
Might yield its tender trembling ministry?—
There was a prayer for her who ruled his heart,
And for his babes, that thrilling agony
Which only parents know. Yet deeper grief
Still rankled there. His country's wrongs and fears
Clung to the riven heart strings; for he knew
Whose voice had sworn to be the widow's stay
And orphan's refuge. So the patriot sigh
Heaved in that dying bosom, when the tear
Of husband and of father was exhaled.
Gathered around his couch in pitying dreams,
'Mid that last agony, no cherish'd forms
Of friends or kindred? Came not his sad sire
Thither, with hoary temples, bending low
In speechless sorrow? Hancock, firm of soul,
Great Adams, dauntless in the righteous cause,
Or Otis, whose electric eloquence
Was like the ethereal flash that quenched its fire
Deep in his bosom? Breathed not Warren's voice
In fervent whisper to that parting soul,
'Wait—wait, my brother'! while he nobly rush'd

On, with a martyr's spirit, to the strife
Of young Thermopylæ?
In vain! in vain!
That awful hour had come which heeds no prayer
Of fond companionship. Death's angel spake
Above the turmoil of the boisterous deep,
And warned the patriot hence.
With swimming glance,
Like him who erst from Pisgah's cliff descried
Th' unentered land of promise, he surveyed
That emerald shore where slept, in hallow'd graves,
His ancestry; where rose, in beauteous strength,
The city of his joy, crown'd by that mount
Where waking Liberty essay'd to tread
The fearful wine press, laving her firm foot
In her sons' blood, to bless a future age.
——The scene receded, and he saw where Peace
Her radiant wing unfolded, where the breath
Of everlasting melody pour'd forth
A welcome to the soul; nor could he mourn
Exchange so blest, but sought that brighter clime.

Review.

Art. I.—*The Martyr; a Drama, in three acts.* By Joanna Baillie. London, 1826.

A new drama by Miss Baillie, will interest all lovers of fine poetry. The author of De Montfort, Basil, Ethwald, and Constantine Palæologus, who, in the English drama, rivals all but Shakspeare's name, has established a permanent claim upon their regard. The present drama does not discover the same genius as some of her other works, but is a pleasing and interesting poem of a peculiar character.

The story is this. Cordenius* Maro, an officer of the imperial guard of Nero, has the command of a body of soldiers, appointed to be present at the execution of a number of christıan martyrs. Among them is Varus, with whose former character, as a brave warrior, he is well acquainted. His mind is deeply impressed by the constancy and courage, the strong faith and exulting hope, which are manifested by them. When left alone, he exclaims;

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* We think the effect would have been better, if Miss Baillie had taken a proper Roman name, and not formed one with only a Latin termination, as, we presume, is the case.

> ' There is some power in this, or good or ill,
> Surpassing nature.'

In this state of feeling, he meets an old companion in arms, Sylvius, who has embraced Christianity. By him he is introduced to an assembly of Christians, in the catacombs of Rome, and himself becomes a convert.

But his earthly affections had been engaged to Portia, the daughter of Sulpicius. Her gay, imaginative character, full of simplicity and tenderness, is pleasingly exhibited. The following is a scene in the garden of Sulpicius.

Enter SULPICIUS, *and* PORTIA, *with flowers in her hand.*

Portia. Was it not well to rise with early morn,
And pay my homage to sweet Flora? Never
Were flowers by mid-day culled so fair, so fragrant,
With blending streaky tints, so fresh and bright.
See; twinkling dew-drops lurk in every bell,
And on the fibred leaves stray far apart,
Like little rounded gems of silver sheen,
Whilst curling tendrils grasp with vigorous hold
The stem that bears them! All looks young and fresh.
The very spider, thro' his circled cage
Of wiry woof, amongst the buds suspended,
Scarce seems a loathly thing, but like the small
Imprison'd bird of some capricious nymph.
Is it not so, my father?
Sulpicius. Yes, morn and youth and freshness sweetly join,
And are the emblems of dear changeful days.
By night those beauteous things—
Por. And what of night?
Why do you check your words? You are not sad?
Sul. No, Portia; only angry with myself
For crossing thy gay stream of youthful thoughts
With those of sullen age. Away with them!
What if those bright-leaved flowers, so soft and silken,
Are gathered into dank and wrinkled folds,
When evening chills them, or upon the earth
With broken stems and buds torn and dispers'd,

Lie prostrate, of fair form and fragrance reft
When midnight winds pass o'er them; be it so!
All things but have their term.
In truth, my child, I am glad that I indulged thee
By coming forth at such an early hour
To pay thy worship to so sweet a goddess,
Upon her yearly feast.
Por. I thank you, father! On her feast, 'tis said,
That she, from mortal eye conceal'd, vouchsafes
Her presence in such sweet and flowery spots:
And where due offerings on her shrine are laid,
Blesses all seeds, and shoots, and things of promise.
Sul. How many places in one little day
She needs must visit then!
Por. But she moves swift as thought. The hasty zephyr,
That stirr'd each slender leaf, now as we enter'd,
And made a sudden sound, by stillness follow'd,
Might be the rustling of her passing robe.
Sul. A pleasing fancy, Portia, for the moment,
Yet wild as pleasing.
Por. Wherefore call it wild?
Full many a time I've listen'd when alone
In such fair spots as this, and thought I heard
Sweet mingled voices uttering varied tones
Of question and reply, pass on the wind,
And heard soft steps upon the ground; and then
The notion of bright Venus or Diana,
Or goddess-nymphs, would come so vividly
Into my mind, that I am almost certain
Their radiant forms were near me, tho' conceal'd
By subtle drapery of the ambient air.
And oh, how I have long'd to look upon them!
An ardent, strange desire, tho' mix'd with fear.
Nay, do not smile, my father: such fair sights
Were seen—were often seen in ancient days;
The poets tell us so.
But look, the Indian roses I have foster'd
Are in full bloom; and I must gather them. [*Exit, eagerly.*
Sul. (alone.) Go, gentle creature, thou art careless yet;
Ah! couldst thou so remain, and still with me
Be as in years gone by!—It may not be;
Nor should I wish it: all things have their season:
She may not now remain an old man's treasure,
With all her woman's beauty grown to blossom.

pp. 36—39.

Her father has all the strong prejudices of a Heathen against Christians. But he had been the friend and admirer of Cordenius, and was acquainted with his love for his daughter. Ignorant of his conversion, he therefore expresses to him his wish, that he should become his son in law. In the agony of conflicting feelings, Cordenius remains true to his faith, and avows himself a Christian.

At this time, Ethocles,* a distinguished christian preacher, is brought to Rome, to suffer martyrdom. He is committed to the care of Cordenius, who provides for his escape. Cordenius, in consequence, becomes known as a Christian; and is condemned to be exposed to wild beasts, in the amphitheatre. He appears before Nero. Orceres, his friend, a Parthian prince, accidentally at Rome, and Sulpicius, intercede for his life in vain. In the amphitheatre, the intercession is renewed by Portia, and his pardon is granted by Nero, upon condition of his renouncing his faith. He refuses. Portia pleads with him in vain, and he enters the arena. At this moment, Orceres, an independent prince, fearless of the power of Nero, to save his friend from a cruel death, bends his bow, and sends an arrow through his heart.

There is such uniformity of execution throughout this drama, that few passages can be selected as eminently beautiful or affecting. The following is a christian hymn, introduced near the commencement.

The storm is gath'ring far and wide,
Yon mortal hero must abide.
Power on earth, and power in air,
Falchion's gleam and lightning's glare;
Arrows hurtling thro' the blast;
Stones from flaming meteor cast:
Floods from burthen'd skies are pouring,
O'er mingled strife of battle roaring;
Nature's rage and Demon's ire,
Belt him round with turmoil dire:
Noble hero! earthly wight!
Brace thee bravely for the fight.

And so, indeed, thou tak'st thy stand,
Shield on arm and glaive in hand;

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* A similar, not very important remark, may be made upon this name, as upon that of Cordenius. Ethocles is not, we think, a Grecian name.

Breast encased in burnish'd steel,
Helm on head, and pike on heel;
And, more than meets the outward eye,
The soul's high-temper'd panoply,
Which every limb for action lightens,
The form dilates, the visage brightens:
Thus art thou, lofty, mortal wight!
Full nobly harness'd for the fight. p. 7.

The following is the hymn sung by the martyrs before their execution:

A long farewell to sin and sorrow,
To beam of day and evening shade!
High in glory breaks our morrow,
With light that cannot fade.

While mortal flesh in flame is bleeding,
For humble penitence and love,
Our Brother and our Lord is pleading
At mercy's throne above.

We leave the hated and the hating,
Existence sad in toil and strife;
The great, the good, the brave are waiting
To hail our opening life.

Earth's faded sounds our ears forsaking,
A moment's silence death shall be;
Then, to heaven's jubilee awaking,
Faith ends in victory. pp. 10, 11.

The next extract is a part of the dialogue of Cordenius with the christian father.

Cordenius. These blessed hours, which I have pass'd with you,
Have to my intellectual being given
New feelings and expansion, like to that
Which once I felt, on viewing by degrees
The wide developement of nature's amplitude.
Father. And how was that, my son?
Cor. I well remember it; even at this moment
Imagination sees it all again.
'Twas on a lofty mountain of Armenia,
O'er which I led by night my martial cohort,
To shun the fierce heat of a summer's day.
Close round us hung, the vapours of the night
Had form'd a woofy curtain, dim and pale,

Through which the waning moon did faintly mark
Its slender crescent.
Fath. Ay, the waned moon thro' midnight vapours seen,
Fit emblem is of that retrenching light,
Dubious and dim, which to the earliest Patriarchs
Was at the first vouchsafed; a moral guide,
Soon clouded and obscured to their descendants,
Who peopled far and wide, in scattered tribes,
The fertile earth.—But this is interruption.
Proceed, my son.
Cor. Well, on the lofty summit
We halted, and the day's returning light
On this exalted station found us. Then
Our brighten'd curtain, wearing into shreds
And rifted masses, through its opening gave
Glimpse after glimpse of slow revealed beauty,
Which held th' arrested senses magic bound,
In the intensity of charm'd attention.
Fath. From such an eminence, the op'ning mist
Would to the eye reveal most beauteous visions.
Cor. First, far beneath us, woody peaks appear'd,
And knolls with cedars crested; then, beyond,
And lower still, the herdsmen's cluster'd dwellings,
With pasture slopes, and flocks just visible;
Then, further still, soft wavy wastes of forests,
In all the varied tints of sylvan verdure,
Descending to the plain; then, wide and boundless,
The plain itself, with towns and cultur'd tracts,
And its fair river gleaming in the light,
With all its sweepy windings, seen and lost,
And seen again, till, thro' the pale grey tint
Of distant space, it seem'd a loosen'd cestus
From virgin's tunic blown; and still beyond,
The earth's extended vastness from the sight
Wore like the boundless ocean.
My heart beat rapidly at the fair sight—
This ample earth, man's natural habitation.
But now, when, to my mental eye reveal'd,
His moral destiny, so grand and noble,
Lies stretching on even to immensity,
It overwhelms me with a flood of thoughts,
Of happy thoughts.
Fath. Thanks be to God that thou dost feel it so!
Cor. I am most thankful for the words of power
Which from thy gifted lips and sacred scripture

I have received. What feelings they have raised!
O what a range of thought given to the mind!
And to the soul what loftiness of hope!
That future dreamy state of faint existence,
Which poets have described, and sages taught,
In which the brave and virtuous pined and droop'd
In useless indolence, changed for a state
Of social love, and joy, and active bliss,—
A state of brotherhood,—a state of virtue,
So grand, so purified;—O it is excellent!
My soul is roused within me at the sound,
Like some poor slave, who from a dungeon issues
To range with free-born men his native land.

pp. 23—26.

The drama is preceded by a long preface; and we doubt whether this has not interested us more than even the poem itself. It gives us a view of some of the thoughts and feelings of a highly gifted woman upon the most important of subjects. It contains remarks upon the effects necessarily produced by the preaching of Christianity to the heathen world, which appear to us just and striking. The passages from it, which we shall quote, will, we trust, be new to nearly all our readers; and one principal motive in preparing this article, has been to lay before them thoughts so deserving attention.

'We may well imagine, that, compared to the heathen deities, those partial patrons of nations and individuals, at discord amongst themselves, and invested with the passions and frailties of men, the great and only God, Father of all mankind, as revealed in the christian faith, must have been an idea most elevating, delightful, and consonant to every thing noble and generous in the human understanding or heart. Even to those, who, from the opinions of their greatest philosophers, had soared above vulgar belief to one universal God, removed in his greatness from all care and concern for his creatures, the character of the Almighty God and beneficent Parent joined, who cares for the meanest of his works, must have been most animating and sublime, supposing them to be at the same time unwarped by the toils and pride of learning.

'But when the life and character of Jesus Christ, so different from every character that had ever appeared upon earth, was unfolded to them as the Son, and sent of God,—sent from heaven to declare his will on earth, and, with the love of an elder brother, to win us on to the attainment of an exalted state of happiness.

which we had forfeited,—sent to suffer and intercede for benighted wanderers, who were outcasts from their Father's house; can we conceive mingled feelings of gratitude, adoration, and love, more fervent, and more powerfully commanding the soul and imagination of man, than those which must then have been excited by this primitive promulgation of the gospel? Such converts, too, were called from the uncertain hope, if hope it might be termed, of a dreary, listless, inactive existence after death, so little desirable, that their greatest poet makes his noblest hero declare, he would prefer being the meanest hind who breathes the upper air, to the highest honors of that dismal state.

> "Through the thick gloom his friend Achilles knew,
> And as he speaks the tears descend in dew;
> Com'st though alive to view the Stygian bounds,
> Where the wan spectres walk eternal rounds;
> Nor fear'st the dark and dismal wastes to tread,
> Throng'd with pale ghosts, familiar with the dead?
> To whom with sighs: I pass these dreadful gates
> To seek the Theban, and consult the fates:
> For still distress'd I roam from coast to coast,
> Lost to my friends, and to my country lost.
> But sure the eye of time beholds no name
> So blessed as thine in all the rolls of fame;
> Alive we hail'd thee with our guardian gods,
> And dead, thou rul'st a king in these abodes.
> Talk not of ruling in this dolorous gloom,
> Nor think vain words, he cried, can ease my doom;
> Rather I'd choose laboriously to bear
> A weight of woes, and breathe the vital air,
> A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
> Than reign the scepter'd monarch of the dead."*

'They were called, I repeat it, from hopes like these to the assurance of a future life, so joyful, active, spiritual, and glorious, that the present faded in the imagination from before it as a shadow. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart, the joy that is prepared for those who love God," is one of the many expressions of the christian apostles on this lofty theme; who counted the greatest happiness of the present life as unworthy to be compared to the rewards of the righteous after death, where, according to their different degrees of worth, unsullied with any feeling of envy, they should shine in their blessedness as one star differeth from another star in glory.

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* Pope's Odyssey, 11th book.

A transition, from prospects so mean and depressing as the former, to hopes so dignified, spiritual, and animating as the latter, might well have a power over the mind which nothing could shake or subdue; and this transition none but the first race of Christians could experience, at least in so great a degree.

'And those enlarged conceptions, those ennobling and invigorating hopes came to them in the pure simplicity of the gospel as taught by Christ and his apostles. They had no subtle points of faith mixed with them, as matters of necessary belief, which the fathers of succeeding times, and too often the pious missionaries of the present, have pressed upon their bewildered converts with greater perseverance and earnestness than the general precepts and hopes of Christianity. Those ancient converts also had before their eyes a testimony of heroic endurance which till then had been unknown to the world. Who, in preceding times, had given his body to the flames for his belief in any religious notions, taught or entertained by the learned or unlearned? It was a thing hitherto unknown to the heathens. * * * *

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Then it was that a new spectacle was exhibited to mankind; then it was that the sublimity of man's immortal soul shone forth in glory which seemed supernatural. Men and women, young and old, suffered for their faith, all that flesh and blood can suffer; yea, joyfully and triumphantly.

'In beholding such terrific and interesting spectacles, many were led to inquire into the cause of such superhuman resolution, and became converts and martyrs in their turn; and it will be found, in the accounts of those ancient persecutions, that many Roman soldiers, and sometimes officers of high rank, were amongst the earlier Christians who laid down their lives for their religion. It was indeed natural that the invincible fortitude of those holy sufferers, fronting death with such noble intrepidity, should attract the admiration and sympathy of the generous and brave, whose pride it was to meet death undauntedly in a less terrific form; and we may easily imagine also, that a generous and elevated mind, under the immediate pressure of such odious tyranny as some of the Roman emperors exercised on their senators and courtiers, would turn from this humiliating bondage to that promise of a Father's house, in which there are many mansions, and turn to it with most longing and earnest aspirations. The brave man, bred in the camp and the field, encompassed with hardships and dangers, would be little encumbered with learning or philosophy, therefore more open to conviction: and when returned from the scenes of his distant warfare, would more indignantly submit to the capricious will of a voluptuous master. These considerations have led me to the choice of my hero, and have warranted me in representing him as a noble Roman soldier:—one whose mind is filled with adoring awe and admiration of the sublime, but parental character of the Deity, which is for the first time unfolded to him by the early teachers of Christianity;—one whose heart is attracted by the beautiful purity, refinement, and benignant tenderness, and by the ineffable generosity of him who visited earth as His commissioned Son, —attracted powerfully, with that ardour of affectionate admiration which binds a devoted follower to his glorious chief.

'But though we may well suppose unlearned soldiers to be the most unprejudiced and ardent of the early christian proselytes, we have good reason to believe that the most enlightened minds of those days might be strongly moved and attracted by the first view of Christianity in its pure, uncorrupted state. All their previous notions of religion, as has been already said, whether drawn from a popular or philosophical source, were poor and heartless compared to this. Their ideas on the subject, which I have already quoted, having passed through the thoughts and imagination of their greatest poet, could surely contract no meanness nor frigidity there, but must be considered as represented in the most favourable light which their received belief could possibly admit. We must place ourselves in the real situation of those men, previous to their knowledge of the sacred scripture, and not take it for granted, that those elevated conceptions of the Supreme Being, and his paternal providence, which modern deists have, in fact, though unwilling to own it, received from the christian revelation, belonged to them.' pp. vi.—xiii.

We are surprised that no American publisher has undertaken to give a uniform edition of Miss Baillie's works; or, at least, of her tragedies and serious dramas. There are few, if any works in polite literature, not common among us, which so well deserve republication.

Art. II.—1. *A Summary of the Theological Controversies which of late years have agitated the City of Geneva.* By M. J. J. Cheneviere, Pastor and Professor of Divinity. Translated from the original French. London, 1824. pp. 39.

2. *Causes, qui retardent, chez les Réformés, les Progrès de la Théologie.* Par M. Cheneviere, Pasteur et Pro-

fesseur de Théologie, dans l'Académie de Genève. Genève, J. J. Paschoud. 1819. pp. 64.

Causes, which check the Progress of Theological Science among Protestants. By M. CHENEVIERE, Pastor and Professor of Theology in the Academy of Geneva.

3. *De l'Etablissement des Conventicules dans le Canton de Vaud, dédié au Grand Conseil, et au Conseil d'Etat.* Par L. A. CURTAT, Pasteur. Seconde Edition. Lausanne, Henri Fischer. 1821. pp. 176.

On the Establishment of Conventicles in the Canton of Vaud, dedicated to the Great Council, and the Council of State.

IN many respects, there is no more interesting spot of the world than Geneva. Its situation, among the roots of the most majestic mountains of Europe, and on the border of one of the most beautiful of lakes, is a less attraction to the thousands who yearly visit it, than its refined society, and its historical fame. A city never containing more than twentyseven thousand inhabitants, it has, more than any other, within the last three hundred years, associated its history with the intellectual and moral history of mankind. No other small community, except Athens, has ever risen to such a consequence.

Geneva owes its glory to the reformation. Before that period, it was the prey of petty tyrants, and of factions, only the more bitter for the small space within which they must contend. Its own bishops and counts, the Duke of Savoy, and the Emperor, severally claimed its allegiance; and by turns it had to buy dearly the protection, and defend itself against the outrages of each. Its independence may be considered as dating from 1526, when its citizens were admitted coburghers of the powerful Swiss cities of Fribourg and Berne. The soldiers, sent by the latter for its protection, brought with them the protestant doctrine. Farel, and other reformers, who soon followed, confirmed the impression in its favor, and the reformation was proclaimed August 27, 1535.

The following year, Calvin, returning to Basle from a visit which he had been making to the dutchess of Ferrara, daughter of the King of France, stopped at Geneva. He was brought thither, says Beza,* by a divine impulse. For the gospel had a little before been marvellously introduced into that city by the instrumentality of two great men, William Farel and Peter Viret, whose labors afterwards the Lord abundantly blessed. Calvin, in passing, paid them a visit; when Farel, a man possessed, as indeed he was, of a truly heroic spirit, having long urged him, to no purpose, to stay at Geneva, and labor with him, rather than proceed on his way, at last said, 'I threaten you, in the name of the omnipotent God, that, unless you devote yourself to this work with us, the Lord will curse you, as not seeking Christ so much as yourself.' Calvin, alarmed at this terrible denunciation, resigned himself to the will of the presbytery and magistracy, and was installed in the divinity chair.

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* Joannis Calvini Vita, p. 3.

He was not a man to be satisfied with the appropriate labors of so quiet a sphere, even if, in the existing state of affairs, it had been easier to keep the offices of priest and ruler entirely separate. His measures were resolute and thorough beyond what the Genevese were yet prepared to bear, and his first reign lasted but two years. In 1541, he was invited again from Strasburg, to which place he had retired, and from that time till his death, in 1564, his authority was unshaken. He settled the ecclesiastical establishment according to his own views, and defended it successfully against repeated attempts at alteration. He embodied the doctrine of his Institutes in his larger catechism, published in French and Latin, had it confirmed by a solemn act of the clerical body, illustrated it in various most elaborate writings, and showed the world what its adversaries were to expect, by the banishment of Castalio, the burning of Servetus, and other measures of a similar character.

His system of doctrine maintained its ascendancy, as long as, under the circumstances, was to have been expected. In its favor were laws, making it a crime to dissent; a thorough system of initiation for the young, the forms of public worship, and associations in the mind of every citizen, connecting it with the honorable history of his country. On the other hand, the clergy were learned, and the people had a true appetite for religious investigation. The date of the first apparent defection from the prescribed faith, is the time of the Turretins. The orthodoxy of the two first professors of this family, is unquestionable. That of the third, John Alphonso, is well known to have been more than questioned. His influence, in 1705, procured the repeal of that rule of the Genevese church, by which candidates for ordination were required to subscribe to the Helvetick confession, and the decrees of the Synod of Dort; leaving no other test than those of the scriptures and the catechism, the latter of which has been since dispensed with. His successor, Professor Vernet, published his disbelief in the trinity, and the imputation of Adam's sin to his descendants. In 1757, the clergy of Geneva were represented by the French Encyclopedists as generally rejecting these doctrines. In 1788, the catechism of Calvin was superseded in the schools by another, substantially the same with that, which, under the name of the *Geneva Catechism*, has come into extensive use in this country; and, in 1807, a reformed liturgy was substituted for that anciently in use. There is no other example, like this, of an ecclesiastical establishment acquiescing in the progress of religious knowledge, and consenting so to modify its rules, as to admit of the introduction of a better faith.

The political troubles in which Geneva was deeply involved at the beginning of this century, kept religious controversy mostly out of view; and when, after an exclusion of twenty years, the gates of the continent again were opened to crowds of travelling English, some, it seems, came to that city with plans which argued them little acquainted with its recent theological history. 'When,' says M. Chenevière, in the Summary, 'the restoration of peace admitted strangers to the continent of Europe, Geneva, on account of its geographical situation, and its profession of the reformed religion, was fixed on by a zealous sect for the scene of its labors, the central point, whence its missionaries should go forth to propagate Methodism on the continent.' 'The importance of Geneva,' wrote a journalist of this class, in 1816, 'is beyond expression great. Its geographical position, the active spirit of its people, and its commercial relations, fit it to be the centre and metropolis of the protestant world. In a sense, it holds the keys of France, Switzerland, and Italy. Those countries lie at its gates, and their inhabitants are continually resorting to it.—Were there Bible societies, tract societies, and missionary societies in constant operation, what might we not hope for?'

The aim of these foreigners being the inculcation of doctrinal errors of which the Genevese had succeeded in ridding themselves, they did not find, on the part of that people, the active cooperation for which they had looked; and, displeased, as is alleged, at this, they proceeded to assail the religious character of the pastors, in ways nearly enough resembling those which have been put in practice in this country. Among the most busy were Mr Drummond, an English banker, and Mr Haldane,* a Scotch gentleman of fortune; the latter of whom remained two years at Geneva, instructing and exciting such of the divinity students as he could persuade to resort to him. The methods of influence of the former are less distinctly recorded, though he is said to have been profuse of money, as well as of advice. The controversy was now rife,—conducted chiefly, on the part of the malcontents, by a factious individual, named Grenus, allowed on all hands to be destitute of any religious character,—and the Company of Pastors, thinking themselves called upon to exclude it from the pulpit, in consequence of some public mutual animadversion of two of their number, which had occasioned scandal, passed, 'with the consent of all parties,' the following regulation, which bears the date of May 3, 1817.

'The pastors of the church of Geneva, imbued with a spirit of humility, peace, and christian charity, and convinced that the existing circumstances of the church entrusted to their care, demand on their part wise and prudent measures, have resolved, without giving any judgment on the following questions or restraining in any degree the liberty of opinion, to require the students who desire to be set apart for the gospel ministry, and the ministers who aspire to exercise the pastoral functions, to enter into the following engagement:—"We promise, as long as we reside and preach in the Canton of Geneva, to abstain from discussing, either in whole discourses or in parts of our discourses, the subjoined topics:—

'"1st. The manner in which the Divine Nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ.

'"2dly. Original Sin.

'"3dly. The operation of Grace, or Effectual Calling.

'"4thly. Predestination.

'"We engage also not to oppose in our public discourses the sentiments of any minister or pastor on these subjects. Lastly, we promise that if we should be led to mention these topics, we will do so without expatiating on our own views, or departing more than is unavoidable from the words of the holy scriptures."'

Summary, p. 7.

The same regulation was, in a few days after, extended to the pastors and to the ministers; that is, to those who had received ordination, but were not yet invested with a cure. It of course excited complaint. Two students, MM. Guers and Gonchier, seceded. Two pastors, MM. Cellerier and Gaussen, discharged their consciences, by reprinting the Helvetick Confession, with a preface testifying their adherence to the doctrines therein set forth. Another, M. Bost, published a violent attack on the ecclesiastical authority, entitled *Genève Religieuse.* The pastors of Lausanne, never friends to those of Geneva, profited by the opportunity. That *little fire which kindleth a great matter*, was lighted through protestant Switzerland. An agent was employed by the English Continental Missionary Society to spread the flame, and British Critics, and Christian Observers, were not slow to fan it with certain characteristically 'bitter blasts of the north.' At the same time, communications, containing the most cordial assurances of attachment, respect, and sympathy, were received by the pastors from their flocks, from the divinity students, and the magistracy; and 'the Evangelical Churches of Switzerland, almost unanimously, addressed letters to the clergy, amply denoting their affections and confidence.'

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* One of these gentlemen, checked in some proselyting enterprise in Italy, is said to have threatened the Pope with the parliamentary influence of his friends.—*Simond's Travels in Switzerland, Vol. I. p.* 347.

The most noted convert of the apostles of schism, was M. Malan, a young minister, who, having been dismissed from his office of regent in the college, under some charge of insubordination, and forbidden to preach in the pulpits of the establishment, on account of his refusal to submit to the regulation quoted above, came forward with a profession that he had been actuated 'by a deplorable spirit of exclusion, which was other than the wisdom that cometh from above,' and, subscribing the regulation, was restored to all his functions. 'The Lord has had mercy on me,' he said; 'he has made use of the solicitude, the counsels, the example, the pious writings of many of you, to keep me from falling, when I stood on the brink of the abyss.' Five months after, repeated attempts to dissuade him from what were considered as violations of his engagement, having proved ineffectual, he was again deprived of the use of the pulpits of Geneva, without, however, being degraded from his office. He then erected a chapel in his garden, from which, for five years, says the Summary, 'he ceased not to declaim against the pastors of Geneva, and throw contempt on the worship and the temples of the national church. At length, as he continued to encroach more and more, exercising the pastoral functions even in the parishes of the Genevan clergy, the ecclesiastical bodies felt it right to take cognizance of his proceedings. They suspended him from the office of a minister, and finally deprived him of the ecclesiastical character, of which he made so improper a use.' p. 18.

We are not aware that any event of importance, in this connexion, has since occurred. A year ago, of twentyseven pastors of the churches of the canton, two or three, at most, were understood to hold to the errors of Calvin. The effect of the controversy had been to establish and extend liberal views among the people, and the foreigners, who had raised it, little satisfied with their success, had withdrawn. The divinity school, which had suffered some depression four or five years before, had entirely recovered itself, and numbered more students, as was said, than at any previous period. All of Calvinism that was palpable to the view, was concentered in a small congregation, composed almost, if not altogether, of the least instructed class of the community, and meeting under the ministry of M. Malan, at the *Church of the Testimony*, a rude chapel, erected with funds, more than half of which were raised in Great Britain, and about one sixth in Geneva. He is an impetuous man, with a remarkable physiognomy, and a style of voluble extemporaneous eloquence not ill adapted to the part he has assumed. But the excitement which brought him into notice, has been passing away, and with it his labors have ceased to attract general attention.

Attempts at division, similar to those which were begun at Geneva, have since been prosecuted in other cantons of the confederacy. They have not always elsewhere met with the same indulgence. Two years ago, the government of the orthodox *Canton de Vaud*, 'considering that some enthusiastic persons are endeavouring to introduce and extend *a new religious sect*,' which they do not define, published a law prohibiting all meetings of *partisans of* THIS *sect*, and all *attempts to make proselytes to it*, under severe penalties of fine, imprisonment, and banishment, according to the aggravation of the offence. We feel the more called upon to refer to this, because an erroneous opinion concerning the theological character of the persons who have thus committed themselves, has gone abroad. We have reason to know, that even as far as India, the false statement has been sent, that it is the friends of rational Christianity who are responsible for this iniquity. The fact is, that, on the point of the trinity, at least, the church and the government of the *Pays de Vaud* are decidedly and bigotedly orthodox, and have been heretofore not a little busy in exciting odium on this account against Geneva. 'We may number,' Professor Chenevière says, 'among the antagonists of the Genevan clergy, the pastors of Lausanne, who broke off all connexion with them. At their head was Dean Curtat, who took every opportunity of speaking and writing against the Genevans, with all his wonted violence.' A pamphlet of this Dean, of which we have given the title at the head of this article, is dedicated to the Grand Council, and the Council of State. He argues therein, at tedious length, and in the spirit referred to in the professor's words, that the assemblies, to which he gives the name of conventicles, are 'illegal, useless, and dangerous.' This was three years before their suppression.

Our main business, however, is with Geneva. The course taken by the ecclesiastical authority in relation to M. Malan, has been the subject of not a little remark in some hostile quarters. We do not feel called upon to be its champions. We are no friends to religious establishments. And one of the reasons why we are not, is, that we cannot but see that occasions are always likely to arise, to place them in the serious dilemma of being wanting in justice either to others or to themselves. But the question as to the expediency of a connexion between church and state, makes no part of the question here at issue. The Genevese church, happily or otherwise, is an establishment, and its acts are to be judged as such. It is not only an establishment, but one whose authority, union, and credit are considered to be, at this period, particularly important to the welfare of the commonwealth. Geneva is the smallest but one of a confederacy comprehending several Catholic states. It has within itself, by recent cession, a not inconsiderable Catholic population, in proportion to the whole. Two powerful Catholic kingdoms surround it every where, except at a point. A place so illustrious is not overlooked by Catholic zealots, and the fact is, that there is actually felt, by its politicians, a great sensibility on the subject of Catholic encroachment. In this state of things, a schism which exposes its Protestant force to disunion, and its Protestant name to scandal, cannot be regarded in the light of a mere dissimilarity of opinion. Some of the measures which the government has accordingly thought it necessary to take in relation to the threatened controversy, we know have been regarded with as little favor by the leading persons in the church, as by their opponents. Some limitations, for example, which the magistrates felt obliged to impose on the freedom of the press, have by no means displeased the sectaries alone. 'The clergy,' says M. Chenevière, speaking of the first period of excitement,

> 'The clergy were in an extraordinary situation; attacked from without by foreigners, from within by some of their own members, partisans of the new sect, they found their conduct and sentiments misrepresented and caricatured. Assailed on every side by the unrestrained enmity of their opponents, they were themselves morally fettered, condemned to silence by magistrates, who, although their friends, were (to say the truth, without violating the respect we are anxious to shew them,) under the influence of unwarrantable timidity. What was the result? Charges repeated again and again were listened to and believed, whilst the silence of the accused passed for a confession of guilt, with men who were either unthinking or malevolent, with those who had not the means or the desire of obtaining information on the subject.' *Summary*, p. 5.

In deciding the question between M. Malan and the establishment of which he was a member, the nature of such bodies is without doubt an important point in the case. Being an officer in a regularly organized community, he habitually and systematically transgressed several of its laws, and encouraged others to transgress them; he propagated the most serious charges against its superior officers; assumed to himself the name and functions of an office in it to which he had not been raised; and, to impair its authority, allied himself with others without its pale, and in avowed hostility to it. Knowing, as we have said, little enough, and not greatly desiring to know more, of what it becomes church establishments in any given case to do, we do not perceive with what propriety they can permit an individual, and particularly a prominent individual, to retain his connexion with them under such circumstances; to derive from them an influence which he uses to their prejudice; to enjoy protection, and disclaim allegiance. Such was the ground taken against M. Malan, as, for example, in a memorial of the Consistory to the Council of State.

> 'Most Honorable Lords! Although several doctrinal points taught by M. Malan are not contained in the sacred writings, * * * yet it is not of this we complain; but we complain of the violation of order, of the infraction of rules, of the substitution of a new and

arbitrary discipline, for the discipline which your lordships have made us swear to maintain. We took no cognizance of M. Malan until we were compelled to do it by the offensiveness of his conduct, and by the fears and remonstrances of numerous members of our church, and until we found the pastoral authority, with which you have entrusted us, questioned, and by a natural consequence the very existence of our church endangered.' p. 20.

And again, in an address to himself;

'Reflect seriously, then, sir, and acknowledge that a christian church, like every other society, has need of laws, of regulations, of rulers, and that he who will not submit to the order of that church, ought freely and honestly to avow that he does not reckon himself amongst its members.' p. 23.

The facts with which he was charged, were proved to the unanimous satisfaction of the pastors. Nor is it pretended that the steps in relation to him, were precipitately adopted. On the contrary, more than six years elapsed between the time of his first falling under censure, and that of the adoption of the final measures. During this time, the pastors, individually as well as jointly, had taken unwearied pains to persuade him to another course. At the end of it, his *suspension* from the sacred office was communicated to him, the Moderator of the Consistory concluding thus;

'We likewise declare, that if we have ever the happiness of seeing you restored to sentiments more worthy of a minister of Jesus, and subjected to those rules which are essential to the preservation of the church, we shall hasten to offer you again the right hand of fellowship, and to invite you to resume the sacred office. May that day, which we all earnestly desire, be at hand! May the Lord himself influence your mind, and restore you speedily to us! Such is the prayer of this Consistory; such is the prayer which each one of us will perseveringly offer to Heaven, till we have the consolation of seeing you truly numbered among our children and our brethren.' p. 28.

The same day he addressed a letter to the council of state, declaring that he *separated himself* from the communion of the established church, and claiming the toleration granted to members of the English church and others. It was not till after his secession had been officially announced by the Council to the Consistory, that he was definitively deprived of his office of minister. We have heard of no alleged infringement of the toleration which he claimed.

But we have dwelt perhaps unduly long on a question like this. Presuming on the interest felt by our readers in a place so distinguished in the religious world, we proceed to offer some statements, having no more precise object than that of making them better acquainted with it, and with some of the advantages, of various kinds, which it enjoys. In doing this, we shall have occasion to lay before them what may be neither altogether new, nor have direct reference to its religious condition.

Its early independence, though not left unmolested by its ancient master, the duke of Savoy, was successfully maintained against him, with the aid of the new impulse of religious zeal, and of alliances from time to time contracted. In an attempt upon it, made by surprise, on the night of December 20, 1602, three hundred Savoyards succeeded in scaling the walls without discovery, and a battle, in which almost all the party were killed or taken prisoners, took place in the streets.* During that century, while liberty was well vindicated, superstition had not a few horrid triumphs. In the space of sixty years, no less than a hundred and fifty persons were burned for sorcery, a number which compares not ill with the execution done in our own puritan sister town. Many persons were sentenced to death for important deviations from the established faith, and fines, exile, and imprisonment, were freely used for the repression of minor heresies. The case of Nicholas Antoine, who, having been ten years an exemplary minister at Gex, a city of the canton, was strangled and burned, in 1632, for heresy, is a parallel to that of Servetus, except in some peculiar circumstances of atrocity, due to the genius of Calvin. It has been said that Antoine was an apostate to Judaism. But the account is indistinct. He was in a state of derangement when examined and sentenced, and the probability, from single facts transmitted, seems to have been, that his crime was a denial of the trinity. With the growth of a better religious spirit in the following century, such enormities disappeared; but this was a period of violent political commotion, which the influence of a truly parental clergy was frequently required, and most effectually employed, to tranquillize.† The feud, however, between the aristocratic and popular parties, was not healed, when tidings of the French revolution came to exasperate it. In 1793, a body of French troops was received into the town, and, after that time, Geneva was made to witness again some truly painful scenes. In 1798, if we remember rightly, it was annexed to France, as the *Department of Leman.* In 1814, its independence was recognized by the treaty of Paris, and in 1815, it was first admitted into the Swiss confederacy.

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* It is related that Beza, who was then very old, heard nothing of this transaction till the morning. He then gave out in church the 124th psalm, which has ever since been sung on the anniversary. A marble tablet, against the church of St Gervais, bears the names of seventeen Genevese who fell.

† Simond records a striking example of their influence. Travels, I. 563. 'There was a furious riot in 1754, on account of the high price of bread, and

The legislature of Geneva consists of two branches, called the Council of State, and the Representative Council. The former, which is the initiative and executive power, is composed of twenty eight members, two of whom must be Catholics. They are appointed for life, from the Representative Council, by that body and certain other electors. The lower branch, which always sits with closed doors, consists of two hundred and fifty members, thirty of whom are chosen every year from among electors not ecclesiastics, nor aged less than thirty years, by citizens over twenty five years old, and paying a small annual tax. Four Syndics are chosen annually from the Council of State in the same manner as the members of that body. The first of these is head of the government, and President of the two Councils. The others have different executive trusts. Trials are public; there is no jury; and the penal code is substantially that of France. Such economy prevails in the various departments, that the annual expenses of the canton amount only to about $140,000, which sum is chiefly raised by direct taxes. The salary of a Syndic is about $350, and that of a Counsellor of State less than $200. The population of the canton is estimated at about fortyseven thousand souls, the city numbering twentytwo thousand, and being in this respect the first city in the confederacy. Manufactures of the lighter kind, such as watches and jewellery, make the principal occu-

the house of an obnoxious dealer (forestaller) in Rue de Constance, was broken open. The people were in the act of laying it waste, and personal violence was apprehended, when a reverend man, the pastor of the parish, appeared among them, attended by his maidservant, carrying a lantern, (it was night;) the crowd instantly made way for him to the door of the house, where, kneeling on the threshold, he prayed aloud, and then remonstrated with the people on their sinful proceedings. They not only desisted, retiring forthwith to their houses, but the day following all that they had taken away was restored, and the corn dealer, the object of the popular wrath, declared he had lost nothing.' Pons, in the Preface to his Doctrine of the Church of Geneva Illustrated, (p. xxvi,) says, that 'for ages, to the honor of the clergy of Geneva be it said, not an individual belonging to it has ever been brought before the civil tribunals of the country.'

pation of the industrious class, the situation of the place not admitting of the introduction or exportation of bulky materials or productions. It is said that at one time five thousand persons have been employed in the various branches of watchmaking alone.

The public literary institutions are under the control of the Council of State. Three members of this body, called Scholarchs, have the general superintendence; and a Committee of Public Instruction, consisting partly of members of the Council of State, and partly of other citizens, is charged with the particular direction of the studies and oversight of the teachers. There are three primary free schools on the system of mutual instruction, and another for Catholic children, besides two, called Evening Classes, kept on winter evenings for young persons of more advanced age. At the *College*, an institution founded by Calvin five years before his death, instruction is also gratuitous, with the exception of some small fees for entrance money, &c. The Principal is chosen from among the pastors and professors of the Academy. There are six classes in Latin and Greek, and one each in reading, writing, and French grammar. Provision has of late been made for instruction in the German language, and in the elements of mathematics. The number of scholars is about eight hundred. The annual distribution of medals, in the cathedral of St Peter's, is made with a pomp and circumstance, the banqueting part excepted, not unlike our own civic solemnity in Faneuil Hall.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen years, the students of the College generally finish their course, and those who are designed for a learned life are transferred to the *Academy*, an institution also founded by Calvin, and on which the former is dependent. Here, after a scientific and literary course of either five or seven years more, they are admitted to professional studies, which occupy four years. There are annual examinations of all these students, besides others more rigorous, which are passed by candidates for degrees, and for admission to an advanced standing. Especially, the qualifications of candidates for ordination to the ministry are scrupulously investigated. There are about a hundred students, many of them from abroad, and particularly, in the faculty of theology, from France. Instruction is gratuitous, with the exception of some small fees for entrance and degrees. The *Senatus Academicus* consists of the Venerable Company of Pastors, and the professors, who are nominated by the *Senatus Academicus*, and appointed by the Council of State. Their salaries are of various amount, but very small. One of them is rector, which place he holds for two years. There are four faculties, those of Protestant Theology, of Law, of Science, and of Literature. In addition to the beneficed professors, there is a large number of others called honorary, in whose lectures medical instruction is included.

The public library is nearly coeval with the Academy and the College, with the latter of which it is connected. It contains thirty or forty thousand volumes, besides numerous valuable MSS. among which are remains of the correspondence of Calvin, Beza, and other reformers. Two of the pastors resident at the College are librarians. The regulations are very liberal, extending its advantages, with the needful precautions for security, to all classes of citizens. It is open for the loan of books one day in each week; and for reading, three. There is an Astronomical Observatory, provided with excellent instruments, and a well furnished Meteorological Observatory in the *Jardin des Plantes*. This garden was laid out nine or ten years ago, on a spot rendered unhappily memorable as the scene of some of the revolutionary excesses of the close of the last century. Notwithstanding the difficulty of furnishing it with exotics, such have been the zeal, good management, and extensive connexions of its eminent superintendent, M. de Candolle, that it is said to be excelled by no institution of the kind in Europe, except those of Paris and Liverpool. It is open to the public every day except sundays and holidays. The Museum of Natural History, supported partly by the city, and partly by voluntary contributions, embraces a good collection of objects in the three kingdoms of nature, and is particularly rich in Alpine specimens. Connected with it are a chemical laboratory, halls where are given various courses of public lectures, and a small cabinet of medals, antiquities, and other objects of art. The Society of Physics and Natural History, devoted to the objects which its name denotes, is a branch of the Helvetic Society of Natural History, an association composed of naturalists from all parts of Switzerland, and holding annual meetings in each of the cantons alternately. The Genevese branch holds periodical public meetings, in the same place with the Society for the Advancement of the Arts. This latter institution is divided into classes of fine arts, mechanic arts, and agriculture. It has an annual income from the municipality, with which it distributes prizes, and supports a free school of drawing and engraving. The *Société de Lecture*, maintained at joint private charge, is an institution similar to the Liverpool and Boston Athenæums. It has rooms appropriated to reading, to the deposite of its library, to conversation, and to practice in the German language. The books, periodical works as well as others, after remaining a certain time at the public rooms, are permitted to be borrowed by the subscribers. There are numerous other societies of a literary and scientific character, but either with less definite objects, or of less importance. There are also several periodical publications, one of which, the *Bibliothéque Universelle*, a monthly magazine of high reputation, is of twentyfive years standing, and another, published quarterly, the *Annales de Jurisprudence et d'Economie Politique*, numbers among its editors the distinguished names of Sismondi and Dumont.

Nor does Geneva abound less in its public institutions of charity. Among the principal of these are, the General Hospital.—supported at an annual expense of $40,000 by its funds, by the avails of certain duties, and by contributions in the churches,—which admits the sick, aged, and poor, or provides for them at their own homes, and receives and educates foundlings; the French, German, and Italian banks, established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for the relief of persons of those nations persecuted for conscience' sake, and their descendants; the Orphan Committee, which apprentices poor orphans; the Orphan House, maintained by a voluntary subscription of females, which gives a plain education to about fifty female children; the Dispensary, for the gratuitous provision of the poor with medicine and medical advice; the Penitent Asylum for Females, and the Savings Bank, an institution, the happy operation of which may be estimated from the fact, that in two years nine hundred and sixtysix individuals deposited in it more than $37,000. 'Humane institutions,' says Simond, 'are multiplied at Geneva, even to excess.' An excess of humane institutions shows at least a generous spirit.

The religious establishment is essentially what Calvin left it. The twenty seven pastors of the canton, fourteen of whom are attached to churches in the city, constitute what is called the Venerable Company. This body has the immediate direction of religious worship and instruction. Its presiding officer is chosen from week to week. The Company, with certain laymen, called Ancients, and a delegation of the Council of State, form the Consistory, in which body chiefly resides the power of the government in relation to ecclesiastical concerns. The pastors are proposed by the Venerable Company, and appointed by the Council of State. Their salaries, which are a little over $400 in the city, and two thirds of this sum in the country parishes, are furnished, as well as the charges of public education, from an ancient fund under the management of a commission called *Société Economique*. Since the invasion of the French, Catholic worship is also supported at the public charge. The diocesan is the bishop of Lausanne and Geneva. He appoints the *curés*, but they must swear allegiance to the government. It is perhaps worth remarking as a singular fact, that the church occupied by the Catholics, since 1803, is the same in which the reformed faith was first preached by public authority.

A weekly newspaper gives notice what pastors are to preach at the respective churches on the next Lord's day. The young are carefully instructed in the catechism at the schools, and by means of familiar lectures from their pastors. 'The Sunday services for the catechumens,' says Mr Bakewell, the traveller, who passed two winters at Geneva, 'comprise a recapitulary explanation of those sections of the catechism, in which they have been instructed in classes four days in the preceding week. Young persons do not commence this course of religious instruction until about the age of fifteen. The course lasts twelve months, but where catechumens appear deficient in their examinations, they pass through another course in the following year. The catechumens all write down, in their own language, the instruction which they receive verbally in their classes. The writing is carefully examined and corrected by the pastor. The youth of both sexes, rich and poor, are expected to attend this course of instruction. There are evening classes for the apprentices.'

We wish we had ampler materials for giving a precise account of the manner in which religious instruction is dispensed to the young at Geneva. As the system of public education, however, resembles in other respects that in the *Pays de Vaud*, as described in the pamphlet of Dean Curtat, we will venture to suppose that the resemblance is maintained in this. At any rate, we shall need no apology for introducing statements so interesting as the following.

'For this little population,' (that of the *Pays de Vaud,*) 'a sixth part only as great as that of the city of London, there are about six hundred schools, attended by about twentyfive thousand children, from seven to sixteen years old, besides a great number of other preparatory or private schools, and besides the colleges, and the means of private instruction for children of opulent families. Every year, all these schools are visited, and tables of observations, made in these six hundred visits, are sent to the academic council, in which one of the first magistrates of the state presides; so that the government is acquainted with the condition of public and religious education throughout the canton. Young people, arrived at the age of fifteen years, all repair to the pastors of their respective parishes, to attend a more extended course of christian instruction, through one or two winters. The pastors devote themselves to this task with the most sedulous and hearty zeal, as to the happiest and most useful of their labors. The catechumens are then received to the holy supper, and to the confirmation of their baptismal vows, in a solemn manner, well fitted to excite to piety, by means of the ceremony itself, and still more by the touching recollections which it awakens. Thus religious instruction is spread, maintained, and renewed, from the most tender age, for every individual, without interruption.'

De l'Etablissement, &c, p. 43.

But to return to Geneva. The reputation which it has won in letters and controversy, must, from its nature, be for the most part the property of a few. The glory of the testimony which it has borne to Protestantism and civil liberty, is shared by the mass of its citizens; but even this does them not so much honor as the high standard which they have maintained in respect to the morals of private life. Exposed to all the disadvantages of a frontier town, and of a travelling thoroughfare, Geneva has not failed to signalize itself by a remarkable purity of manners. Occupied by the French, at the maddest period of their vices, the conquerors saw an impassable line drawn between them and their subjects. Their intercourse was only the more scrupulously shunned, because their bayonets were law; and the day which drove them from Geneva, found them as much strangers in its respectable circles, as that on which their first guard was set. No place is more industrious, orderly, and quiet. No where are seen more healthy and cheerful faces.

With the few crimes which are committed, foreigners are mostly chargeable. 'The number of foundlings received from the whole canton at the hospital,' says Simond, Travels, I. 526, 'does not exceed thirty a year.' Libertinism involves the loss of one's standing in reputable company, and gaming and intemperance are scarcely known. We confidently believe we should be justified in stating it as the testimony of all credible witnesses, that, in respect to morals, no city in Europe, with an equal population, and equal means of luxury, compares favorably with Geneva. This is taking the lowest ground, except as to unanimity. Such persons, even when prejudiced against its theology, commonly speak of its morals with nothing short of admiration. This condition of things may be in part attributed to the circumstances of a small state, where each man knows and watches his neighbour. But it seems reasonable to ascribe it chiefly to a thorough system of religious education, and to the labors of a devoted clergy. When we add, that this better than Scottish strictness is combined, in the character of good society, with French elegance and English sincerity, and all this in a place so recommended by its picturesque position, and the freedom, plainness, and seclusion permitted by its popular institutions, no one will wonder that they who have their place of residence to choose, should so often find it here, and that it should have been for many generations the customary resort of the studious, the lover of nature, and the unfortunate and retired great. The consequence is a mutual benefit. These strangers meet on terms of republican equality, on the common ground of men, in the bosom of a society distinguished by every domestic virtue, by every chaste and manly grace of manners, and by an intellectual culture, carried generally to a great extent, and in not a few instances to a maturity which it is praise enough to rival. They dwell in the midst of a kind and conscientious people, refined without luxury, and thoughtful without ambition; and in the seclusion of this quiet world of bright water, rich valley, and still masses of eternal snow, their hearts are laid open to those soothing and exalting influences which God sends forth from the most grand and lovely objects he has made. On the other hand, this people are not without profit from their guests. Their minds are kept in action; their materials for thinking are enlarged; their curiosity is stimulated and fed; to their own solid qualities, they learn to add those which are conventional and exterior; and, without any prejudice to those simple virtues, of which they know too well the worth, they acquire that facility which uses them to the best results, and that address and selfcommand, in union with which they show to the most advantage.*

Among the present pastors of Geneva, none are more celebrated, as preachers, than M. Cellerier, the elder, and M. Chenevière. 'To those acquainted with Geneva,' says Pons, whom we have quoted before, (p. xiv,) 'the reputation of Cellerier is well known. Five generations have been edified by the pious and affectionate lessons of this excellent divine; and in the minds of the oldest, as well as the youngest of his fellow-citizens, whatever suggests the idea of goodness, greatness of mind, sound piety, and christian benevolence, is associated with his name. Unassuming, disinterested, and without the least particle of worldly ambition, the Rev. J. I. S. Cellerier devoted thirty years of his life to the care of a country parish, only occasionally preaching at Geneva; and when, at length, he was prevailed upon to retire upon a small pension, and to transfer his labors to his son, he still chose to remain among the flock, over whom he had presided.' His reputation is established by four volumes of printed sermons. He rarely comes to Geneva, but it was our good fortune to see and hear him there. The hour of service was nine o'clock, which, in a December morning, in latitude 46°, is not late; but soon after eight, the place of worship was so thronged, that admittance was with difficulty obtained, and a few moments later, it was apparent from the press, that there were numbers behind who could not come within sight or hearing. The preacher's subject, the answer of Barzillai to David, led him to describe the virtues of age, which he did with an unction that could only spring from a genuine experience of their pleasures. His style, without any ambitious ornament, was beautifully finished, for the Genevese are severe critics in style, and he is reckoned a master. His arrangement was most happily calculated for effect, at the same time that it was marked by that simplicity, which is the last attainment of art. His voice, though said not to be what it once was, seemed the perfection of plaintive softness, and his action was all grace, ease, persuasiveness, and sincerity. We have rarely heard so affecting a preacher, and never one who answered so well to the idea one forms of Fenelon. We also saw him in private, and the old man's fervent blessing, when we parted, will stay long in our memory.

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* 'A miniature republic existed upon the borders of France, speaking the same language, reading the same books, carrying on a daily intercourse with the French metropolis. The same thirst of knowledge, the same zeal for the progress of the human mind, the same disposition to the study of mathematical and natural science, the same general acquaintance with foreign languages; in a word, the same energetic impulse, which agitated France during the eighteenth century, was felt, perhaps even more forcibly, in the republic of Geneva; but, among a people where a severe morality prevailed, where religion was reverenced, where the influence of the laws was constant and regular, and the simple habits of former ages were yet strong, this impulse did not, as among their neighbours, give rise to a spirit of petulant scepticism, much less attack any of the bonds of society. Their writers never lost their veneration for those principles and institutions which were consecrated by the veneration of past ages; their manner of advancing to every question was still characterized by gravity and moderation; whilst the general tone of society displayed enlightened information, and a lively interest in the cause of letters, tempered with reserve and deliberation in judgment and opinion.'

Littérature Française pendant le Dixhuitième Siécle, par M. de Barante.

M. Chenevière, one of the four professors in the theological faculty, and successor to the chair of Calvin, in addition to his distinguished name as a preacher, has deserved well of the cause of biblical science, and of the advancing reformation. Of great candor and good judgment, as well as talent, energy, and extraordinary learning, he may be reckoned the Ajax Telamon of that theological field. He is said to have given proof of his devotion to the work, by remaining at Geneva to prosecute it, at no inconsiderable personal sacrifice, when other situations have been pressed upon him, and among them one of large emolument and very little labor in the metropolis of France. Though still young, he has already given to the public not a few valuable works. In a bookseller's advertisement before us, which very probably contains an incomplete list of his publications, we find a Selection, in four volumes octavo, from Saurin's Sermons, a Compend of the Sacred History, and of the History of the Christian Church, and a Translation of Michaelis' Introduction and Marsh's Notes, with Original Notes added. A later work is entitled Observations on Pulpit Eloquence. He is understood to be engaged, we believe jointly with others, in a revision of the standard Genevese version of the scriptures, which that sensible people, with a wisdom which their fellow Protestants would do well to imitate, take care to have laboriously examined and corrected anew, as often as a new impression becomes necessary. We cannot but hope he will see to the expunging of the interpolated text, 1 John, v. 7, and the restoration of the mangled text, 1 Timothy, iii. 16, which have defaced that excellent version far too long. The wages of such fidelity to God's word will be no little vituperation; but this, he and his compeers are able to bear. He himself has well written, that 'Geneva is attacked, because it is in advance of most of the other churches in the nineteenth century, as it was in the sixteenth; the time will come, when it will receive as many commendations and blessings for its present conduct, as of late it has experienced insults.' And this might well be encouragement to him, if he had not other encouragement which is far better.

In the pamphlet whose title stands second at the head of this article, M. Chenevière gives a rapid sketch of the history of the science of theology, and, having touched upon the nature and the methods of that progress of which this science admits, states the question, why it has in fact been almost stationary since the reformation, while so much has been done in other sciences, and that too in some closely related to it? For this, he assigns four causes. 1. Contempt for reason, in consequence of which, scripture is deprived of the use of that, which, in an humble and conscientious application, was meant for its interpreter, and the way is left open to all those dreams, which, under the name of mysteries, delude the enthusiastic mind. 2. Reverence for authority. 'To what authority,' asks the writer, 'shall we appeal? To the Fathers of the church? They were at variance among themselves; and the scriptures, their only proper guide, are ours as well as theirs. To tradition? We cannot know its authenticity, and if we might, to allow it to pass sentence upon religious doctrines, would be to subject them to a tribunal of ancient popular opinion, which, good judge as it must be allowed to be in questions of fact, is quite incompetent to pass upon questions of abstract truth. To the opinion of reformers? These reformers owe their name to their declaring that human authority was no authority for them. It was by disclaiming this that they served religion; and they never pretended that they had rendered it, in this way, all the service of which it was susceptible. To the sentiments of our ancestors? What ancestors? Three centuries back, they were in the mire of popish superstitions; and at a remoter period, they were Jews and heathens.' 3. That blind devotion to system, which arranges the stores of a partial knowledge, and, when new facts are disclosed, inconsistent with that arrangement, sooner than abandon it, will deny the facts. 4. Desertion of that only path to truth, which has been successfully followed in other departments of knowledge. 'What,' says the writer,

> 'What should we think of those, who, giving themselves to any study, should declare themselves possessors of the truth, should affirm that they alone understood all that relates to that study, and should seriously decree that all who thought differently were in error? This course, exploded in every other science, is adopted, or suffered only in theology.—What should we think of scientific men, if, instead of confining themselves to arguments, to convince those who gave explanations of the same phenomena different from theirs, they should undertake to reduce such dissentients to silence, by calling them by disdainful names, and should imagine that to anathematize, was to get the better of them? Lovers of science, persons who prefer knowledge to altercation, discussion to wrangling, would infallibly be disgusted with science. This course, however, theologians often take. What a discouragement in the pursuit of truth! How much better the example which our cotemporaries, devoted to the arts and sciences, have set! Learned men, citizens of different nations engaged in the most bitter wars, have stretched the hand to one another. Without being disturbed by the inconsistency of their several explanations and hypotheses, they have surmounted numerous difficulties, by mutually communicating their respective results. They have remembered that men are brethren, and that the works which honor one people, honor a race.—What would be thought, again, if learned men were to organize factions, and require that all the world, even ignorant persons, not capable of understanding the terms made use of, should enrol themselves as partisans? This, however, is the principal business of many theologians. When the spirit of the age and the general information obstruct the dissemination of their theories among the enlightened, they seek retainers among the classes the least informed or competent to decide such questions; they profit by the quick sensibility and lively imagination of females to engage them in their cause; and such adherents, flattered to see themselves in demand with persons whom they honor, insist, in their turn, that they maintain the true faith, and prove it by the repetition of words beyond their comprehension.—In human science, when we have been unable, after laborious investigation, to attain to certainty, when propositions are not satisfactorily proved, or some observations seem contradicted by others, the part we take is, to hold our judgments in suspense, till further labors or new observations dispel the obscurity, and bring conviction. An opposite course is often pursued by theologians. Hesitation seems

to them a crime, and outrage against the Supreme Majesty. "God has spoken; we must believe." He has indeed spoken; but is it certain that he has said what you maintain; and ought we not to fear lest we should give to what he has not said, the sanction of his sovereign authority?—To overcome the repugnance which is felt to embrace his views, or to confirm the undecided, the theologian overwhelms and confuses the imagination, moves the feelings, makes eternal happiness to depend on the reception of his glosses; that is to say, he preoccupies the minds of those whom he addresses, and designedly puts them in the situation the most unfavorable for the discovery of truth. Suppose the jurist, or the philosopher, to take this course. Suppose the theologian himself should take it in the conduct of his secular affairs,—a thing which he takes good heed not to do,—what errors and disasters of every kind would be the certain consequence!—In scientific pursuits, the laws of investigation are not changed, as different occasions for applying them arise. We are careful to make a consistent and logical application of the principles which have been laid down. But not so in theology. Ask a theologian, why he does not believe the real presence, when our Lord has declared, "*This is my body*," he will remind you that when Jesus said this, he was instituting the Supper, and eating it himself with his apostles, and he will call the evidence of sense and reason to his support in rejecting the literal interpretation of those words, and assigning to them a figurative meaning, which is at once intelligible and edifying. But tomorrow, confront this same person with a brother Protestant, who does not think in all respects like him, and whom of course he calls a heretic,—all is changed; reason is then out of the question; good sense is no longer heard of; but *mystery*. Now he takes advantage of a rule to combat the opinions of others, and now he renounces it, to defend his own. With such management, all science would become stationary, if it did not retrograde.'

p. 46.

We reluctantly forbear to give further extracts. M. Chenevière well understands the extent, the obstructions, the resources, and the importance of a reformer's work, and he has our wishes and prayers for a signal success in prosecuting it. He and his coadjutors labor in a most illustrious field. Great as Geneva has been in other provinces of human greatness, her religious honors belittle all the rest. It is to her citizens that the praise belongs of that prompt and fearless zeal with which,—a feeble arm against a host,—she adopted and maintained the reformation. It is upon some of her leaders, and those not always her own sons, that the evil passions, with which that zeal was sometimes alloyed, are chargeable. It was a striking sight when crowds of sufferers for conscience' sake from the mighty states of Great Britain, Italy, and France, gathered within her narrow walls for refuge, while at the same time the labors of her scholars beat the track of the advancing reformation, and a spirit went forth from her to the remotest kingdoms, incapable of being daunted by the prospect of the dungeon and the stake. In more peaceable and in some respects more tempted times, she abandoned not the work so well begun. The writings of her divines of the beginning of the last century, may in some sense be regarded as marking a second era in the progress of reformed Christendom towards christian truth. It is matter of rejoicing and encouragement to know that her orb still culminates. A great duty is imposed on those on whom at this day it devolves to maintain her place; for the Protestant world is used, and loves to follow her leading genius. They labor in the obscurity of no ignoble spot of earth. The age looks to them and posterity will look to them, to see if they have worthily discharged the trust to which they have succeeded. As long as there is history, it cannot be an unknown or an unobserved fact, whether, in the advance of religious truth, Geneva, at this period, asserted or forsook her honorable station.

The better opinions which now are there maintained, are said to be not slowly diffusing themselves in other states of the confederacy. We watch their progress with strong interest and hope. Switzerland is a country never to be thought of with indifference. We are as little admirers as others, of martial glory, but we own we cannot think without emotion of a poor and scanty population, defending their rocks with splendid success against the hosts of those opulent and warlike states by which, on all sides, they were hemmed in, and, in the history of three centuries, through which they maintained the name of being invincible in arms, recording instances of patriotic selfdevotion which leave Spartan heroism no advantage in the comparison. But Switzerland has borne far better fruit than 'man and steel, the soldier and his sword.' It has borne a rich harvest of solid learning, and plain substantial virtue. We cannot anticipate without delight the full influence of a purified faith upon a simple, energetic, thoughtful people, domestic in their habits, and less exposed than most others to those influences of social life, which draw away the mind from God. And we encourage the hope that among them too, a pure faith is more likely soon to prevail, than for the most part it is elsewhere, against the opposition which every where it must encounter. The native country of Zuingle, Turretin, Le Clerc, and Wetstein, the adopted country of Calvin, Beza and Erasmus, has never ceased to be distinguished by men of profound learning in theology. Its sedate, well taught, and clearsighted people, are of a character to which arguments in behalf of truth, are least likely to be addressed in vain, and over which unworthy reasons for adherence to detected error, are least of all likely to have power. In the silent retirement of their lonely home, too, religion holds the closest communion with the heart, and the need of a religion which will intimately correspond with the most excited energy, and most pure and gentle feelings which belong to man, is felt with peculiar force. That volume of the book of nature, which God holds up to their view, exhibits him in the most speaking characters. Those are strong, and deep, thoughts which are pondered amidst the terrific or beautiful wonders of the Alpine world, and thoughts which have little unison indeed with the dry jargon of a technical theology.

ART. III.—*A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the Second Unitarian Church, New York, December* 7, 1826. By WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. New York. 1826.

THE object of this sermon is to defend Unitarian Christianity on the ground of its peculiar 'fitness to promote true, deep, and living piety.' To a mind not prejudiced by education, and habits of life, not pledged to any system, nor bound to it by ties of interest, the force and clearness of reasoning with which this position is maintained, must be irresistible. Of this fact we venture to say that there will be decisive proof. The sermon may be attacked, complained of, criticised, perhaps reviled; men may shut their eyes to it; they may refrain from reading it, regarding it as a matter of conscience to keep themselves in error; or having read it, they may exclude it from their thoughts;—but it will not be answered. There will be, we think, no attempt to answer it, except, perhaps, by some one incapable of estimating either his own powers, or the force of argument. Undoubtedly men will go on for a time teaching and believing, or fancying they believe, the doctrines which it opposes; but this sermon affords a fair test how far truth and reason, expressed with the most convincing and persuasive eloquence, may avail against an inveterate error.

The intellectual power displayed in this discourse is not, however, a more striking characteristic of it, than the elevation, purity, and strength of feeling which it discovers, respecting the true character, and proper influence of religion. Let one who has just been reading the works of Calvin, or Edwards, or those of any of the thousand other writers of the same class, turn to this discourse. If he remain true to the moral sentiments which God has given us; he will feel that he is enjoying a new life; that he is raised, as it were, from some subterranean region of damps, chill and darkness, to breathe in the open air and light, to enjoy the genial warmth of nature, and to behold the glories of heaven and earth; that he holds converse with a mind of a far higher order, and of far other apprehensions and powers. The comparison which he will involuntarily make, may be expressed in the language of Virgil—

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera: tum stridor ferri, *tractæque catenæ.*

* * * * *

Largior hic campos æther, et lumine vestit
Purpureo; solemque *suum*, *sua* sidera *norunt*.

The topic discussed in this sermon is one of the highest interest, and which required to be treated with all the freedom, openness, and strength of statement and expression which are used. We repeat what we have said, it is one of the highest interest, as affecting the moral condition, the intellectual improvement, and the happiness of man. There are some who appear to think that no studies or discussions are of importance except those, which tend directly to increase the amount of physical enjoyments, or to add to the vanities, the amusement, or the embellishment of life; or such as give a pleasant exercise to the mind, without any direct or inconvenient bearing upon men's sentiments and principles of action. According to them, the physical sciences must be advanced, poetry, the drama, works of fiction, and the fine arts are to be encouraged, history furnishes a pleasant recreation, political economy affords topics for discussion, and if wisely studied, may increase the wealth of individuals or of a nation, and there are other branches of learning which may promote a man's advancement in life; but as for metaphysics, the science of morals, and critical and doctrinal theology, a wise man will 'doff them aside, and let them pass.' The study of mind, of all that is active and immortal in our nature, of its powers and its laws, of those principles on which its improvement depends;—the study of the nature, character and will of God, the most ennobling and affecting object of contemplation, the object of highest interest to beings who are entirely at his disposal;—a just acquaintance with incomparably the most wonderful events in the history of our race, relating to the direct interpositions of our Creator;—a correct conception of those truths which the Almighty has deemed of sufficient importance for himself to communicate to man;—right notions of the principles and extent of duty, of that science which has a continual operation upon our affections and conduct;—a true apprehension of our relations to God and eternity, and of all that is of serious concern in our hopes and fears;—those studies, in a word, which lay at the foundation of all correct principles of judgment, feeling, taste, and action, respecting the objects and events of life, are regarded by some as of scarcely any interest to a really practical and intelligent man, and as principally serving to minister occasions of strife and ill will to those who would be much better employed, if they would cease to disturb the opinions of their fellow men upon topics like these; seeing that it is of so little importance whether men believe what is true or false concerning them. Such persons will of course form a very different estimate of the merit and value of this sermon from what we do.

There is another class of readers, who, though agreeing with the author in the doctrine which he maintains, may not be quite satisfied with the discourse before us, and this through a little excess, perhaps, of humanity. It is unpleasant to a man to be opposed in an opinion, especially one which he has long entertained and obstinately defended. It is the more unpleasant, in proportion as the arguments brought against his opinion are clear and unanswerable. But his state of feeling becomes exceedingly disagreeable; he is even liable to be exasperated, when, notwithstanding these arguments, he is determined to retain his opinion. Now there are some who from a distinct perception of this state of mind, and a generous sympathy with their opponents, seem to regard it as a breach of christian charity to urge any reasoning with much clearness and force.

To produce an unanswerable argument appears to them unfeeling and severe; and an impressive statement to which no objection can be made, is, in their view, little better than a sarcasm. If a writer express and defend his opinions very earnestly, as if thoroughly convinced of their truth and importance; it exposes him, in their opinion, to the charge of arrogance, because it implies clearly that he thinks himself in the right, and that every one who differs from him must be in the wrong. According to their notions of the character required by our religion, it is necessary for a Christian to reason somewhat weakly and obscurely, with no great explicitness of language, or concentration of thought or argument, but in a diluted style; so that he may not offend the prejudices, and thus hurt the feelings of men of opposite opinions. But the sermon before us is deficient in all those excellencies.

Now we must confess that there seems to us some error in this view of the subject; and we cannot help fearing that this excess of charity may lead men to be a little uncharitable, and to charge a writer with faults from which he is wholly free. In our opinion, there is no tract of any writer to be named, breathing a more liberal and philosophic spirit than this discourse; discovering more of that enlargement of mind which regards man as the creature of God, and not as the follower of a sect; more thoroughly imbued with the purest christian sentiments, or showing a more single and devoted earnestness in the cause of truth, without any mixture of merely personal feeling. As for the complaint that the language of this discourse is too strong—it is not common to quote a novel in a theological review; but Miss Edgeworth's novels are works to be quoted any where, and we are tempted to give the words, which she puts into the mouth of one of her most excellent characters. '*Strong*—very strong! I am glad of it—the delicate, guarded, qualifying, trimming, mincing mode of speaking truth makes no sort of impression. Truth should always be strong, speaking or acting.'

Still there are those on whose attention we should not press this discourse. There are minds in which the best and most beautiful affections have clustered round a system of faith, many parts of which may seem to us erroneous. Of the doctrines which they have been taught and have received, the heart has elected, and incorporated with itself, only those which tend to good. What is false and pernicious lies inert, and almost unregarded. But still it is a part of their faith; and there is danger of giving useless pain, doubt, or anxiety; or perhaps of shaking and weakening the whole system of belief in such minds, by any attempt to remove it. Their habits of thinking and feeling are foreign from such discussions. In a struggle for all that is most valuable, we would not force the infirmity of age, or female delicacy, or natural weakness, into the conflict, though we delight in believing that they will enjoy the fruits of the victory. We are not anxious to make proselytes, but to make Christians; and if the superstructure of true christian excellence has been raised upon whatever doctrines, we are satisfied. We have no wish to disturb it, in order to provide what we may think a far better and more secure foundation.

But though we would not, in individual cases, assail false opinions, accidentally innocent, and which are guarded by sacred and dear associations, yet let it not be thought that we are wanting in a deep feeling of the noxiousness of those religious errors, which have so long prevailed, in their general operation. We may illustrate our meaning. Though one would not disturb the devotions of a sincere Catholic, kneeling, full of gratitude and adoration,

> ' Where holiest Mary bends,
> In virgin beauty, o'er her blessed babe—
> A sight that almost to idolatry
> Might win the soul by love ;'

yet who would think that Luther and his followers ought to have been more considerate and reserved in opposing the papal abuses, and the whole hierarchy by which they were supported; or to have thrown themselves with less spirit into the breach, where the battle of the civilized world was to be fought? The religious reformation which is now going on, though very different in its character from that of the sixteenth century, is one of not less importance. The world is so far in advance of the false systems of doctrine which have existed under the name of Christianity, that they are losing all hold upon the minds of intelligent men. This is still more true of other countries than our own. The established faith of every nation in Europe, is regarded, by a great majority of the more intelligent classes, at best with nothing more than an outward show of respect as a part of the political system; sometimes kept out of view with decent indifference, and respectful silence, and sometimes assailed with open or indirect expressions of unbelief and scorn. Yet in most minds the established faith is identified with Christianity. Religion has thus been abandoned to very weak expositors and defenders; men better fitted to render it an object of doubt and ridicule, than to vindicate its character. We have heard it quoted as the remark of a distinguished foreigner, 'that the wheels of Christianity were worn out, and it was time to get up some new machinery to operate upon society.' The remark, we may believe, was in a great degree true of the systems of faith, which he had been accustomed to regard as different forms of Christianity. They are wearing out. The human errors in which they had their origin have died away. Their roots are perishing. But for us, we are looking forward, not to any new delusion to supply their place, but to the prevalence of the truth. We will not, and we cannot give up the belief, that the work of God, commenced eighteen hundred years ago, and which human ignorance, error, folly, and crime have done so much to counteract, is beginning to manifest itself in its glory and power. The kingdom of God is coming, though it may be now, as it was at first, not with observation. We do believe in the regeneration of true religion, or, in other words, of pure Christianity. We do believe that the time is approaching, when the evidences of our faith shall be unobscured, and its sublime and ennobling truths be presented to the affections of men, unmingled with, unconcealed by, a mass of revolting errors. Nor can this belief seem unfounded, when we see, as in the author of the discourse before us, the example of a man of the highest order of intellect, of a mind such as has rarely operated upon the intellectual and moral condition of our race, devoted to the cause of human improvement and goodness. It is with a deep and solemn interest, that we believe still further, that the restoration of true religion is to proceed principally from our own country; from that country which has in so many respects given an example to the rest of mankind. Here we now enjoy perfect freedom of discussion. The errors to be opposed are not incorporated, as elsewhere, into the very frame of society. Here religion has a strong hold upon the minds of many, ready to learn, and anxious to understand its character and evidences. And here it has found, and we trust will find, those capable of defending it, of explaining and enforcing its truths, and of revealing them in all their splendor to the hearts of men.

Art. IV.—*Address on Church Music; delivered by Request in the Vestry of Hanover Church, and in the Third Baptist Church in Boston.* By Lowell Mason. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1826. pp. 42.

[Continued from Vol. III., page 498.]

In our last number, we confined our remarks upon church music to its true character and design. We intend, at present, to add a few words on the means by which its design may be accomplished, and the true character imparted to it in our places of worship. We shall avail ourselves, in doing this, of the assistance of Mr Mason, so far as we may find it to our purpose, and remark freely on whatever may seem objectionable in the practice that prevails.

It is most evident, that the highest effect of sacred music, must be derived from a combination of causes, all of which must concur to the proposed end, and in proportion as either of them fails, or is imperfect, in the same proportion the music will be imperfect, and its influence feeble. This is the reason why fine psalmody is so rare. Some of its ingredients, perhaps, are found in perfection, but others are lamentably wanting. We hear fine voices, but they are inexpressive; or the tune is sung well, but the utterance of the words is inarticulate; or the vocal chorus is drowned by instruments; or the psalm and the tune are ill adapted to each other; or the only object of the performers, is to execute finely, and of consequence the religious sentiment is destroyed. Either of these defects detracts from the requisite perfection of the whole, and it is easily seen how rare a thing that perfection must be. Instead, therefore, of wondering that our psalmody is no better, it is often a matter of surprise that it is so good; and, in going on to point out some prevalent causes of evil, we wish to be understood as seeking to encourage attempts for improvement, but not to promote a habit of criticism and dissatisfaction.

One of the most important subjects of attention in this view, is the character of the hymns which are used. The hymns lead the mind to the sentiment, and on them the state of the mind principally depends. They must, therefore, be in themselves full of just thought and elevated feeling, calculated to improve the mind, to move the heart, and to keep alive the attention. If they express false, or exaggerated, or affected sentiment; if they be clothed in language and imagery offensive to good taste; if they be doggrel instead of poetry; if they be history or creeds in rhyme; or from any cause low, vapid, uninteresting,—there will be no satisfaction or benefit in the use of them. They create a habit of inattention to the most delightful service, and check rather than encourage the rising devotion of the soul. It is surprising how many of the hymns of even the most pious and successful poets, are open to some of these objections; so that perhaps no collection is to be found, of which every hymn is perfectly suited to public worship. As Mr Mason very justly says,

> 'Many of the hymns in common use are addressed almost exclusively to the understanding, and are argumentative, or didactic, or narrative in their character. Such hymns, perhaps, are not as unfit for musical expression as a demonstration of Euclid, or Edwards on the Freedom of the Will, or Hume's History of England; but it is not unfrequently the case, that, by an injudicious selection of this kind, the good effect of singing is wholly lost. Probably one third, or even more of the hymns in common use, are unfit for musical purposes; and perhaps in no other way can ministers of the gospel do more to advance the cause of church music, than by an attention to this subject.' p. 38.

It is cause for unfeigned surprise, that any of our churches are satisfied to retain in use some of the books, which are very exceptionable on the ground just mentioned; such, for example, as Watts' Psalms and Hymns. Watts, more than perhaps any other man, had the genuine power of a religious lyric poet. His best specimens remain unsurpassed, and they are far more numerous than those of any other writer. He never can hold a second place in this department, and we do not wonder at the reverence which has been attached to his name. But he wrote an immense number of hymns, and many of them were unavoidably meagre and bad; poor in conception and in diction, and sometimes low in imagery and revolting in sentiment. Why then should his whole collection of good, bad, and indifferent, be perpetuated in our churches, to the exclusion of the many excellent compositions of other writers? Why should the second rate verses of Watts be made familiar, while the first rate lyrics of Doddridge, Scott, Mrs Steele, and Mrs Barbauld are unknown, and never permitted to excite and elevate the devotion of the sanctuary? The church is defrauded of its greatest improvement, the worshippers are deprived of the best aids to their service, if they are thus bound down to the perpetual use of one author, and never permitted to raise their voices to the holy breathings of other gifted minds. The greatest edification can come only from bringing together the best efforts of all the best writers. No one man, not even the great Watts, can possibly satisfy all the wants, and express all the feelings of the devout mind. And that any congregations, even those of the Calvinists, should confine themselves to him, excites feelings of unspeakable wonder. Of any selection which should be made, his hymns would constitute a considerable portion; and while several selections of great merit are to be found, we do not understand how it is possible to be satisfied with the works of any one author alone. Yet true it is, that there are even Unitarian congregations, which use Watts, with all his errors of doctrine and faults of taste, though Sewall and Dabney have published selections, which contain whatever is most excellent in him, together with the choicest specimens of others. Let such collections be used, from which even the most careless cannot cull for use an offensive or an unimpressive ode, and one obstacle to effective psalmody will be removed. The worshipper will always have a good sentiment in an unexceptionable form presented to him, and be able to abandon himself to the impressions of the moment, without being chilled or held back by any violence done to his convictions or his taste.

Next to the selection of hymns, the selection of tunes is important. They must be of right expression and good taste; for, if they be light and frivolous, or heavy and unmeaning, they will not fall upon the ear with that satisfaction which shall awaken the attention, and call up devout emotions. They must be pleasant, so as to engage the ear; expressive, so as to excite feeling; serious, so as to suit the occasion and the place; simple, so as to be easily comprehended and followed.

> 'One of the most important characteristics of a good psalm tune,' says Mr Mason, 'is simplicity; or such an arrangement, with respect to both melody and harmony, as to render the design intelligible, and the execution easy. Solemnity is no less important. But how often do we find tunes the most complicated and difficult, both as regards melody and harmony, or florid and rapid movements, chosen in preference to simple and familiar airs. * * * Let there be a small number of simple, easy, and solemn tunes selected for the use of the choir in public worship. New tunes

may be occasionally introduced, but not until they are perfectly familiar, if possible, to the whole congregation,—at least to the performers. A change should be constantly going on, but so gradual as to be almost imperceptible.' pp. 38, 39.

This last caution is particularly important, because we are persuaded, that a great evil arises from the fondness for change indulged by our singing choirs. Scarcely has a tune become familiar to the ears of the congregation, before the performers are tired of it, and exchange it for another; so that, in some of our churches, the people are for ever going through the labor of learning new tunes, and are seldom allowed the indulgence of attending to one that is familiar; or, if old and well known tunes are sung, it is perhaps with such changes in the harmony, as to give them a new expression, and to fatigue and perplex the uninitiated hearer. Now all this, however it may promote the science of music, has a very injurious effect on devotion. Every one knows that the effect of music depends greatly on the associations connected with it; associations, which can belong to it only when familiar, and which render the ordinary tunes, which we heard and loved in childhood, far more delightful than the infinitely finer tunes which we hear for the first time. Tunes to which we have been long accustomed in worship, seem to belong to God's house, and we meet them there as old friends, and open our hearts to them at once. The uneasiness with which many endure the perpetual introduction of new music, is perfectly natural, and ought to be expected. It is thought to be a proof of uncultivated taste; but it certainly is not always so, for a new tune is not necessarily in right taste; and good judgment sometimes, and nature always, will say, *the old is better.*

We do not know how it happens, that this obvious and natural principle has been so much overlooked by those who have undertaken the direction of public psalmody, and who have engaged themselves, for a few years past, in making the most violent and reckless revolutions in our standard guides. Not satisfied with the great and necessary change, which banished the trivial and bewildering fugues of twentyfive years ago, and substituted for them the plain, simple, and ancient psalmody of Old Hundred and St Ann's, they have gone on with their annual changes, as it were, till scarcely a melody is to be found of more than four years acquaintance; or, if of greater age, it is so disguised and dressed out with a new harmony, as to be, to all intents and purposes, a stranger to the congregation. Now this is wholly against the principles of our nature, and a serious injury to the devotional purposes of psalmody. It goes on the idea of satisfying professed amateurs, and deals with the simple and unlearned congregation, as if they were all acquainted with the laws of harmony, and listened with the ears of scientific criticism, and as if capable, therefore, of receiving pleasure from the study of new specimens of the art. It is a serious mistake. They are capable of receiving pleasure only from what is familiar. What is that music which is always the favorite of the multitude? Never a new air, but some old, accustomed strain, which carries back the thoughts to earlier days and the memory of their fathers. What is that tune so celebrated in the Swiss history, and whose effect on the minds of that people is such, that it is forbidden to be sung amongst them when enlisted in foreign armies? It is in itself a miserable, coarse, unmeaning succession of sounds, which yet rules their hearts from its long associations with childhood, and home, and country. And when, in any land, the assembled people is to be roused to some high tone of feeling, it is done, not by performing before them some new impassioned piece, composed for the express occasion, but by the well remembered strains and homely tones which they have loved for years. And we may confidently appeal to our readers, whether they have not known and felt something of this in the house of worship. Is there not an evident interest and excitement of attention in the congregation, when the well known tunes of other days are sung, very different from the listless attention which waits on the performance of newer music, even though it be better? Do not such airs, from the long associations of sacredness attached to them, do much to bring the mind into a devout frame, when the performance of an unknown tune, requiring all the attention to study and follow it, may hinder and check the rising of religious sentiment?

But, when provision has been made for the best hymns and the best tunes, there still remains the difficult matter of adapting them to each other; a point in which great judgment and skill are necessary, and a failure in which is one of the common causes of ineffective psalmody. Upon this point, Mr Mason says,

'The subject of adapting music to words in metrical psalmody, seems to be in its infancy. The musician has done but very little by his compositions to enforce the sentiment of the poet, if we except a few cases of particular adaptation. On the one hand, the poet has written without reference to musical effect; and on the other, the musician has composed without any reference to rhetorical effect. And it is difficult to see how much progress can be made in this department, while we are obliged to sing so many different hymns to the same tune.' p. 35.

The only effectual remedy for this last mentioned evil, is that devised by Mr Willard, and explained at large in the preface to his Regular Hymns. Some account of his principles, and of the manner in which he has exemplified them in his own compositions, may be found in a previous number of our work.* We are still of the opinion which we then expressed, that the serious hindrances to the effect of sacred music, will be completely removed, only when these principles shall be understood and practised upon, both by the writers of hymns and the performers of music. And although it is to be lamented that they have not attracted more general attention, it is yet a satisfaction to know that they have been approved and partially embraced by many, and have caused a very evident and marked improvement in the style of performance in several places. It is every day better understood, that a psalm tune is not an inflexible thing, a set series of sounds, which can be given only in one unvaried form of monotonous repetition, like the strain which is ground over on the hand organ, but is susceptible of variation, at the will of the performer, and may, to a certain extent, change its character in conformity with the changing sentiment of the hymn. Where this principle is rightly understood, and is made to regulate the practice, one main obstacle to right adaptation is removed, as the choir may bend to the psalm, a tune, which originally might seem little suited to it.

But, after all which can be done, there will for ever remain inherent and radical difficulties in the way of a perfect adaptation, and therefore psalmody will for ever remain at a vast distance below what we can conceive, and must desire it to be. So far, indeed, as effect is owing to adaptation, it must be greatly inferior to that of profane music; since, in this case, every song has its own tune, written expressly for it, designed for it alone, and so associated with it, by exclusive use, as to become in a manner inseparable; or else, the music having been first composed, the song is expressly written for it, and, in all its movements, emphases, and pauses, is made a perfect echo to it, and no one would think of singing it to another tune. But, in sacred psalmody, hymns are written independently of all tunes, and tunes independently of all hymns, and they are left to be joined according to the judgment of the moment, in a hurried, inconsiderate way, which often brings together those which never were designed to meet, and whose union can serve to no end but to be emblematical of those ill assorted and discordant matches, which destroy the comfort and harmony of life.

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* See Volume I, p. 224.

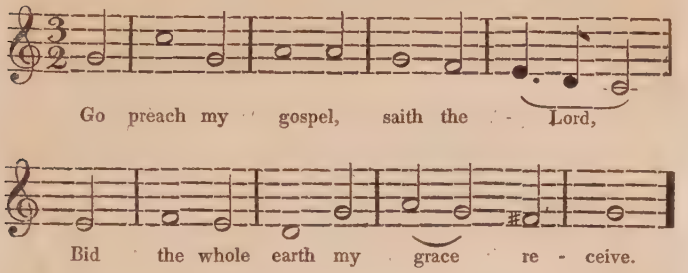
As we can never hope for a separate tune to every hymn, nor to have our hymns all written for given tunes, according to Mr Willard's plan, it is important that choristers and choirs should learn how they may turn to the best advantage the present imperfect system, and approximate to the desired end. The general rule, that the prevailing expression of the tune should correspond to that of the hymn, that the spirit of the music should not contradict that of the verse, would seem to be too plain to be overlooked, and too simple to be disregarded. Yet even this is perpetually violated by some leaders, who appear to be guided in their selection of tunes, only by the whim of the moment. Hence we hear lofty psalms of praise, set off by rapid movements or delicate airs, and plaintive verses hurried away in animated strains, and cheerful hymns of gratitude made to wail in the accents of despondency and grief. Errors like these are inexcusable, because only a very moderate degree of attention would be requisite to avoid them. More serious difficulties occur from other sources, but even they may be made, in a great measure, to disappear, by careful study of the subject, and the exercise of a discriminating and sensible mind; especially by the influence of a religious feeling, which enters into the sentiment, and seeks naturally to express it. We recollect instances, in which a grave majestic hymn has been unfortunately set to a lively tune, upon hearing the first notes of which, we were disgusted at the incongruity; but it was so varied, and accommodated to the true expression, by the skill of the performers, that its character seemed entirely changed, and before the singing was done, we were quite satisfied. Sometimes single verses occur, of a tone wholly opposite to the general sentiment of the psalm; consequently the tune, which is adapted to the rest, is wholly unsuited to these. Now, as the sentiment cannot be changed, the expression of the tune must be changed to meet it, and few tunes are so inflexible that this may not be done by a judicious performer. We have known it to be done in many cases with most striking effect, and are surprised that the leaders of our choirs are not more aware of the power which they may in this way exercise. By means of a more rapid or more protracted movement, of a louder or a softer note, of greater or less emphasis, of a sustained or broken tone, of holds, suspensions, and pauses, the same succession of sounds may be made to bear several different characters. There is need of discretion in attempting these variations, lest propriety be sacrificed to affectation, and unmeaning monotony be exchanged for artificial decoration. But, if the dangers from this quarter be diligently guarded against, it is easy to see how much it is in the power of a disciplined and accomplished choir to remedy, or at least to render less annoying, the inherent defects of our sacred music. Much has been done to aid them in this, by the marginal directions in Worcester's edition of Watts, and in Willard's Regular Hymns.

To the removal of another of the chief obstacles to perfect psalmody, there may, in like manner, we think, be an approximation, though we may never hope to abolish it. The evil arises from emphatic syllables of the verse, falling on feeble notes of the tune, and the contrary; so that it is sometimes almost unavoidable, to give undue prominence to the little transition words *and*, *or*, *the*, *to*, &c, and to pass lightly over words which contain the leading and essential thought. There is a vicious mode of performance with some distinguished singers, which aggravates this evil, when their care should always be to remedy it. We think that a remedy is much nearer at hand than in most cases may be imagined; and though not to be used without study and judgment, yet might be always applied, if our choirs were familiar with the needful rules, and accustomed to exercise themselves in their application of them. Mr Mason remarks on the same difficulty, but contents himself with pointing it out, without suggesting any cure, except that of a tune written expressly for the words. The following is one of his examples.

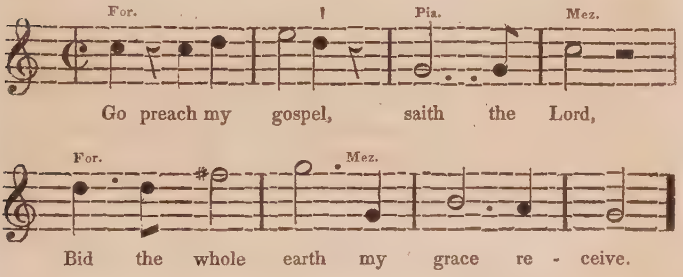
'Again, suppose we sing to the excellent old tune of Winchester the following lines,

"Go preach my gospel, saith the Lord,
Bid the whole earth my grace receive;"

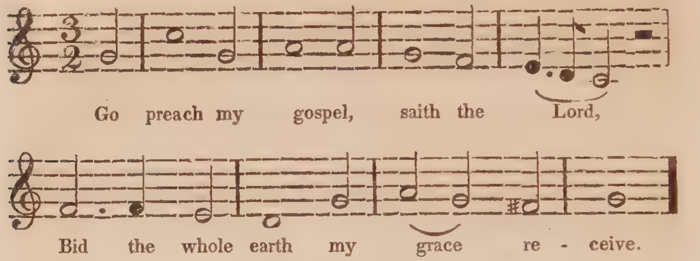
we shall find that, from the prolonged notes and inappropriate melody, the significance of the words will be wholly lost.


Go preach my gospel, saith the Lord,
Bid the whole earth my grace re - ceive.

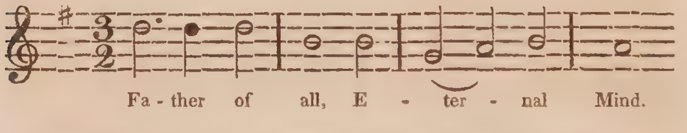
Whereas, if we employ a melody written with reference to the sentiment, the music may be made to perform its office with effect.


For.
Pia.
Mez.
Go preach my gospel, saith the Lord,
For.
Mez.
Bid the whole earth my grace re - ceive.

Mr Mason is perfectly correct in this, and it serves to illustrate several of our preceding remarks. But, after all, these lines will be, and must be sung to Winchester, or some other common tune, which will just as certainly destroy the significance of the words; and, if it is to be prevented at all, it must be through the care of the performers. In the first of the two lines quoted, a slight pause at the word *Go*, is easily made, and the other notes accommodate the sense sufficiently well. In the second line, a difficulty lies in the four first words, where the emphasis, which the sense requires to be thrown on the three other words, is given by the music almost exclusively to the unimportant article *the*. Now, if we would take a lesson from the vocal performers of other departments, this difficulty might be removed at once. An amateur singer, who should encounter such a passage in a song, would, without hesitation, drop part of a bar, and vary the next in the following manner:


Go preach my gospel, saith the Lord,
Bid the whole earth my grace re - ceive.

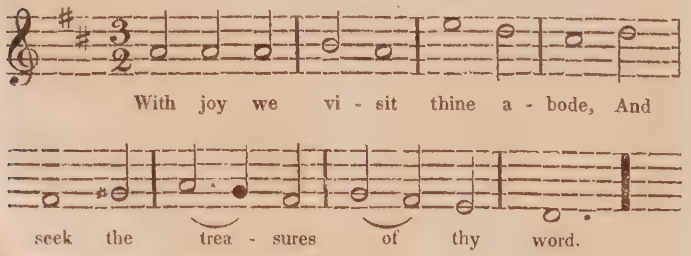
A similar case occurs in adapting the following line to the tune of *Mear*. No one can fail to see the advantage of the change.



The fine tune of *Blendon*, so often injurious to the sense, on account of its peculiar structure, is yet capable, in judicious hands, of a similar accommodation. Suppose it, for example, to be sung to these lines;

O how delightful is the road,
Which leads us to thy temple, Lord!
With joy we visit thine abode,
And seek the treasures of thy word.

The third line ought to be varied thus:


With joy we vi - sit thine a - bode, And
seek the trea - sures of thy word.

This tune is plainly capable of still greater variations, without losing its identity of character; which is also true, to a greater or less extent, of all our most common airs; and, if our choirs were in the habit of attention to this point, and of frequently exercising themselves accordingly, under the guidance of an intelligent leader, we think that they would succeed, without great difficulty, in removing this hindrance to the true effect of sacred music.

When we sat down to write, we had no thought of extending our remarks to such a length; but, as they are still growing upon us, and more remains unsaid than we shall have room for at present, we now lay down the pen till another opportunity.

Notices of Recent Publications.

1. Two Discourses on the Nature of Sin—delivered before the Students of Yale College, July 30, 1826. By Eleazer T. Fitch.

These discourses are written with ability. We wish we could add, that they are written with perspicuity. We are of opinion, that the thoughts might generally have been made clear to common Christians; but they are often expressed with an obscurity, which must discourage and repel the mass of readers. This defect, however, is too common in metaphysical sermons to be remarked upon with severity. There are other faults not so easily excused. We refer to inaccuracies of language, which, we confess, surprised us in discourses, delivered in one of our most respectable colleges.

The 'nature of sin' is the subject. The author defines it thus. '*Sin, in every form and instance, is reducible to the act of a moral agent, in which he violates a well known rule of duty.*' This view of sin he proposes to maintain against those, who hold the doctrine, of 'physical depravity,' who hold that sin is constitutional, or 'an essential property of our created constitution.' In opposition to these he maintains, that God sees holiness or sin 'only in the *exercises* of the *will*, either latent or open, immanent or imperative;'—'that God holds moral agents responsible only for their *actual choices* or *moral acts*.' We apprehend that the point in dispute is not stated with sufficient clearness. The two parties differ in distributing or arranging the phenomena of the mind; one party referring our love, preferences, affections to the faculty of *will*; the other making them a distinct class and considering them as preceding the acts of the will, and as the springs or causes of these acts. Our author adopts the former theory, and we apprehend that he extends the province of the will too far, and includes under it affections and feelings which are requisites or conditions of its exercise. We doubt too, whether, according to his own theory, sin be not as strictly constitutional, as according to that of his opponents. He makes sin, indeed, consist in acts of will; but he maintains, that we are so affected in our consitution at birth, by the sin of Adam, that these sinful acts of will certainly, and infallibly take place from the very beginning of moral agency, without the least mixture of virtuous acts; he maintains that we are so affected in our constitution, that we sin as soon as we can, and do nothing else; he pronounces our nature to be a certain, unfailing cause of sinful acts, and of these only; and if all this does not make sin constitutional, we know not the meaning of the term.

Our author adduces four arguments in support of his position, that sin consists of acts of will in violation of known obligations. The first is drawn from the 'operation of conscience;' the second, from 'the universal sentiments of men;' the third, from 'the views of God, as expressed in his law, his judgments, and his direct testimony;' the fourth from 'the reasonableness of this view, and the absurdity of any other supposition.'' Under these heads may be found many just and useful views of the subject of moral agency.

He then proceeds to apply the subject in five remarks. 1st. 'We are taught by this view of sin not to confound sin itself with the ground of its certainty.' In other words, as sin consists in voluntary acts and in nothing else, he who performs these acts is sinful, be the causes which excite him to them ever so strong, certain, or unfailing. The cause has nothing to do with determining the moral nature of the act. We apprehend our readers will ask some proof of this position, before admitting it. 2d. 'There is not a sinful heart in any moral agent, distinct from his own sinful choices, determinations, or preferences.' The heart, according to our author, is the same thing with acts of will. We suspect this part of his intellectual philosophy. 3d. 'In the connexion of Adam with his posterity, no sin of his is reckoned theirs.' The author here refutes the idea of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, a doctrine obviously repugnant to the view of sin here given. He maintains, however, that we suffer by our connexion with Adam; but we suffer, not by having the blame of his sin laid upon us, but by our coming into life, so affected in our very constitution, through his sin, as to render our own sin and total depravity certain and unfailing. Our readers will probably be unable to determine which of these modes of being injured by Adam, is most just and kind, and may find it as hard to choose between them as between death by hanging or by the guillotine. 4th. 'The subject assists us in making a right explanation of original sin.' Here the author rejects the idea of any thing being sinful in the original nature of man, or previously to his actions. 'The nature of men, as it is affected by descent from Adam is the *occasion*, *ground* or *cause* of their sinning, and not itself any part of their sin.' It seems to us, that if sin be certainly, unfailingly, universally, and exclusively the effect or result of our nature or constitution, then sin may properly be called natural and our nature sinful, and the distinctions insisted on by our author are of no importance. 5th. 'Sinners should blame themselves only for sin and be required to break off from it immediately.'

We are not so unreasonable as to exact from an author, in the compass of two short sermons, a full developement of such a subject, or an anticipation of all the objections which may be made to his theory. We think the discourses before us able. We approve highly of the desire of the author to reconcile his views with the character of God and the dictates of our moral nature. We think indeed that he has failed; and could we make a personification of his theory, and wholly separate it from the author, we might be tempted to apply to it the epithets 'impious, blasphemous,' and other courteous expressions from the vocabulary of theological controversy. But we respect too much his head and heart to lavish on him sectarian invective. We heartily wish him perseverance and success in his attempt to learn 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' and to exhibit it in consistency with the plain dictates of our moral nature.

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2. An Essay on the Lord's Supper, by F. W. P. Greenwood. Second Edition. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn. 1827. pp. 60.

The demand for a new edition of this valuable treatise, augurs well of the good taste of our religious community. It is a proof, among others, that the public sentiment is in favor of fair, distinct, and intelligible expositions of doctrine and duty. If we read aright the signs of the times, men are growing weary of a religion without reason, and of the devotion which is founded upon terror and mystery. The progress may be slow, and occasionally impeded by accidental causes, but we believe it is as certain as the course of the sun. We are sure that the spirit which calls out practical pieces of the character of this treatise, will not be long in working its own way to the fountains of uncorrupted truth. We think, therefore, that Mr Greenwood has rendered an important service to the friends of rational religion, by giving them this tract in its present form. It is on a subject of peculiar interest to every Christian, but one upon which men have too often been content to feel, without understanding. There is scarcely a question upon which a clergyman, in the course of his parochial duties, is obliged to bestow more labor to efface the false impressions which have been left by an erroneous education, and by the unscriptural representations of an artificial theology. He is met at every step by objections, which proceed entirely from mistaken notions of the character of the ordinance, and we have deeply felt the need of a popular and practical work, giving a plain account of the design of the Lord's Supper, suited to be put into the hands of an intelligent inquirer after religious truth. The treatises of Bell and Kippis, are perhaps the best we have had. But Bell is scholastic and formal, and will hardly be read with interest by the majority of Christians. The sermon of Kippis is better adapted to the mass of readers; but his style is dry and prolix, and he by no means pretends to give the subject a complete discussion.

We do not think that Mr Greenwood's treatise quite supplies the deficiency, inasmuch as it seems to be written for the benefit of the more improved and reflecting classes of society, without sufficient reference to those who need to be instructed almost in the manner of direct personal conversation. With this exception, we venture to say that we have not yet met with any thing on the subject, which combines so much of what is useful and practical, and is so well adapted to impress upon the public mind, those sentiments which we desire to see universally diffused and adopted. It possesses one great merit,—which we regret to say is too rare in theological discussions of the present day,—that of constantly appealing for the truth of its statements to the authority of the original records in the New Testament.

Mr Greenwood conducts his arguments with entire freedom from technicality and mysticism, and gives us a fine specimen of the dignified and temperate, though earnest spirit, which should guide our reasonings on the sacred truths of religion. The thoughts are such as we should expect from a sensible man, who well understands his subject, and are expressed, we need not say to those who are acquainted with other productions of the same pen, in a style of beautiful simplicity and force.

The following description of the effects naturally produced by a solemn remembrance of our Lord, is as just and natural, as it is touching.

'The bread which we eat, in partaking of his Supper, represents his body, which was broken on the cross; the wine which we drink, represents his blood, which was shed for the remission of sins. His death is thus forcibly impressed on our minds; the affecting circumstances which accompanied it, are vividly painted to our imagination; the unfeeling, traitorous disciple, who came in the dead of night, at the head of a band of ruffians, to seize him in the garden of Gethsemane; the false, malicious, frivolous testimony, upon which he was condemned; the indignities, blows, and tortures, which were heaped on him in the palace of the high priest; the infuriate multitude, thirsting for his blood, and clamoring for his crucifixion, in the judgment hall of Pilate; the awful scene of that ignominious death; the innocent sufferer, stretched upon the cross, between two thieves; the soldiers and the crowd below him, for the forgiveness of whom, even at that hour, he prayed; the exclamation of bitterness which nature would extort from him; his burning thirst; his dying words; the darkness; the earthquake; the dead, who had long slept, coming forth from their open graves into the world of living men; all these circumstances and events, connected with the last moments of him whose death we commemorate, pass in sad procession before us.

'But we cannot reflect on these mournful scenes, without also reflecting that they took place to serve one great end, which is our salvation. We do not think of our Master's death, without also thinking of the purposes for which he died. In the natural course of human sympathy, we are strongly affected by a review of his sufferings; but this is not all, our hearts are still more deeply touched, when we consider that it was for our sakes he bore them. We hasten from the cross to the tomb; where we are told, by two angels of light, that our Lord is not there, but IS RISEN! His ignominious crucifixion becomes closely united in our thoughts with his glorious resurrection; and our souls are lifted up to heaven, to which he has ascended, and the contemplation of God, to whose right hand he is exalted. The most lively gratitude is excited by the momentous and affecting truth, that Jesus labored thus incessantly, and suffered thus severely, to redeem us from the wretched slavery of sin, to lead us out from the thick shades of ignorance, and guide us to the path of safety and happiness; to furnish us with hopes and consolations, which should direct and animate our holy endeavours, support our fortitude in the trials of life, preserve us steadfast amid its changes, strengthen us under the burthen of its woes, heal our spirits when wounded, and our hearts when broken, wipe away our tears, hush our repinings, and lead us through all the vicissitudes of a fleeting world, to another and a brighter, which will never pass away.' pp. 36, 37.

We cannot conclude without earnestly recommending to those of our readers, who are kept back from the Lord's table by timid and groundless apprehensions, and indefinite scruples of conscience, the following forcible remarks on the proper qualifications of communicants.

'From the account which has been given of the nature, design, and efficacy of the Lord's Supper, it will also be easy to determine *the proper qualifications of communicants*. And here is the advantage of adhering closely to the scriptural relation. The divisions of our subject depend mutually on each other, and every question arising from it, is settled at once by reference to the supreme authority. WE MUST NOT LEAVE THE BIBLE. This is an exhortation which I cannot too frequently repeat; for I am sure that the scriptures will lead us to simple and satisfactory results on this subject, and that it has been by wandering from their guidance, that men have plunged themselves into so many disputes, doubts, superstitions, follies, and fears. If then we find, from the words of our Saviour, that his design in establishing this rite, was to keep alive the memory of his death and resurrection, and thereby to increase our faith, to give animation to our hopes, and strength and activity to our good resolutions, then it is certain, that they who feel a reverence for his character, a deep sense of the blessings, supports, assistances, and consolations, which he suffered and died to secure to sinful man, a cheerful disposition to receive him as their master, and an earnest desire to keep his precepts and obey his laws, are qualified to come to his table; are not only qualified, but invited, commanded, bound to come there. These conclusions are inevitable; there is no avoiding them; and he who professes to make the scriptures his rule of belief, must either admit them unreservedly, and conform his conduct to them, or suffer his conduct to contradict his convictions. I know that many people are deterred from approaching the communion by an idea that it demands a particular preparation, and imposes something like an ascetic rigor of manners and life. But there is not a word in the scriptures which countenances such an idea; there is not a word which implies that this rite is a seal of perfection, that it shuts and locks the door on the innocent gaieties and amusements of the world, or that it requires a way of life which is not equally required by all the motives and sanctions of religion. What can be more vain, indeed, than to talk of assuming new religious obligations?—a creature of God assuming new obligations! As if it were possible that any new obligations could be incurred by a mere assent of the individual; as if to have been formed and fashioned, nourished, supported, defended, enlightened, and blessed by a merciful Providence, were not a claim to the whole of our gratitude, service, and love. They who do not acknowledge this claim, cannot be addressed as Christians, and with such I have nothing to do; but to those who do acknowledge it, I would say, how can the nature of that claim be altered hereafter by a simple declaration of your own, by repeating a few words, or signing your name to a form of belief? Your present enjoyments are either innocent, or they are not; if they are, where do you learn that such enjoyments are forbidden? If they are not, where do you learn that you can pursue unlawful pleasure at any time, without manifesting ingratitude, and forfeiting the favor God?

'Nothing can be further from my intention, than to give an impression that the communion of the Supper is to be regarded as an indifferent, thoughtless celebration. After what I have said on the former divisions of the subject, as well as on this, it is unnecessary for me to assert, that I consider it as a solemnity of the most useful, serious, and affecting nature. But I also consider it as a means of promoting and confirming holiness, rather than as a necessary indication of extraordinary virtue, a token of monastic gloom and severity, and a terror to all the permitted delights and relaxations of existence.' pp. 39—41.

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3. **Principles of the Reformation.** A Sermon preached November 16, 1826, at the Dedication of the House of Public Worship of the First Congregational Society in Salem. By Charles W. Upham, Associate Pastor. Salem, W. Palfray, 1826, 8vo. pp. 62.

This sermon is recommended by the peculiar interest of the occasion upon which it was delivered, and by its intrinsic excellence and happy adaptation to the occasion. We have read it with unmingled satisfaction, and wish the information it contains, and the opinions and the spirit it expresses, to be extensively known. There was great felicity in the choice of a text for the dedication of a house, upon the spot where the first house for christian worship was erected in Massachusetts, and where the first ordination in New England took place. Ezra, v. 11. '*We* *are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago.'*

It appears that the house just completed, is the fourth that has been built upon the same spot. The date of the first is not ascertained; but it was enlarged in 1636. The second, a larger one, was erected in 1676. The society was accommodated with that till 1715, when the third house was built, which was taken down March 13, 1826, and replaced by the present edifice, the fourth in the succession, November 16, 1826.

We invite the attention of those who read this sermon, particularly to the important facts and statements, and the correct views expressed in that part of it which relates to the principles of our earliest American ancestors, and to the able discussions relative to the advancement of the reformation. The statements are made, and the discussions are conducted, in a liberal spirit and temperate manner, which we wish to see imitated. We could enrich our pages with extracts of great beauty and force, from these, and from the other topics of discourse. But we abstain from it, because we would not impair the value, which every portion of it derives from its connexion with the whole, by separating it from that connexion.

Besides the fine spirit that breathes in this discourse, and the just and liberal views, expressed with manly freedom, which it exhibits, it is accompanied with a body of very valuable notes; valuable for the rare and interesting historical information they communicate, and creditable to the diligence and taste of the author in its selection; as also for the aid which such information, thus brought together, will contribute toward the future ecclesiastical history of the country. This remark applies equally to the Appendix, containing a brief historical sketch of the first church in Salem. It is delightful and encouraging to see the best spirit of the Pilgrims, and the best part of their character, living in their descendants, upon the spot which they first consecrated to pure Christianity and the principles of religious freedom; and to know that the long line of distinguished worthies, from Higginson to Prince, is likely to continue, and to lose none of its lustre for one generation more.

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4. Observations on the Causes and Evils of War; its Unlawfulness; and the Means and Certainty of its Extinction: in a Series of Letters addressed to a Friend, by Thomas Thrush, late Captain in the Royal Navy; intended as an Apology for withdrawing Himself from the Naval Service. Part II. York, 1826.

5. A Letter addressed to the Editor of the Monthly Magazine, and to Editors

and Reviewers in General, on the Subject of the Unlawfulness of War. By Thomas Thrush, Author of a Letter to the King, &c. &c. York, 1826.

In a review* of Captain Thrush's Letter to the King, we have already borne cordial testimony to the honorable motives which have governed that gentleman in relation to the profession of war, and expressed our views on the prospects of the cause, of which he is so zealous and disinterested an advocate. In noticing the pamphlets now before us, which exhibit the same ability, and the same christian spirit with this author's former publications, our only object is, by giving a mere sketch of their contents, to induce our readers to examine them for themselves. The first makes the second of three Parts of a series of letters on the unlawfulness of war, and is employed, 1st, in refuting the arguments generally urged in its favor, and especially those of Porteus, Paley, and Montesquieu. Under this division of his subject, we apprehend, our author has fallen into several errors; but we can notice only one. He defends his position against the objection raised from Matt. x. 34,—'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword,'—by limiting the signification of επι τηv γηv, to the land of Judea, which, if the case required it, he might be fully justified in doing. But, we think, that by the 'sword' Christ came to send on the earth, is meant, not the sword of battle and of war, but the sword of the spirit, of controversy and contention; a sword, to be used, not, primarily, by nation against nation, but, as intimated in the next verse, by 'a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother.'

Under the first head too, we meet with a passage that is not a little curious.

> 'Though the writings of Machiavel have, by many, been much abused; yet, on the subject of war, and the military profession, his views appear more consonant with the precepts of Jesus, than those of the writers I have quoted. He says, "War being a profession by which men cannot live honorably at all times, it is not to be taken up as a trade, unless it be by a commonwealth or kingdom; and if they be well constituted, they will neither of them suffer any of their citizens or subjects, or any other good man, to make it his business; for he will never be thought a good man who takes upon him an employment by which, if he would reap any profit at any time, he is obliged to be false, and rapacious, and cruel, and to entertain several other qualities that are not consistent in a good man; nor can any man, great or small, who makes war his profession, be otherwise than vicious. Have you not a proverb which confirms what I say, that 'war makes thieves, and peace brings them to the gallows?' The same author observes, that Rome, whilst it was well governed, (which was till the time of the Gracchi,) had never any soldier who made it his profession to be so, by which means few of them were dissolute."' pp. 27, 28.

Our author, in the second place, refers to the practice of the early Christians in relation to war, and adduces, not only their conduct, but their written opinions, in confirmation of his doctrine. There is much interesting matter in this part of his pamphlet, which we regret we cannot transfer to our pages. He quotes, to the same purpose, the Nicene Fathers, Pope Leo of the fifth century, a synod held under William the Conqueror, the Patarines of Italy, the Waldenses, Albigenses, &c, of France, the Anabaptists, the early Socinians, and the Friends and Moravians.

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* See Vol. II. p. 378.

With the second pamphlet, we hardly know whether to be pleased or offended. The author falls out with the editor of the Monthly Magazine, for treating him with less courtesy than seriousness, and extends the effects of his displeasure to the whole fraternity. 'Believest thou the prophets?' is his motto; and, in the course of his letter, he recommends 'the perusal of the Bible, particularly the pages of the New Testament.'—'As long as Christianity,' he says, 'is the established religion of our country, a knowledge of the sacred book containing its precepts, seems not only useful, but necessary, to editors or reviewers.'—Again, 'I should conclude that expedience, not christian morality, is the compass you steer by.'—'You, like Celsus, take expedience for your pilot.' We need not ask, whether this is courteous. There is no room for doubt on that point. But its seriousness, we hope, may be questioned. As addressed to the editor of the Monthly Magazine, it may, for what we know, be all very well. But why to 'editors and reviewers in general?' What does Captain Thrush mean? Have 'editors and reviewers in general,' handled him precisely in the same way with him of the Monthly? Or is it his rule to castigate in anticipation of offences not yet committed? Or, finally, does he mean to exhibit the writhings of the poor culprit he has taken in the fact, as an example *in terrorem?* With the exception of one or two short paragraphs, there is not a line in the whole pamphlet, for which we can conceive of any possible reason for being addressed to a single other human being than the offender who called it forth. One of these paragraphs, however, we shall lay before our readers, not, we trust, because it so flatters our pride to see the humble editor coupled with princes, and even exalted above them, but simply for the real importance of the views it unfolds.

> 'Should it be asked what good the editors of periodical works can do towards the establishing of universal peace, as they possess no political power over nations; I answer that their power is over public opinion and morals. Let them, as occasions offer, inculcate those virtues which Christ taught, and deprecate those vices which he condemned. Let them also, as opportunity offers, expose the horrors, the crimes, and the folly of war; and they will aid the gospel, the great instrument of Omnipotence, in undermining the inhuman system, which has, for so many ages, deluged the world with blood; they will thus effect more than sovereigns, united in holy alliance, can accomplish by the

sword. They will effect more than princes, priests, or statesmen; for their influence extends to all these, and this influence must progressively increase with the growing influence of the press, and the power of both is daily extending with the extension of education. From the latter we may anticipate, that, in less than a century, there will be few men, even among those who are called the vulgar, who will not be able to distinguish between truth and error, between genuine Christianity and sophisticated theology. Then, in the language of prophecy, *all shall know the Lord.* If *knowledge is power*, what noble effects may we not expect from it; though slow in its operations, it is gradually changing the minds of men. It is now, and for ages past has been, working like leaven. Princes and editors may hasten or retard its operation, but the ultimate triumph of Christianity over false religions; of knowledge over ignorance; of truth over error; of virtue over vice; of humanity over cruelty; of peace over war; is guaranteed to us by the sure promises of JEHOVAH.'

We cannot conclude without thanking Captain Thrush for the copies of his pamphlets, which he has so kindly sent us, and for the pleasure with which one of them at least has been read.

6. The Christian Visitant; or Religious Miscellany. Vol. I. No. 1. For January and February. Boston, N. S. Simpkins & Co. 1827. 12mo. pp. 48.

THIS work, which is to appear once in two months, is designed 'to stand aloof from the area of polemic divinity,' and be wholly of a practical character. Controversy it leaves to other publications, taking it for its own single aim, 'to enforce those great truths, on which Christians are generally agreed.'

For able and interesting discussions of practical subjects, tracts deeply imbued with a serious and earnest piety, there is at the present time an importunate call. There is, moreover, a class of Christians in the community, a class of which every religious society contains some portion, whose opinions are either rooted too slightly to bear the shakings of controversial storms, or so firmly, that they regard them as idle or troublesome play. These naturally seek a shelter from the many winds of doctrine, or treat them, either as not worth their notice, or to be shunned as annoyances. Without feeling any particular regard for the latter description of persons, we certainly respect them more than the former, whose religious characters, we fear, will never exhibit that vigorous, healthy growth, which a greater exposure to rougher influences would insure them. But, while such persons exist, and we believe they will always be found in great numbers, there will be an urgent demand for works on 'neutral ground.' We regret it, to be sure; but, as it is unavoidable, we rejoice to see their spiritual culture provided for, and cannot but think the publication before us will be of great advantage to the community. It will act as a succession of practical religious tracts, and than these we know not any kind of publication with which it is more important the public should be ably supplied. With these views, we wish it all success. We doubt, however, of the practicability, as well as the desirableness, of conducting a work upon what all denominations will allow to be ‘ neutral ground.’ Let a Calvinist, in spite of all precautions, chance to hear a good Unitarian sermon ;—such a one as would make a most acceptable article for the Christian Visitant. He will admit it is all very good *as far as it goes*, but tell you that the sin of omitting is nearly, if not quite as great, as that of directly controverting ‘ *the peculiar doctrines of the gospel*,’ and thus the ground you expressly chose as neutral, is, in his view, thronged with the very circumstance of war. To us, on the other hand, a strictly practical work, a work ‘ to enforce those great truths, on which all Christians are generally agreed,’ is wholly and eminently a Unitarian work. Indeed, in our apprehension, it must be a Unitarian work. It must insist on Unitarian doctrines, and these only, for it can insist on no others. They are the only doctrines on which there is any thing like the shadow of an agreement among Christians. Indeed, there is Unitarianism in every sect of Christendom. For Unitarianism is pure Christianity, and without it there are no Christians. The Unitarian is a Christian, and no more. The Calvinist, or any other who calls any one his master besides Christ, and adds to the simple doctrines of Jesus, dogmas of his own,—is a Christian indeed, but he is a Christian and something more. We must repeat it, then, as Unitarians, that we regard this work with great interest, and wish it abundant success.

Intelligence.

Unitarian Chapels in England, Wales, and Scotland. (Continued and concluded from Vol. III. p. 515.)

ENGLAND, CONTINUED.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Alnwick.—North Shields. Orig. Trin.

Newcastle, Hanover Square. Orig. Trin.—In 1733, Dr Lawrence, who was minister here, removed to Monkwell Street, London, and was followed at Newcastle by Mr Rogerson, who, it is probable, opened the door for Arianism in this society. He died in 1769.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Mansfield. Orig. Trin.

Nottingham. Do. Endowment respectable. The change of sentiment took place about eighty years ago, when about thirty families withdrew, and united with the Independents.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Banbury. Orig. Trin.

SHROPSHIRE.

Oldbury, Shrewsbury, and Whitchurch, all originally Trin.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Bath. Orig. Trin.—Bridgewater. Do.—Crewkerne. Do.—Oakhill. Do.—Shepton Mallett. Do. The Unitarian minister of Oakhill preaches here occasionally. The endowment considerable.—Taunton. Orig. Trin. The endowments considerable, but chiefly by persons who were of liberal sentiments.

Yeovil. Orig. Trin. But rebuilt. The last Trinitarian minister was an M. D., named Lobb.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Coseley. Orig. Trin. Well endowed. Mr Small is the present minister.

Stone. Orig. Trin.

Newcastle-under-Line. The old meetinghouse was originally Trinitarian; but a new place of worship has been built in that neighbourhood by the Unitarians.

Tamworth. Orig. Trin.—Stafford. Orig. Trin. Vacant, and going to ruins.—Walsall. Orig. Trin. Mr. Bowen is the present minister.—Wolverhampton. Orig. Trin.

SUFFOLK.

Bury St Edmonds. Orig. Trin.—Framlingham. Orig. Trin.—Ipswich. Do.—Lowestoffe. Do. Said to be now Independent.—Palgrave. Orig. Trin.

SURRY.

Godalming. General Baptist. Modern.

SUSSEX.

Battle. Built about thirty years ago, by Trinitarians.—Brighton. Built by Unitarians.—Billinghurst. General Baptist. Orig. Trin.—Chichester. Orig. Trin.—Cuckfield. General Baptist.—Ditchling. Do.—Horsham. Do. Orig. Trin.—Lewes. Orig. Trin.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Alcester. Orig. Trin. Built about the year 1710.—Atherstone. Do.—Birmingham, Old Meeting, and New Meeting. Both originally Trinitarian. Rebuilt by the Arians, after the riots.

Coventry. Orig. Trin. Mr Tong, the biographer of Matthew Henry, was once the minister of this chapel.—Kenilworth. Orig.

Trin. This place is now in Chancery, at the instance of the Orthodox trustees, for the purpose of recovering it to the Trinitarian minority in the congregation.

Kingswood. Probably built by Arians, or Socinians.—Warwick. Orig. Trin.

WESTMORELAND.

Kendal. Orig. Trin.

WILTSHIRE.

Bradford. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Salisbury. Do. Endowed. Now used as a schoolroom by Wesleyan Methodists.—Trowbridge. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Warminster. Do.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Bromsgrove. Orig. Trin.—Cradley. Do.—Dudley. Do.—Evesham. Do.—Kidderminster. Built by the Unitarians.—Stourbridge. Orig. Trin.

YORKSHIRE. *West Riding.*

Bradford. Orig. Trin.—Doncaster. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Elland Chapel and School. Orig. Trin.—Halifax. Orig. Trin.—Lidget. Orig. Trin.—Leeds. Call-lane. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Leeds. Mill Hill. Orig. Trin. It was during the ministry of Mr Joseph Cappe, that the departure from Orthodoxy took place. Dr Priestley became minister of this chapel in the year 1767, and was followed in 1773, by Mr William Wood, who died in 1808.

Rotherham. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Selby. Orig. Trin. Endowed.—Sheffield. Orig. Trin. Endowed. From the year 1740, Mr Field Sylvester Wadsworth here assisted his father in the ministry. He had been a student at Dr Doddridge's academy, but withdrew, at the particular request of his tutor, on account of his having embraced the Arian hypothesis; and, from that time forwards, the society has been rising higher and higher towards the pure atmosphere of Unitarianism. Dr Priestley, then an Arian, (he became a Socinian while minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds,) was a candidate to succeed the younger Mr Wadsworth, who died at Sheffield, in 1758; but he was unsuccessful, not on account of *heterodoxy*, for, under the ministry of Mr Haynes and the younger Mr Wadsworth, the congregation had then most probably imbibed similar opinions, but on account of his imperfect delivery. Dr Phillips, we believe, is the present minister.

Stannington. Orig. Trin. The present minister is the Rev. Peter Wright, a Unitarian minister who lives in Sheffield, and keeps a school.

Thorne and Stainforth. The chapel at Thorne was built in 1816, and that at Stainforth in 1817. They are three miles distant from each other, and are supplied by the same minister. Richard Wright contributed much to the erection of these places, and they are the only Unitarian chapels in the county of York, which have not become so by a change from ancient opinions.

Wakefield. Orig. Trin.

YORKSHIRE. *North and East Ridings.*

Hull, Bowl Alley Lane Chapel. Orig. Trin.

There is also a Unitarian Baptist chapel in New Dock Street, which the congregation built or purchased.

Malton. Orig. Trin. The students of Mr Wellbeloved, of York, preach at the chapel, every alternate Sabbath, on Unitarian tenets. It is reported, that measures have been taken to secure the delivering up the chapel to the Unitarians, on the death or removal of Mr Bartlett, who holds the title deeds.

Whitby. Orig. Trin.

York. Orig. Trin. Liberally endowed. This chapel was erected in 1692, chiefly at the expense of Sarah, Lady Hewley; and Dr Thomas Colton, her chaplain, and afterwards her executor, was the first minister. During her life, she was a liberal benefactress to the poor, and especially to the poor persecuted ministers of the gospel; and, some time previously to her death, she devoted, by deeds of trust, the whole of what was originally her own property, to charitable and pious uses, the annual produce of which is said to amount to 4000*l*., and, by the astonishing prevalence of liberal opinions, is now principally employed for Unitarian purposes.

WALES. CAERMARTHENSHIRE.

Caermarthen. Orig. Trin.—Castle Howell. Do. Now a mixture of Arminians and Arians.—Llwyn-y-groes. Built by Unitarians.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

Capel-y-Groes. Capel-y-Stead. Built by Unitarians.—Pant-y-Defaid. Do.—Rhyd-y-Park. Orig. Trin.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Aberdore. Orig. Trin.—Blaen-y-gwrach. Do.—Bridgend. Do. The ministers were invariably of that persuasion until 1806.—Gellionen. Orig. Trin.—Merthyr Tydvil. Built by Unitarians.—Neath. Do.—Swansea. Orig. Trin. Mr Aubrey, the present minister, is a decided Unitarian, and the first of that denomination who has preached here. The endowment is from 70*l*. to 100*l*. per annum.

PEMBROKESHIRE.

Templeton. Orig. Trin.

SCOTLAND.

Dundee.—Edinburgh. There is a chapel in the metropolis, which was finished and first occupied about three years ago. It was built by the Unitarians themselves, and will accommodate from 300 to 400 sitters. There is, it is believed, no endowment. The number of hearers is not much above one hundred. A good many people attended Mr Fox's (of London) lectures on the tenets of the denomination, when the chapel was opened; but the effective impressions made, seem not to have been extensive.

Glasgow. The chapel in this city was built by the Unitarians. It is capable of accommodating 600 hearers, and was opened for public worship in 1812. Since the removal to this city of the Rev. George Harris, from Bolton, we understand that the congregation is very numerous.

Port Glasgow. Here is a chapel capable of accommodating 300 sitters. It is the upper part of a house, which was built for the purpose in 1821; the under part being divided into two small dwelling houses. The cost of the building was about 400*l.*, of which 220*l.* was raised by collections in England; the remainder being obtained partly by subscriptions in the place and neighbourhood, and partly by a loan on interest, from a member of the society. The congregation is quite small, and has, at present, no minister, with the exception of an occasional visit, from one or other of their preachers, for some time past.

Paisley. About ten years ago, the Unitarians of this place formed themselves into a 'building society,' into which any who chose were omitted, whether they professed Unitarian principles or not. Each subscriber, when his subscription amounted to one pound, was entitled to five *per cent.* interest *per annum;* and the shares were fixed at 20*l.* each. With the money thus collected, in the course of several years, the society built a house, a part of which is occupied as a Unitarian place of worship; the house consisting of two stories; the ground story being possessed as a dwelling house and the chapel; the church paying to the above society, for the use of the latter, ten pounds a year of rent. There is no endowment of any kind. The place will contain about 150 hearers; and the average number in attendance is between seventy and eighty.*

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* The volume from which the above account of Unitarian Chapels was taken, has but just been procured by the Editor of the Examiner, which, together with the indistinctness of his correspondent's handwriting, must be his apology for the literal errors found in Nos. V. and VI. of Vol. III. They will be seen, in every instance, to be such as might easily arise from the latter cause alone. The following it is perhaps enough to mention, without referring to the pages in which they occur. In No. V. Cullomp, for Collumpton; Lyne for Lyme; (Mr) Saumdercook for Sandercock; Walthamston for Walthamstow;

A Summary of the Chapels occupied by Unitarians in England, Wales, and Scotland.

ENGLAND.

Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.	Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.
Bedfordshire	0	0	Middlesex	3	1
Berkshire	0	0	Monmouthshire	0	1
Buckinghamshire	0	0	Norfolk	4	0
Cambridgeshire	1	0	Northamptonshire	0	2
Cheshire	12	2	Northumberlandshire	2	0
Cornwall	0	0	Nottinghamshire	2	0
Cumberland	0	0	Oxfordshire	1	0
Derbyshire	10	4	Rutlandshire	0	0
Devonshire	11	0	Shropshire	3	0
Dorsetshire	3	0	Somersetshire	7	0
Durham	1	1	Staffordshire	7	0
Essex	3	1	Suffolk	5	0
Gloucestershire	4	1	Surrey	0	1
Hampshire	3	1	Sussex	5	3
Herefordshire	0	0	Warwickshire	7	1
Hertfordshire	1	0	Westmorelandshire	1	0
Huntingdonshire	0	0	Wiltshire	4	0
Kent	8	0	Worcestershire	5	1
Lancashire	32	7	Yorkshire, W. R.	12	2
Leicestershire	4	0	Do. N. and E. R.	4	2
Lincolnshire	2	1			
London	3	5	Total in England	170	37

WALES.

Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.	Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.
Caermarthenshire	2	1	Pembrokeshire	1	0
Cardiganshire	0	3			
Glamorganshire	5	2	Total in Wales	8	6

SCOTLAND.

Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.	Counties, &c.	Orig. Trin.	Unit. Foun.
Edinburgh	0	1	Dudley and Paisley	0	2
Glasgow	0	1			
Port Glasgow	0	1	Total in Scotland	0	5

In all 178 of Trinitarian, and 48 of Unitarian Foundation.

(Mr) Der– for Denham; Teu– for Tenterden; Char– for Chorley; (Mr) King for Bealey; Rother– for Rotherham; Doblam for Doblane; Gatrane for Gateacre; (Mr) Ray for Ragland. In No. VI., Eules for Eccles; (Mr) Fermer for Fenner; (Mr) Smet– for Smithurst; (Mr) Pol– for Pilkington; Rossin– for Rossendale; Ash– for Astley; Au– for Awbrey; Ben– for Bealey; Sonell for Sorrell.

On page 434, Vol. III., in passing from one sheet of his manuscript to another, our correspondent omitted several lines. After the word died, in line 10th, it should read thus: 'in 1709. His successors, Joseph Manston and Ebenezer Hancock, were both orthodox. The latter died in 1757.

'Moreton Hampstead. Orig. Trin. The first minister, the Rev. Robert Woolcombe, was ejected in 1662, and died in 1692. His successor was Mr Angel, &c.'

Institutions in England under Unitarian control.—1. Manchester College, York. The Manchester College, which was removed to York, Sept. 1, 1803, is the only public seminary which the Unitarians possess for training up young men for the ministry. The present tutor is the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, who is assisted by several other teachers. The College is maintained partly by voluntary contributions and partly by exhibitions from charitable funds.

Previously to 1821, there were FORTY ministers educated at this College during the eighteen years preceding. Since that period, their average numbers have very considerably increased.

II. Dr Williams's Charities. Daniel Williams, D. D. was born at Wrexham, in Denbighshire, about 1644, and was among the very first young men who had the courage to identify themselves with those venerable confessors who had been ejected from their respective charges by the Act of Uniformity. He became, first, chaplain to the Countess of Meath, in Ireland, then, pastor of the Presbyterian Congregation, Wood Street, Dublin, and finally settled with a numerous congregation in Hand-Alley, Bishopsgate-Street, London. His death took place on Jan. 26, 1715—16, when he was about 73 years of age.

Dr Williams was a man of great abilities, and high respectability. He published some tracts against the Antinomians, of so decided a character, that he was accused of Socinianism, though the charge was never explicitly substantiated. Although a man of large estate, he observed great frugality in his expenses, that he might devote the principal part of his fortune to pious and benevolent purposes; and at his death he bequeathed his property, estimated at 50,000*l.*, to trustees for the following objects: viz.

1. *Missions to the Heathen and to Ireland*, which are no longer under the control of the Trustees.

2. *Exhibitions for Students to the University at Glasgow.* Eight students now receive 40*l.* each *per annum* while undergraduates, and 45*l.* *per annum* when graduates.

3. *A public Library for Dissenters.* The sum allowed by the Court of Chancery out of the Doctor's estates, not being enough to finish the building in Red Cross street, London, it was completed by the joint contributions of Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians.

4. *The establishment of Schools in Wales.*

5. *A fund to be applied to Miscellaneous Uses;* one fifth of which is expressly destined to such preachers, as are 'poor, orthodox, and *moderate*.'

6. *An Endowment to the Presbyterian Meetinghouses, at Wrexham and Burnham, Essex.*

It is a remarkable fact in the history of opinions, that while the original Trustees of this estate were composed of such men as Matthew Henry, Edmund Calamy, and Doctors Reynolds and Bates, the present list is nearly if not altogether Unitarian, presenting such names as Mr Belsham, Thomas Rees, E. Cogan, Mr Aspland, and the like.

III. Lady Hewley's Charity. Lady Sarah Hewley, the only child and heiress of Robert Woolwich Esq. Bencher, Gray's Inn, was born in 1627, and died 23d Aug. 1710, aged 83.

Sir John Hewley, Knight, her husband, represented the city of York in Parliament, in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678.

Lady Hewley left no child, brother, sister, nephew, or niece.

She was a woman of a highly religious character. She witnessed all the great struggles which took place in England, for civil and religious liberty, and was upwards of sixty years of age when the memorable revolution of 1688 took place. Her residence was partly in York, and partly in Bell Hall, four miles from that city. She relieved the necessities of several dissenting ministers, during their confinement in York castle, for Non-Conformity. She attended the Dissenting chapel in St Saviour's-gate, York, which had been erected and endowed chiefly by herself, and which is now occupied by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, a Unitarian Minister, and the Theological Tutor of the Unitarian Academy, York.

The following is a list of her charities, which are now entirely under the control of Unitarian Trustees.

1st. Nine poor widows or unmarried women, of the age of fifty years or upwards; and a sober, discreet, and pious poor man who might be fit to pray with them twice a day. The yearly sum of 60*l*. was to be distributed among them, and an allowance of money for catechisms; and the alms houses in Tanner Row, were to be occupied by them.

2d. The relief of poor godly preachers of the gospel.

3d. The relief of poor widows of poor and godly preachers of the gospel.

4th. For encouraging the preaching of the gospel in poor places.

5th. Exhibitions for educating young men for the ministry or preaching of the gospel, not exceeding five such young men.

6th. For relieving godly persons in distress.

Unitarianism in Pennsylvania. On Sunday, February 4th., a house was dedicated to the purposes of Unitarian worship in

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In the morning the Rev. Mr Walker of Charlestown preached a sermon from Num. xxii. 18; 'If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord,' &c. It was employed in answering the objection to Unitarianism, *that it is well as far as it goes, but that it does not go far enough;* and showed that it goes as far as the scriptures, far enough for safety, and far enough for moral effect. In the evening, Rev. Mr Furness of Philadelphia preached from 1 Cor. x. 15; 'I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.' The object of the sermon was to show that Unitarians are justified in the use they make of reason in the interpretation of scripture. The audiences collected consisted of between four and five hundred, and manifested great interest in the occasion Although this establishment is principally the work of a few individuals, we regard it as of great importance to the Unitarian cause. The manner in which the services of Messrs Walker and Furness were received, both on the day of dedication and on subsequent occasions, shows that there is in that section of our country a readiness to hear, and Harrisburg, being the seat of government, affords an opportunity of announcing our doctrines to the most intelligent portions of the population collected from all quarters of the state. We earnestly hope that a society will soon be gathered there under the care of a zealous and able minister. But if no good is effected for some time, except the obtaining of preaching while the Legislature is in session, the labors of the public spirited individuals, we have mentioned, will not, we are persuaded, have been in vain.

Peace Society, In the month of April last, a Peace Society was instituted under happy auspices in Windham County, Connecticut. A pamphlet giving an account of its institution, sentiments, and purposes has been published. The officers of the Society are THOMAS HUBBARD, M. D. of Pomfret, *President;* GEORGE BENSON, ESQ. of Brooklyn, SAMUEL PERKINS, ESQ. of Windham, *Vice Presidents;* REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Brooklyn, *Corresponding Secretary;* REV. AMBROSE EDSON, of Brooklyn, *Recording Secretary,* and THOMAS HUNTINGTON, M. D. *Treasurer.* In the same pamphlet are several valuable essays 'on the Origin and Prevalence of War;'—'the Crimes and Calamities of War;'—'the Incompatibility of War with Christianity;'—'the Design and Plan of Peace Societies,' and the circumstances favorable to their objects. Let no one say that such associations are useless, while they call together and engage in a common cause, those of different religious sentiments, who, in the present state of theological parties, are so much in danger of forgetting that they are brethren, and serve a common master.

Spirit of Orthodoxy. 'The following interesting letter,' says the Oriental Miscellany for October, 1825, printed at Calcutta, 'addressed by the Society of Enquiry on Missions, in America, to the Rev. ——, was received a few days since.' It bears the signature of '*John Y. P. Nevin*, Fourth Corresponding Secretary of the Society.' The following is a part of the introductory paragraph, of which it is difficult to say which is worse, the taste or spirit it displays.

> 'Our Institution is, in respect to number, in a very flourishing condition. Our catalogue for the present year contains 10[illegible] names of students, and three of reverend and able professors. Perhaps a Theological Seminary should not ever contain a greater body within its walls, as there are certainly many inconveniences and many dangers to be apprehended from very extensive establishments, to which those of more moderate stature are not equally liable. Our elder sister at Andover continues to flourish, holding fast the name and maintaining the faith of our Lord, hard by the Synagogue of Satan. Her last catalogue reckons 122 students. We have also a sister, *a little sister*, at Auburn in the state of New York, fast climbing to full-breasted maturity, and promising speedily to equal if not to outstrip our utmost measure of growth. Already her catalogue of students displays 40 names. Although, according to our own peculiar ideas of external beauty, we cannot avoid in the general, to imagine some little irregularity of features, and some little defect of genuine symmetry in the visage of these our senior and junior sisters, yet we do bear them a most particular affection, for on the whole their outward resemblance is fairer in our eyes, than all the beauty of the daughters of Jerusalem; while we trust they are 'all glorious within' and beautiful as Tirzah. It becomes us therefore on this account, even to esteem them better than ourselves, for if we have any comeliness at all of this latter and better sort, we feel it is "black as the tents of Kedar, and as the curtains of Solomon."'

Who is this *John Y. P. Nevin?* He writes from Princeton, we suppose, and it needs not be said that by the 'Synagogue of Satan' he intends Harvard University. We esteem him fortunate that we have no room to give him the chastisement he deserves.

Calcutta Pamphlets. We have been obligingly furnished with a large number of pamphlets printed at Calcutta and received here by the last arrival from India. It is with extreme regret that we defer giving an account of them to our next number. But we have already considerably transgressed our limits, and have no time left for furnishing another sheet.

THE

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Miscellany.

REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

[From the *Revue Encyclopédique.* M. Sismondi's third and last article. For the two first, see above, pp. 1—25.]

We have endeavoured to show the progress of religious opinions from the beginning of this century, among the people and with the clergy of the Catholic church. It has appeared to us, that on the one hand, a new zeal has animated the faithful and led them to unite in bonds of charity and piety; that on the other hand, the priests, mistaking the fervor which they observed in their flocks, believed the moment favorable for preaching both submission and intolerance; that this contrariety between the spirit of the clergy and that of the people, had arrested the progress of religious opinions and might perhaps compel them to become retrograde.

But in order to judge of the religious movement of this century, it is proper now to turn our attention to the Protestant church, which is agitated in its turn by a similar fermentation. There, too, we shall find a great increase of fervor in the people, and an effort among the heads of certain churches to gain from this fervor, submission of conscience and intolerance of dissenting opinions. Meanwhile, the Protestant clergy, constituted in a very different manner from the Catholic, for the most part enter very little into this contest; and the principles of the reformation being diametrically opposed to intolerance and the subjection of reason, those who dogmatise in this church, far from producing unity by their labors, only multiply dissenting opinions, and thus render more necessary that mutual toleration against which they contend.

The Protestants have not always well understood their own system. They have not always felt that the independence of individual opinions, was the essence of their church. They have not always given up the hope of a uniformity of faith, and they have sometimes appeared embarrassed, when reproached with the inconsistency and number of dissenting opinions found among them. Even to the present time, one half of the Protestants, persisting in the same error, contend for unity of doctrines, though with little chance of obtaining it, since each one seeks this unity in a different system.

We ought not to be astonished at this proneness in every man who thinks and reflects, to subject all others to his own opinion. It is the inevitable result of our faculties. The resistance of others to that which seems to us to be evidence, shocks us. At first it appears to be stupidity, then obstinacy and insincerity. Besides, as opinions which affect the interests of this world are the motives of our actions, when those of the men around us are in opposition to our own, they alarm us. We expect that the application of their principles will disturb our interests, and endanger or destroy what is most dear to us. The republican would destroy the monarchy to which we are sincerely attached, or the royalist would destroy republican institutions. Opinions leading naturally to actions which would change the very essence of that to which they relate, ought certainly to be reputed dangerous.

Religious opinions have not the same consequences. Man can never change by his belief that which exists eternally. But however obvious this difference, it has perhaps never been remarked. The world of spirits is more independent of us than the arch of the heavens, which we may measure, but cannot act upon. Let an astronomer adopt the system of Copernicus, or that of Ptolemy, he will not change the real movement of the heavenly bodies. Let a blind man deny the existence of the sun, he will not extinguish its light. Still less can our feeble thoughts and feeble words change the essence of God.

There is undoubtedly in religions something besides those doctrines, on the reality of which our faith can have no influence. There are moral precepts, more or less pure or corrupt, which, by giving a right or wrong direction to our actions, may most seriously affect our interests. Those precepts may give occasion to the gravest controversies; but it is not upon them that sects have divided. They have frequently calumniated each other as to their moral conduct; but anathemas have never been hurled at their maxims of morality, precisely because these can only be discussed and judged by the aid of reason. In the preaching of a new faith, there may be something to endanger the credit, the riches, the power of the priests of the old faith. They may be alarmed about their temporal interests; but then they must not tell us that they defend God, that they avenge God, when they think only of themselves. Those articles of faith that have given birth to controversies, turn wholly on the mysteries of religion; they have no influence on the essence of things; they do not endanger God; they cannot offend Him.

These controverted points are as inscrutable to us, as they are inoffensive to God. The fundamental notions about the Divinity, those on which the religions of all civilized nations agree, such as his omnipresence, his omnipotence, his omniscience, so far exceed the measure of our ideas, that we have only confused and contradictory conceptions about them, which we constantly deny in our language; as, for example, when we place God in heaven. Nothing is more evident than that our desire of knowledge leads us incessantly to the scrutiny of this great mystery of the universe. But as soon as we compare the immensity of the subject with the weakness of our intellect, we ought to be sensible that each man must form a different idea, proportioned to his faculties and varying according to their measure; that though he may repeat the same words to express this mystery, still he will mentally explain these words in a different manner.

The christian revelation, in teaching men what they ought to do to render themselves worthy of God, has refrained from explaining to them what they could not comprehend about the nature of God and his relations to man. But Christians are not contented with this silence. From the earliest ages they have raised their eyes to the world of spirits to explain it, and they have proclaimed dogmas, according as they have interpreted scripture more or less subtly. The Catholic church makes her excellence consist in the uniformity she maintains in the inculcation of these dogmas. Her experience during eighteen centuries, ought, however, to have convinced men of the impossibility of making them think and believe alike upon a subject so very far above their thoughts. She has maintained the uniformity of her doctrines only by casting from her bosom, when she was weak or indulgent, all those who departed from her rule of faith, and punishing them even to death, when she was strong or cruel. It is from the midst of the Catholic church that all heresies have sprung, and they may be counted by thousands. She has not, then, preserved her children from those diversities of faith with which she reproaches other churches. She has only disowned them when they used their faculties to examine her dogmas.

Jesus Christ spoke to men with divine authority; but men were curious to know who Jesus Christ himself was, and how it was that his authority was identified with that of the Divinity. Hundreds of hypotheses were offered by very ingenious men, who all rested on the scriptures, which each one interpreted in his own way,—who were all, probably, sincere, since they courageously endured persecutions and punishments for their opinions. All called themselves Catholics; all were so in effect, till the moment when the temporal authority, which had fluctuated between these opposite opinions, decided for one of them, and persecuted the rest. But after the divine nature of Christ had been proclaimed by the conquering party, questions more and more abstruse, presented themselves to the Catholic doctors; such as the union of the divine with the human nature, the union of two wills in the same being. Every doubt divided the church. Every decision rejected from her bosom a portion of the faithful. This continual rise of new heresies, which was nothing but the successive examination, by Catholic doctors, of all the superhuman questions on which the subtilty of the mind could be exercised, continued till the last century and the birth of Jansenism. But the sects which have been one after another thrown out of the Catholic church, and outlawed both by the civilized world and the temporal power, have nearly all perished, except the reformers, who, in the sixteenth century, found civilized temporal power to protect them, and the Jansenists, who, though condemned by the church and without temporal protection, could not, on account of the change of our manners, be destroyed by fire and sword.

Habit arrests and enchains the boldest minds. The reformers, after having raised a controversy about a particular dogma, rightly refused to submit to the authority of the church that condemned them, as had been refused by all other sectaries, perhaps without exception, who, born in the bosom of the Catholic church, had been successively rejected by her. But the reformers remained as stedfastly attached to uniformity of faith as ever. They still reverenced every judgment the church had passed on those points which they themselves did not controvert. They still repeated all the anathemas pronounced by the Catholics against the opinions formerly discussed in that church, and it was by a fatal consequence of the prejudices in which he had been brought up, and of which but the smallest part had been dissipated, that Calvin caused Servetus to be burnt.

But the reformers were obliged, as all controvertists should be, to appeal from the authority of the church to private judgment; and from the examination, to which each of their disciples devoted himself, and which has been prolonged for three centuries, another reform has proceeded, far more important than that which they fancied they had accomplished. The first reformers wished that every one should see for himself, and judge for himself, but at the same time believe with them. They pretended to the right of guarding the purity of the faith, of excluding or punishing dissenters, of preparing confessions of faith, which they caused all members of the clergy to sign, and of inserting in them anathemas against those who did not think as they did. The reformed, called to judge for themselves, reviewed all those doctrines which the successive condemnation of heresies had incorporated into orthodoxy, and they divided on each particular. There were really then as many modifications of belief as there were individuals. It has been often said that it is impossible to find two leaves precisely alike on the same tree. Can it be imagined then, that there should be found two souls exactly similar in the whole race of men? Yet it is with all our soul that we form our faith; our intelligence, our imagination, our sensibility, our memory, are all in requisition. There is not one of these faculties that does not modify, in its own way, the objects perceived by it.

The toleration of dissenting opinions, the inevitable consequence of the right of examination, was tacitly established in all Protestant churches during the last century. In England, where the clergy formed a most powerful body, invested with great political prerogatives, and retaining an organization nearly the same as that of the Catholic clergy, the English church evinced the greatest fondness for her confessions of faith, and thus forced all dissenters to separate and form as many little independent churches as they discovered modifications of belief. But the liberty guaranteed to the English by their laws allowing them to discuss their opinions publicly, every dispute gave rise to new divergencies even in the bosom of the minor churches, and opinions were thus even far more multiplied than sects. Thus some of the members of the English church, which alone had a fixed liturgy, began to refuse subscription to the confession of thirtynine articles, and others to retrench from the liturgy, the creed of Athanasius, and that of the Nicene fathers, or those phrases of the litany which were opposed to their personal opinions.

On the continent, the liberty of examination was exercised in the bosom of the reformed church without causing schism. It there seems to have been understood, very early, that religion did not consist in divining the secrets of the universe. The Genevan church, from the year 1705, put an end to the custom of making all their clergy sign the same confession of faith. From the moment that anathemas were no longer pronounced against certain opinions, the professors of them ceased to maintain them with violence, were gently withdrawn from the dominion of faith into that of philosophy, and, though each man fancied he modified his opinions in conformity with his own inclinations, so far from new sects springing up, the three churches of the first reformers, Luther, Zuingle, and Calvin, tended, rapidly, to melt into one.

Affairs were in this position when the French revolution astonished and shook all Christendom. The revolution, under a religious point of view, was absolutely foreign to Protestantism. Directed against the priesthood, it appeared most violent where the yoke of the priesthood was most galling. In destroying abuses, it persecuted individuals; it attacked religion itself, and denied every belief most consolatory to man. But at the height of its violence, in spite of the support that government and arms gave to its maxims, it made no progress among the Protestants. In Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, religious worship was never suspended, even in the presence of the French armies; the pastors had lost nothing of their credit, and the number of unbelievers, always very small in this communion, was not augmented.

Nevertheless, the attacks of the French terrorists upon the fundamental principles of all religion, had scandalized the Protestants as well as the Catholics. They [the Protestants] reanimated the zeal and excited the reaction of which we are now experiencing the effects. It was faith which the revolutionists attacked, and they separated it from moral precepts. It was faith for which the new preachers of Christianity declared, and, in order to distinguish themselves from the revolutionists, they raised it above moral precepts, and professed, with redoubled zeal, the doctrine, that it is faith which saves; that it is in purity of faith that Christianity wholly consists.

It now became difficult to decide what the faith of the Protestant church was. Every theologian, often every single believer, had considered questions of doctrine under a particular point of view. Controversy had ceased, but religious instruction and preaching had continued to develope independent opinions. To present the faith of Protestants as one body of doctrine, it would be necessary to resume all the questions controverted in the Romish church, from the first heresy she had condemned to the last. It would be necessary to represent, by intelligible words, such as could bear examination and discussion, all those mysteries, which for a century have been permitted to repose in obscurity, and which have never been found necessary to sustain the piety of the faithful. The zeal of those who wish thus to reform, or rather to make reform recede, shows itself eager for sacrifices. The Protestant church, not admiting the practices designed to mortify the flesh, mortified the spirit. They thought to render themselves most acceptable to God by adopting the faith most revolting to their reason. At the same time, they permitted themselves to be guided by the confessions of faith adopted by the first reformers; they resumed them in all their force, and, eagerly submitting themselves to authority, those very persons who neither recognise that of popes, nor of councils, regarded that of Calvin and his first disciples as decisive.

From the epoch at which Voltaire's writings were in greatest vogue, we have seen springing up among the Protestants, and multiplying during the storms of the revolution, new teachers, who, offering themselves as defenders of the faith, demanded of their hearers the most absolute submission of their consciences, and the renunciation of their reason. Some formed alliance with theologians, who were born Catholics, but who tacitly separated themselves from their church; these were the Martinists, who fancied they had reopened a mysterious communication between superior spirits and men, and the Quietists, disciples of Fenelon and Madame Guyon, who almost worshipped the memory of the latter. They multiplied in Switzerland, before the peace, so as to form a very active and quite numerous congregation. Others attached themselves to the obscure reveries of the old German enthusiasts, such as Jacob Boehmen and Swedenborg, and commented on them as a second revelation. The subtle metaphysics which at the same time had taken possession of the German schools, contributed to diffuse this cloudy mysticism throughout Protestant Germany. Others, in fine, struggled to lead back the reform to the doctrines of Calvin. They attached themselves above all to his profession of faith concerning the union of two natures in Christ, the efficacy of his sacrifice, and the doctrine of grace. These doctrines prevailed most in England, and imparted new ardor to the sect of the Methodists.

The doctrines of the new apostles who were endeavouring to convert those Protestants whom they called lukewarm, were, then, by no means identical. But all were governed by the same principle ; to believe much and examine little. When they met together, the English leaders had a great advantage over the others, from a habit, acquired in a free country, of acting in concert, and of forming rich and well organized associations to direct their efforts. The Bible Society, though formed among Christians of every faith, very soon fell under their influence and seconded them powerfully. Other societies were formed to send missions to Protestant countries. Subscriptions were filled with a profusion rarely seen except in England. Preachers favorable to the new opinions were richly paid, and charged with the distribution of abundant charities to the poor, who entrusted them with the care of their souls. Sectarian books were gratuitously distributed wherever they would be received. In England, where the right of naming pastors is a venal property, all the presentations to livings which could be purchased, were bought by the methodists ; and it is easy to perceive what a prodigious influence money might exercise on public opinion, without the supposition that the converts sold their consciences.

Protestant missionaries labor at the present time in France and throughout Europe, side by side with Catholic missionaries. They do not aim at the same object ; they have not a powerful and organized church ; they have not a political design ; neither do they dream of combining in their own hands all the powers of society. The majority of them do not even belong to the clergy ; they are men of the world, men of letters, oftentimes women, who labor to disseminate their opinions with all the fervor of new converts. But these opinions are not on this account the less exclusive. They arrogate no less than the Jesuits, the right to prescribe to men what they ought to believe. They demand no less than they, the sacrifice of human reason to divine faith; and, as they have no power, as they cannot claim to have been religious instructers for centuries, and as they do not affect to be inspired, their pretensions are perhaps on that account the more offensive to those whom they would indoctrinate.

In truth, it is difficult to explain the presumption of these prophets, self appointed to their mission. Many among them are upon every other subject modest and doubting; they respect the science and philosophy of men whose faith, from their high exaltation, they condemn. But what is their light; what are their titles; what proofs have they given of the superiority of their understandings? Certainly no human knowledge can enable us to comprehend the Divinity or his relations to man; yet, if they are Protestants, they must seek for truth in the holy scriptures alone. Can they reply that they understand better than others these scriptures, which are appealed to by thousands of sects, and always accommodated to the particular interpretation of each? Have they studied them in their original languages? Do they know the history of their variations, of the passages suspected of interpolation, of the different interpretations that have been given to them? Have they compared the different versions? Have they taken each heresy at its birth, examined the controversy to which it gave rise, and judged anew the question on which other churches than their own have passed judgment? They will not reply, but we will boldly answer for them, that they have done nothing of all this; for those who have devoted most time and care to such studies, have only demonstrated thereby, and sometimes even against their own feelings, that these high questions must remain undecided.

It is well known that a German baroness, who has placed herself at the head of the most enthusiastic of the evangelical sects, and who has exercised a remarkable influence over men of power and even over sovereigns, imagines herself endowed with supernatural powers; that she claims to have seen apparitions, and to have had revelations, and that it is in virtue of these reveries of a disordered brain that she demands faith in her words. But Madame de Krudner was probably sincere in this illusion. He who fosters these ecstacies is soon transported into an imaginary world where he loses the faculty of distinguishing the visions of this kind of fever, from those which are transmitted by his eyes. In admitting this first deception of which she was herself the dupe, the conduct of Madame de Krudner has been far more honest, far more modest than that of many great ladies, who do not believe themselves inspired, and who nevertheless preach, and decide upon, and condemn opinions, which it does not belong to man to fathom.

In the midst of this new fermentation of religious ideas, the Protestant clergy have in general conducted themselves with much wisdom and prudence. They have abstained, as far as they were able, from declaring themselves in the controversies, and they have given an example of toleration and mutual support. The English clergy, it is true, are more attached than all others to orthodoxy and confessions of faith; yet they could not avoid dividing themselves among the dissenting opinions. It is observable that the curates manifest a great repugnance to permit the ecclesiastics, their brethren and neighbours, to preach in their pulpits; fearing, say they, that they might turn their parishioners from the pure doctrines they teach them; as if they could perceive by any sign, that their doctrine is more pure than their brethren's. At the same time, the heads of the clergy look with an evil eye on this new impulse given to religious zeal by others than ecclesiastics. They are alarmed at this usurpation of their attributes, and the archbishop of Canterbury has recently manifested his opposition to Bible Societies, and is seconded in this step by the most ardent champions of the English church.

In the Protestant churches of Germany, the philosophical spirit of distinguished biblical critics has appeared in opposition to the enthusiastic spirit of some new schools; but their controversy itself attests the freedom and division of opinions. The evangelical churches of the countries of the Rhine, have resolved, by their act of union, to take the holy scriptures as the only basis of theological instruction, thus setting aside every creed; and this resolution was confirmed, after a new deliberation, in the month of November, 1825, by the third general synod of the Rhino-Bavarian Protestant church. In Switzerland, the clergy began by showing a bitter zeal for orthodoxy; but, soon finding themselves surpassed by the new-lights who pretended to be more orthodox than they, and feeling themselves soured by controversy, which is irritating in proportion to its unreasonableness, they lost discretion and support, and provoked a resolution of the state council of the Canton de Vaud, of the fifteenth of January, 1824, against the evangelical Christians, designated in this resolution by the name of *momiers*, which cannot but be a source of regret to the friends of religious liberty.

In fine, the Genevan church has at the same time given a noble example of respect for every religious opinion, and efforts to establish concord among Christians of every denomination. It has been warmly attacked; but that it might not envenom disputes, it has abstained from defending itself. It has regarded every belief, when sincerely embraced, as deserving respect. It has imparted to its pastors a sentiment of charity, humility, and peace, which makes them avoid in their pulpits all controversy with the Catholic church, every word of condemnation, all anathemas, every accusation of heresy that might interrupt the edification of their hearers of whatever faith. It has, in like manner, by its regulation of the third of May, 1817, interdicted its members from discussing in the pulpits of the canton, those questions which are the present subjects of controversy in the bosom of the Protestant church;—that is to say, those which relate to the two natures of Jesus Christ, to original sin, to grace and predestination; but without in any way interfering with their opinions or their right to develope them in their writings.*

At the same time that the Genevan Company of Pastors thus unite in their practice the most perfect toleration with a charitable attention to the suppression of controversies, that they may not disturb the edification of believers, several of its members have published, with at least the tacit consent of the body, writings that may be received as the true profession of the faith of the reformation, the only one that accords with that liberty of examination which constitutes the essence of the Protestant church, and that independence of individual belief which is its necessary consequence.

From among these writings, which all deserve the serious attention of the religious philosopher, we confine ourselves to the most recent,† as containing a young minister's representation of what is actually taught in the theological school at Geneva. M.

[* Our readers will find much light thrown upon this part of M. Sismondi's subject, by the article on Geneva in the last number of the Christian Examiner.]

† On the Use of Confessions of Faith in Reformed Communions. By *Etienne* CHASTEL. Geneva, 1823.

Chastel begins by maintaining, 'that the doctrines of Christianity may be divided into two classes. The first are received anterior to the interpretation of the gospel, and without them there is no Christianity. These are the doctrines of the existence of God, of the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and of the inspiration of the sacred writers. We shall call them *primitive*. The second are derived from some determinate interpretation of the gospel after it has been accepted as the rule of faith.––We shall call these the doctrines of interpretation.

'On the primitive doctrines, all Christians are agreed; for they would cease to call themselves Christians if they denied God, Jesus Christ, or the sacred scriptures. On the doctrines of interpretation the Catholics are equally agreed, because they attribute to their church infallibility and the right of determining the true sense of scripture. But the reformers, in separating themselves from the Romish church, have adopted the following principles; that the word of God is the only rule of our faith; that no one on earth being infallible, no one has a right to impose a determinate interpretation upon scripture, but that every Christian is free to adopt that which may appear to him best. In virtue of these principles, and interpreting scripture each in his own way, they will extract from it different articles of faith. They will agree on the primitive doctrines and differ on those of interpretation.'*

The author passes from these principles to the history of confessions of faith. He shows that they did not become obligatory till the third century of Christianity; that so far from establishing unity of faith, they have produced discussion and division on questions least possible to be solved; that they have multiplied heresies; that, in fine, they are not less opposed to christian charity than to the right of private judgment, the basis of the reformation. He goes farther. He would banish uniformity of instruction in seminaries, in order that he who proposes to instruct others, may himself become acquainted with every faith, and be better qualified to choose the best.†

'A Christian,' says he, 'convinced that he is liable to error, will never force his sentiments on others; above all, if he imagines that salvation depends on faith. He would fear, it seems to me, that he might be the cause of their eternal damnation. He will be reluctant to repel from his communion men who may, as he himself confesses, think more justly than he does; men whom perhaps Jesus prefers to him. He will always respect the sentiments of his brethren ; he will never treat them as heretics, he will never hate them, never reject them for their faith.'*

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* On the Use of Confessions of Faith, p. 2.

† Ibid. p. 52.

Never was an appeal made to religious men in a spirit of more excellent christian charity, or greater reciprocal toleration. The Genevan clergy address themselves to all who believe in God. 'We refuse,' say they, 'to recognise for Christians those only who themselves refuse to take the title. If you acknowledge Christ and the scriptures, we acknowledge you for Christians and brethren. We do not require of you to renounce a particle of your faith or doctrines, but only not to impose them on us.'

The fermentation which we have observed in various parts of the Protestant church, the zeal for proselytism which animates the new leaders, certainly do not accord with these pacific invitations. Yet, by a different path, these missionaries will arrive at the same end. Many errors, many fantastical doctrines are taught us with a confidence that seems to declare to us, that those who wish to command our faith, secretly believe they are inspired of God. But, as all have acquired a right to speak, as they contradict one another, as they are obliged to enforce conviction with arguments, not punishments, discussion is maintained on all topics. Historical criticism is better studied, and gains in profoundness and extent. Sects divide, individual opinions are constantly becoming more independent, and very soon every one must respect the sincerity of his opponent, and acknowledge the impossibility of proving to men that which is beyond their comprehension.

In the same production, the Genevan church offers to the Catholics themselves, a friendly hand. It is thus it ends. 'All Protestants, whatever may be their mode of interpreting the holy scriptures, should consider themselves as members of the same christian church ; banish from among them anathemas, schisms, disputes ; regard and cherish one another as all brethren in Christ. As to the Catholics, if we repel them from our communion, it is neither for their dogmas, nor their rites. It is for the spirit of intolerance which their church professes ; it is for their submission to human authority ; it is because they serve two masters, and we can serve but one. For the rest, we profess for them the most perfect toleration, the sincerest charity, the most lively desire to see ourselves, at some future day, so reunited to them that there may be, according to the views of our Saviour, but 'one flock and one shepherd.'*

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* On the Use of Confessions of Faith, p. 81.

Thus, there are no more reproaches of error or idolatry which the one class of Christians can utter against the other. There is even no more accusation of error; for the Protestant church acknowledges she may herself be deceived. It is liberty of thought alone that she strives for, since the Catholic has renounced it for herself. An abyss, formerly separated the two communions; but now there is only a boundary line between them; and we think we may augur, from this review of religious opinions in the two divisions of the church, that this boundary line itself will not long be regarded as dividing the heritage of brethren at variance.

ON A REGULAR ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

SIR,

I WISH to offer some thoughts to your readers on the subject of a regular attendance at Church, and to discuss some of the objections that are commonly made to this duty.

The propriety and expediency of public worship, I shall take for granted. I shall say nothing of the abstract fitness of devoutly contemplating, reverencing, and loving our Maker, which is worship; or, of the evident propriety of making this a social service, of rendering united gratitude for blessings experienced alike by all, and a common adoration to the universal Father. I need not speak of the manifest advantages of public worship; intellectual, social, religious advantages;—of its intellectual advantages; its tendency, when rightly conducted, to improve the mind of the community; its being but a higher school for intellectual culture, and its needful power to counteract the narrowing and depressing influences of business and labor;—of its tendency, again, to improve the social character, by the opportunities of mutual acquaintance, which it furnishes, at least by marking out and familiarizing each other's countenances and making us known to each other; by its lessening the power also of adventitious distinctions, and causing men to feel that their great interests are common;—of the tendency of public worship, in fine, and above all, to keep alive the sentiments of religion; to revive, and quicken, and exalt the emotions of piety; to strengthen the feeble in virtue; to raise up them that are bowed down with affliction; to soften the obdurate and reclaim the wandering, and to prepare men for their great and spiritual destination. The justness of these views of public worship, I suppose, will not be questioned among us, since it is from some or all of these views, that we pay any regard to the institution.

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* 'On the Use of Confessions of Faith, p. 106.

I shall therefore proceed, at once, to consider the principles and the rules, by which we should regulate the degree of our attention to it.

The duty of a regular attendance at church, has been commonly urged upon us from the *pulpit*, and I desire it to be remembered, in the first place, that this circumstance has been decidedly unfavorable to the influence of the argument. It has always been felt that the preacher had personal and peculiar reasons for urging this duty; that it was therefore not so much a general interest which was involved, as his own particular interest, and that his concern in the subject was not likely to be the most spiritual and pure. It has seemed, perhaps, as if his pride was enlisted in the matter more than his benevolence; and it has appeared quite natural, indeed, that after having labored all the week to prepare for the sabbath, and after having found, during one part or other of the day, or during any little inclemency of the weather, many vacant seats at church, for which neither the thinness of the parish, nor the sickness of its members would account—it has appeared quite natural, I say, that the feelings of the preacher should be tried in such a case; that he should even be depressed or mortified by it. And the suspicion has therefore very naturally grown up, that he was in danger of not making the proper allowances; that his views and representations were liable to be not quite reasonable, moderate, and fair.

Now what I am anxious to state, is, that however much, or however little of this may be true, it is nothing at all to the question before us. There is a duty in regard to public worship, which is entirely independent of the feelings of any one.

And while I surrender on the part of the clergy, all claim to be particularly considered in this case, I may at least demand that the merits of the case itself, shall be fully estimated by the community. I wish, in short, to place this subject on its original and proper basis; and I take it to be this.—Public worship implies a social compact. We unite in it, we unite to promote it as an institution, because we believe that it is consonant with the will of God, because we believe that it is useful to ourselves and our children, and useful to the community at large. We are therefore obviously bound to promote this institution by as much as we hold it to be valuable. But it is equally obvious, that the principal and especial method of promoting it, is by giving our personal attendance. Without this there can be no worship offered by the community as such; that is to say, there can be no public worship. It is not like an affair of business, which can be transacted, which can be passed through its forms at least, by a few in behalf of hundreds who are absent, though equally interested in it. It is not a business that can be done by proxy, or by representation. It is rather like society, which cannot be had, without the gathering of its members. I shall have occasion to make a still further use of this comparison. It is sufficient for the present to say, that he who without any especial cause allows himself to be absent from public worship, adopts a principle, which, if other men were to act upon it, would destroy the institution.

All this, I think, must be very clear. Our conduct proclaims that we hold the institution to be valuable, and the slightest reflection must show us, that it can be supported only by our personal attention. But how valuable is it? How strict an attention does it demand or deserve?

On this point let me add to what I have already said at the commencement of this letter, that without public worship there can be no sabbath; no day, that is, set apart to orderly and innocent rest from the labors of life. These institutions, I repeat, must stand or fall together. Without public worship the sabbath, it is obvious, would degenerate into a mere holiday, a day of sports and revels. It would be so, that is to say, not to the devout few, but it would be so to the multitude. Or, else, the sabbath would be abolished entirely, and merged in the days of secular toil and business. And I fearlessly say,—though this is not the place to enter into the subject—I would say, not as a Christian only but as a statesman, not merely as a religious man, but as a worldly man, that with the entire abolition or total perversion of the sabbath, the world would lose the strongest hold it has, on its virtue, order, peace, and welfare.

'But,' it may be said, 'has my occasional or even frequent absence from church, any tendency to produce this result? The institution will doubtless be maintained among us, as it has been for two hundred years past, notwithstanding any occasional neglects of mine or others.' I do not know that. It is not against occasional neglects only, that this institution has to contend, but against increasing neglects. The fashion of the day is tending to neglect. The numbers are growing, of those who are only occasional, or of those who are only morning attendants at the sanctuary. If the evil--I must call it so—advances as rapidly for a century to come, as it has for the last ten years, one half or three quarters of the congregations in our cities at least, will be absent from the afternoon service. The next step will be, as in some parts of Europe, to drop this service entirely. From this, it will not require a great stride to reach the situation of other multitudes in Europe, who have relinquished all attendance on public worship. There will not be, in this country, even a mass to call a few to prayers in the morning. Neither will superstition here gather its multitude of servile votaries to worship relics and images. Meanwhile, in the absence of all hereditary distinctions, the stream of influence will find no barriers to interrupt its course from the highest classes to the lowest. What the wealthy and the distinguished do, others will do.

In circumstances like these I deem it not too much to say, that every reflecting man will look with apprehension to the consequences. So far as outward barriers are concerned, the institutions of public worship and the sabbath are more likely to be broken down in this country than in any other. If the virtue, if the intelligence, if the mind of this country fails to sustain these institutions, they will fall inevitably. There will be nothing left to uphold them. Every effort, however humble, therefore, to enlighten that mind on so momentous a subject, and to put that virtue on its guard, may rightfully expect peculiar favor, and may fairly hope to find sufficient apology for peculiar boldness. I cannot think it too serious to remind the neglecters of public worship of the account which every man has to settle with posterity; with his children, and his children's children. I ought to observe in this place, that I do not intend, in what I am now saying, to speak of the case of any who have conscientious scruples arising from a particular juncture of religious experience. I would make allowance for peculiar feelings and temporary doubts of this nature. But I would nevertheless put those who entertain them, with all others whom it may concern, to the general issue on this great question. And I say again, that I do not think it too serious to remind them that they may be leaving a legacy of neglect, which after generations will have cause to lament. The days of indulgence and luxury are coming, such as have never yet been seen among us, and the bands of order, virtue, and religion, which are to hold in safety the free people of this growing empire, must be stronger, yes, and purer, than ever were drawn by the arm of despotic or ecclesiastical power. Our boasting, I am aware, would seem to show that we are at ease on this point; but our boasting, like that of every past empire, may prove to be vain. If we are corrupted, we are lost. If the institutions of public worship and the sabbath are destroyed, or if they decline, just in that proportion are the strongest visible supports of order and virtue prostrated. Once more, then, shall I venture to say, that those who are the first to give respectability and currency to the example of this neglect, may have more to answer for, than has ever entered into their imaginations. If the institutions of religion ever fall among us, it will be by slow decline. If there is a decline, it must have its commencement. There must be some to begin it. And assuredly it becomes every man to pause, before he lays the train to consequences so fearful.

I know how easily a man may say, that he does not see this train of consequences, that he does not believe in it, and therefore that he holds himself free from any such responsibility. But, let me ask him, does the easiness of his mind on this point, arise from reflection, or from mere carelessness, and the love of indulgence? In what way, if these dreaded results are ever to appear, in what way are they to be brought about? In what but the way of neglect, and above all, of neglect commencing with the more respectable classes of society? Nay more, point me to the nation in which, with the growth of wealth, and luxury, and indulgence, religious institutions have not declined. Point me to the instance in which this decline has not commenced with the opulent, the respectable, the powerful. Greece and Rome, Italy and Germany may each read to us a solemn lesson, to illustrate these momentous and alarming statements. Here you may see trains of consequences, and listen to the prophetic voice of warning. Shall it not awaken even one salutary apprehension? Shall men never shrink from the evil they may do, till they see it done? Shall irretrievable injury be the only thing palpable and powerful enough, to arouse the moral caution that might have prevented it? Shall those, whom the good and merciful God has raised up to be eminent in influence,—shall they forever consider themselves as exalted only that they may be the more indifferent to the welfare of their fellow beings and of their country? Why do we wonder or complain that all nations have taken the downward course, when the fairest earthly gifts of Heaven have always been thus perverted to the counteraction of its benevolent designs!

In all this, I do not contend for any needless austerity in the observance of the sabbath. There is a general superstition and a Puritanical strictness, which infects, I do not doubt, and injures the minds of multitudes in this country. We want no demure looks nor gloomy penances on a day which is preeminently designed for the promotion of religion and happiness. There ought to be no unnecessary or severe restraints enjoined. When the duties of private meditation, or reading, and public worship are discharged, I cannot conceive that a quiet walk, or a friendly interview and cheerful conversation ought to be considered as an offence against the proper character of the sabbath. But while this is admitted, it must still be maintained, that without public worship, this character of the sabbath, as a day of quietness and rest, cannot be preserved at all; nay, not without public worship in both parts of the day. If a morning service only be kept up, a space will be left, for something more than moderate and innocent relaxation; a space for convivial entertainments, for excursions of parties of pleasure, for evening assemblies, or the introduction of the theatre.

But it is time to consider the reasons that may be offered for the neglect of public worship. I have implied all along, that there are difficulties in the way of a regular attendance at church. These difficulties or objections may mostly be resolved into the three following; the inconvenience of the hour of assembling, the inclemency of the weather, and the indifferent character of the service.

The inconvenience of the hour of assembling.

This objection of course relates to the afternoon service. And I am free to confess, that the objection is one of considerable weight and deserves to be well considered. I hold it to be, not a sufficient excuse for non-attendance, but a good reason for inquiring into the expediency of a change. Unless there be some very material argument, some necessity for it, in fact, it would seem to be obviously wrong to appoint the most interesting season of our lives, in the dullest and most oppressive period that could be selected from the whole day. It certainly must be a mistake, whether we consider the claims of devotion, or the claims of a just moral prudence. We wish, if we have any piety, any reflection, any regard to the continuance and prosperity of our devotional institutions, we wish that the hour of public worship should be a season of wakeful and earnest meditation, and high enjoyment. But in the way we are now proceeding, at least with one part of our services, we take the most direct and certain method to prevent this; we take the most direct and certain method to bring this service into that very neglect and disuse, which is so much to be dreaded.

I will speak plainly. I do not want to see an assembly of people that have come together to spend, in church, the most heavy and sluggish hour of the day. And in our cities and villages there is no need of it. A later hour of the afternoon, or an hour of the evening may just as well be selected; or if not just as well, at least it can be adopted at the expense of an evil infinitely less than that of a dull and slothful season of worship. In the country, I know, the case is different; but there, too, the same evil does not exist. Those who come a considerable distance to church, and remain during the intermission, do not dine in fact till after the second service. Let no one evade the force of these considerations by saying, that I give too much importance to the matter of eating and drinking. It is the law of all animal life, it is the necessity of our own nature, that the thoughts should be less active and vigorous after the principal meal of the day is taken. What student then goes to his books? what philosopher, to his studies? what mathematician, to his investigations? what poet, what orator, to the fervid exercise of mind that is to prepare him to gain acceptance with his fellow men? And what business has the religious man to select such an hour for his devotions?

What business has he then to prepare and offer the service that is to seek acceptance with his Maker?

I am aware that this is a subject of some delicacy. I do not forget that there are different opinions upon it. But I must be allowed to testify what I have seen. The very face of an audience assembled in these circumstances, is dull. There is in this respect a manifest difference between the morning and afternoon service. In the latter, there are often witnessed painful signs of lassitude, nay, and instances of sleep in congregations which never at any other time exhibit the same spectacle. And when it appears, it is every way an evil spectacle. It communicates dulness to others, or it does worse by affording them a most unseemly entertainment. It chills the heart of the preacher. Besides, he comes to the service himself often and unavoidably weary and spiritless. He has not had time to recover himself, and is obliged to endure the inexpressible pain of bringing to the worship of his Maker an exhausted and jaded mind—a trial which no man can understand who has not experienced it. And this, moreover, is not his own and individual concern only; for the congregation must necessarily be affected by the vigor or the lassitude of his feelings. He may, indeed, by a great effort throw off this lassitude. He may arouse himself to a mechanical fervor, or his devotional feelings may carry him beyond his strength; but it will all result only in the more confirmed injury to his health, and through this means, to the congregation, to whom the service of his life is pledged.

Such, then, are the objections to the usual hour of the afternoon service, and they are real objections. It will be allowed that I have given them sufficient importance. It will be thought by some that I have given them quite too much. Be this as it may, I entertain a conviction none the less decided and strong, that they do by no means justify the neglect of this service. There may be an inconvenience; but is that to be put in comparison with an injury to society? There may be an error in the arrangement of one portion of our religious services; but shall we make the case better, by the entire abolition of that portion of the means of religious improvement? It requires but a small change in our domestic arrangements for the day—or to speak explicitly, for I would be understood on this point—it requires but to postpone the hour of dining till after the second service, to relieve the objection to attending church in the afternoon, with most persons, of nearly all its weight. And I think it right to add, that for those who find themselves stupid and sluggish at church, it is a manifest and bounden duty to make some such arrangement. At any rate, if any valuable interest of society is involved in this matter—and this is the great question—if a practice is beginning among us, which endangers the present happy order and course of our religious institutions; if it is the very practice, which, through a long train of consequences, has led to the prevailing neglect of religious observances in more than half of Christendom, then may it be fairly put to us, not as good Christians only, but as good citizens, whether we will lend our influence to the example.

And now I can imagine that some one may exclaim—'What! are we to be bound to church going, whether we will or no? Is it proposed to bring back the days of the Puritan hierarchy? Are we to have tythingmen to take note of our doings?' No, indeed; these things have gone by. But I would none the less fearlessly commit every man to conscience as his overseer, to the bond of principle as to a command, and to the holy dominion of the fear of God, as to a law. Are the inward monitor, and the common weal, and the fear of God, weaker bonds than dotard superstition and church power? Are we only the more free, to be the more indifferent to obligations like these?

The next difficulty in the way of a regular and constant attendance at church is the *frequent inclemency of the weather.* Its frequency in our climate, makes this objection, if it be valid, a very serious matter. So variable is our climate, and so easily are excuses of this kind admitted, that the attendance upon divine service is materially interrupted during almost one quarter of the year.

Now let me ask, is any thing else interrupted for this cause? Does the business of life depend on the changes of the thermometer? Does any man refuse to go to his shop or to his warehouse, because he says 'the sky lowereth and it will rain?' Why then does he establish an entirely new rule for himself, on the sabbath? Or does he say that public worship is a thing of very inferior consequence? Does he think that his own welfare and the happiness of society depend more on his buying and selling, than they do on storing his mind with religious thoughts, and promoting the means of sacred order and virtue in the community? Allow that both are important, it is all I ask. Allow that the claims of business are imperious; yet let it be remembered, that the bond of trade is virtue, that the security of business, every promise, every oath, has its strength in conscience and the fear of God.

I have compared public worship in one respect to society. Let me compare them in another; and that is, in the exertion, and I will add, the expense that may be required by a regular attendance. Admit, then, what is called the necessity of business;—though I apprehend, our estimate of what is necessary in life, is not only very worldly, but even on this ground very shortsighted;—but admit this necessity of business. Yet may we not ask, that as much shall be done and expended to frequent public worship, as is done and expended to frequent society? I do not perceive that our entertainments, parties, assemblies, or theatres are neglected for the severities or uncomfortableness of the weather. Means, defences, conveyances are provided, and the exertion and the expense are submitted to of course and without a complaint. Is it unjust to lay it down as a requisition and a rule that every one shall do and afford as much to go to church, as he would to be present at a social visit or a party of pleasure? I am unable to perceive that any fair objection can be alleged against the propriety of this rule. It will not be said that social opportunities are less frequent than those of devotion, and therefore to be sought with more pains. On the contrary, as society is conducted in most of our cities and villages, the reverse is true. Besides, let it be remembered as still more material in the argument, that a man may do more good both to himself and to others by going to church, than by going to a party of pleasure, or a social entertainment. And yet there are many, many who would think it hard not to be accounted good Christians, too, who habitually go out, in dark and stormy nights, to be present at parties of pleasure, who in the comparatively favorable circumstances of daylight and moderate inclemency of weather, find it too inconvenient to attend church. Nay, they often go out, not for their own pleasure, any more than the merest slave of superstition goes to mass or to church for his own pleasure. They go to sacrifice at the shrine of ceremony and custom, and yet they cannot go to sacrifice at the shrine of holy worship! The temple of fashion is filled, is crowded, in circumstances which would cause the temple of religion to be almost wholly deserted! The God of this world is worshipped, when the God of heaven and earth hath none to seek after him, or at most a small band of worshippers, so few and feeble, that their coming together is a heaviness and a discouragement!

But the greatest objection of all, and the last which is now to be noticed, is *the indifferent character of the service.*

'If I were sure of always hearing something eloquent and admirable,' says the delinquent, 'I should go; but the preacher is dull; the service is wearisome. In short, I do not wish to go. And why,' continues the complainant, 'why should I be urged upon this point? What good will it do me to go to church, if I go thus reluctantly, if I do not wish to go?'

To reply to the minor part of the objection first, I should say that I see no more reason why a man should not be exhorted to the public worship of God, when he is averse to it, than why he should not be exhorted to any other duty which he is unwilling to perform. We do not expect to be uniformly delighted with any of our pursuits, yet we do not swerve from them for want of the stimulus of pleasure. The student resorts to his books, the merchant to his accounts, the laborer to his toils, though they sometimes are irksome. And if the case is unhappily so bad, if it is at any time a hardship to visit the sanctuary, yet even then, unpropitious as this state of mind would be, it would scarcely constitute a sufficient reason for absence from church. Rather might it not be urged at such a time, that the place of meditation and prayer should be visited on purpose to acquire a better, a more pious disposition.

And on this point, and one other, I now proceed to say, rests the true answer to the main part of the objection which has just been stated. The services of the sanctuary would not be indifferent, if they were approached with just views and a right temper of mind. There is a misapprehension, in the first place, of the proper object of our attendance at church. We go, or ought to go, not merely or chiefly to be entertained with the discourse, but we should go to worship our Maker and to cherish and confirm the sentiments of piety. We go, or ought to go, not to be the passive recipients of whatever impressions may be made on us; not to have the work of our religion done for us, but to engage for ourselves in meditation and prayer. The minister at the altar is merely our assistant in these offices. This is the point of light in which he should be regarded. He may not be all we could wish. That is not material. We ought to receive what aid he can give us, whether it be more or less.

Let us, then, take these views of public worship, and let us also have the right disposition of heart, and no religious service ever would be dull to us. Nay, the latter of itself would be sufficient. Let a heavenly disposition carry us to the sanctuary; let it be strong and earnest, and in any proportion to that earthly disposition that carries us to so many other places of resort, and indifference would be a thing unknown. Indifferent voluptuaries, indifferent stockjobbers, and in the halls of legislation indifferent aspirants after fame, there are none, and it needs but half of the same zeal in devotion to banish from us indifferent worshippers. It needs but half of the same zeal to banish from our churches, forever, this miserable complaint of dullness. Assuredly if there is any thing on earth or in heaven, that can touch every spring of feeling in us, that can awaken all glorious admiration, that can awaken all ineffable joy, it is the contemplation and love of God. Would to God that our churches might be crowded with those who will worship in this spirit and joy! Would that the voice of the priest and the people might be this one—'Who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord?' Then might it be said—'Blessed is the people, that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance.' D.

Poetry.

MAN GIVETH UP THE GHOST, AND WHERE IS HE?

Where is he? Hark! his lonely home
Is answering to the mournful call!
The setting sun with dazzling blaze,
May fire the windows of the hall;
But evening shadows quench the light,
And all is cheerless, cold, and dim,
Save where one taper wakes at night,
Like weeping love remembering him.

Where is he? Hark! the friend replies—
'I watched beside his dying bed,
And heard the low and struggling sighs
That gave the living to the dead;
I saw his weary eyelids close,
And then,—the ruin coldly cast
Where all the loving and beloved,
Though sadly parted, meet at last.'

Where is he? Hark! the marble says—
''Twas here the mourners laid his head;
And here sometimes in after days
They came and sorrowed for the dead;
But one by one they passed away,
And soon they left me here alone
To sink in unobserved decay,
A nameless and neglected stone.'

Where is he? Hark! the graves reply—
'Why ask where single ruins fall,
When they that mourn them soon must lie
Beneath the churchyard's dark-green pall?
Perhaps the earthworm bears away
The rifled treasure of the tomb,
Or mingling with its native clay
It feeds some flow'ret's annual bloom.'

Where is he? Hark! 'tis Heaven replies—
'The starbeam of the purple sky
That looks beneath the evening's brow
Mild as some beaming angel's eye,
As calm and clear it gazes down,
Is shining from his place of rest
The pearl of his immortal crown,
The heavenly radiance of the blest.'

W. P.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

SIR,

The following are two poems lately received from Mrs Hemans. In a letter accompanying the first, she says;—'I have just composed a few lines on reading a description in one of our papers of Washington's statue by Chantry. Its being sent from England to America, now that we may hope that all feelings of animosity are yielding to kindlier and more brotherly sentiments, is a most striking and interesting circumstance. The lines have not been published.

nor will they at present appear in any English work, as I should wish them to reach my New England friends first.'—As the statue may be expected to arrive here about the time when the next number of the Examiner will appear, there can be no more appropriate season for their publication.

Cambridge, April 14, 1827.

WASHINGTON'S STATUE.

SENT FROM ENGLAND TO AMERICA.

Yes! rear thy guardian Hero's form,
On thy proud soil, thou Western World!
A watcher through each sign of storm,
O'er Freedom's flag unfurled.

There, as before a shrine to bow,
Bid thy true sons their children lead;
—The language of that noble brow
For all things good shall plead.

The spirit reared in patriot fight,
The virtue born of home and hearth,
There calmly throned, a holy light
Shall pour o'er chainless earth.

And let that work of England's hand,
Sent through the blast and surges' roar,
So girt with tranquil glory, stand
For ages on thy shore!

Such through all time the greetings be,
That with the Atlantic billows sweep!
Telling the mighty and the free
Of brothers o'er the deep!

HE WALKED WITH GOD.

BY MRS. HEMANS.

'And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.'
Genesis, Chap. v. *v.* 24

He walked with God in holy joy,
While yet his days were few;
The deep glad spirit of the Boy,
To love and reverence grew.

Whether, each nightly star to count,
The ancient hills he trod,
Or sought the flowers by stream and fount,
Alike he walked with God.

The graver noon of manhood came,
The full of cares and fears ;
One voice was in his heart—the same
It heard through childhood's years.
Amidst fair tents, and flocks, and swains,
O'er his green pasture sod,
A shepherd king on Eastern plains,
The Patriarch walked with God.

And calmly, brightly, that pure life
Melted from earth away ;
No pang it knew, no parting strife,
No sorrowful decay.
He bowed him not, like all beside,
Unto the Spoiler's rod,
But joined at once the glorified,
Where angels walk with God.

So let *us* walk—the night must come
To us that comes to all ;
We through the darkness must go home,
Hearing the Trumpet's call.
Closed is the path for evermore
Which without death he trod ;—
Not so that way, wherein of yore,
His footsteps walked with God!

Review.

Art. V.—*The Rights of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.—The Result of an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Groton, Massachusetts, July* 17, 1826. Boston, T. R. Marvin, 1827, 8vo. pp. 64.

Perhaps there never was a more palpable *misnomer* than is to be found in the title of this extraordinary pamphlet. Instead of the 'Rights,' it should have been entitled the 'Usurpations' of the early churches of Massachusetts over their christian brethren; over those, who,—professing themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ, admitting his divine authority, receiving his doctrines and precepts as the revelation of God, and contributing to the maintenance of public christian worship,—feel, and know, that they enjoy, and are entitled to hold and possess an entire equality of privileges with those who call themselves, by way of eminence, the members of Christ's church. But to no privilege do they think their title clearer than to that of an equal voice in the selection of their teachers and pastors, upon whose ministry they attend, and for whose support they pay in proportion to their property. Yet this privilege, this dearest right of Congregationalists, unequivocally confirmed to them by our State Constitution and a succession of legal decisions, is by the pamphlet before us called in question. The exercise of it is there maintained to be unscriptural, and unreasonable; contrary to New England usages, and a *sound* interpretation of our laws. In fine, the professed design of this little book is, to take a stand at the polls and revolutionize the state; to reverse the unanimous decisions of all the judges we have had in our Supreme Court for fifteen years; remodel our admirable Bill of Rights, and restore to the injured church,* powers wrested from her by artful, proselyting makers and interpreters of the law. The good people of Massachusetts, it seems, have even been cajoled into the exercise of these powers; and had they seen the drift of what was doing for them, they would long ago have revolted against the enjoyment of such unlawful privileges.

But we are utterly unable to perceive why there should be an equality in civil concerns, and a perpetual and odious aristocracy, a never dying house of lords and bishops in the church. We cannot perceive how it is possible, that one fifth part of a whole society should possess, *de jure*, not only a negative, a *veto* on the doings of the other four fifths, but that having exerted this power, they should have a right to vote again in the lower body, 'the world,' as it is contemptuously called. When we ask by what means, by what species of merit, this power has been acquired, we are answered that the members of this privileged caste, have been admitted by vote into the aristocracy. Is this power of admission or rejection absolute?

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* In this article, the word church is used in almost every instance in its narrowest, technical sense; denoting merely the body of communicants, the church members, so called, in our Congregational societies.

Yes. Is there no remedy to compel a church to receive a communicant or fellow it has unjustly rejected? No. Can they reject an applicant because his creed differs from their own, though his moral character be unexceptionable? Yes. Do they require him to say any thing more than that he is a believer in the divine mission and authority of our Saviour? Yes; if the church be one which the authors of this Result would acknowledge as a true christian church, he must solemnly assent to all the propositions in which some frail and ignorant man has expressed his religious opinions. If he refuse to do this, he cannot come to the Lord's supper; he is forbidden to do that, which his Master enjoined upon him to do. He is not only deprived of his religious rights, forbidden to perform his christian duties, but, according to the doctrine of this Result, his civil rights are infringed. His inalienable civil right is, to have *an equal voice with* ALL *his fellow citizens in the election of those whom he is bound to support.* That right was secured finally to him by our Constitution, and has been decided so to be by the highest courts of law, with a unanimity on the part of the judges, almost without example. It is however controverted in the Result before us, which was drawn up by Drs Beecher and Porter,—two Connecticut gentlemen, who, it appears, are exceedingly distressed by the ignorance of our courts of law, and the submission of our people to their authority.

By the third article of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Massachusetts, it is declared in the simplest and clearest words, that towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall have the right of electing their own teachers. These descriptions are perfectly technical. They are as well known to our laws as any terms whatever. No lawyer who makes any pretension to a respectable standing in his profesion, would hazard his reputation by denying, that these words gave to parishes, and *all the members* of religious societies, the exclusive right of voting in the settlement of a minister. The effect and operation of this clause, came under the consideration of our Supreme Judicial Court about twelve or fifteen years since, and was settled in favor of religious liberty and natural right, in conformity with the clear import of the clause in the Bill of Rights, by Judges Parsons, Sedgwick, Sewall, Thacher, and Parker in the cases of Avery *vs.* Tyringham and Burr *vs.* Sandwich.

The weight of any legal decision depends very much on the ability of the judges, and on their unanimity. It is proper, therefore, that it should be known, that the rights of non-communicants in the election of their pastor, have been sustained by Chief Justice Parsons, and Judges Sedgwick, Sewall, Thacher, Parker, Jackson, Putnam, Wilde. The decisions establishing them were made from twelve to fifteen years since; were printed and circulated through the State; were well known to every Orthodox divine and church in the community. Yet no church in the State, to our knowledge, has objected to them. In 1816, Dr Morse from Connecticut and Dr Lyman were very zealous in the good work of introducing the Connecticut system of Consociations. It is well known that they made a report to the Convention of Ministers, which was referred by the Convention to the people, and which was so odious, that not one parish approved of and accepted it. Yet these learned divines never intimated an opinion, that the rights of the churches had been infringed by the decisions of the courts of law. The General Association of Massachusetts, which was intended to supply the place of the Connecticut Consociations, has, we believe, been equally silent as to this supposed aggression on church rights.

At last came the most respectable and able Convention, which Massachusetts ever had; that assembled to revise the Constitution. In this body, there were Orthodox clergymen, deacons of churches, Orthodox lawyers,—men able and astute, firm and vigorous in defence of the rights of the church. The third article of the Bill of Rights was especially the object of notice. Every member of that house knew that the Supreme Judicial Court had decided against the high pretensions of church members. There was not an objection made against these decisions; not an attempt to restore the usurpations of the church. The debate turned wholly upon the support of religious worship by law, and did not touch at all upon the right of electing pastors.

Upon the ground of this statement of facts, which cannot be disproved or denied, we pronounce this Result to be a literary curiosity, unique for its fearless assertions, for its contempt of judicial authority, and of the opinions of a whole people. If the gentlemen who prepared it had stated fairly, that Judge Parsons's decision was made nearly fifteen years since, that the Convention had been since assembled and after full deliberation had left the law as Judge Parsons had pronounced it, but that still neither the Supreme Court, nor the Convention understood the legal question, we might have praised their frankness, though we should have smiled at their presumption and vanity.

We are told by these learned Connecticut theologians, that our ancestors in 1641, confined the right of election of the pastors to the church members by statute. This fact is not denied by any one. It is explicitly admitted by all the learned judges in their arguments. But what inference would the advocates for church rights draw from this uncontested fact? That it was *right?* that it was scriptural and irrevocable? We should soon shew them, that such a presumption is utterly unfounded. The same persons decided, that no man should vote even in town affairs, no man should be a freeman, unless he were a church member; *a fortiori*, not a member of the legislature. Will Dr Beecher maintain that this was a reasonable provision? The same men maintained, that the Mosaic criminal law was binding on us. Do our divines approve of this wise determination? Do they believe that the judicial murders committed under the forms of law upon some unhappy old women, for a supposed intercourse with the devil, were justifiable?

We know what the reply must be to these questions. We know also, that Cotton Mather, whose '*Ratio Disciplinæ*' is cited by the Council, went all the length of the most superstitious among the vulgar, on these topics. Are we bound to feel a profound respect for one particular abuse which survived that age, the exclusive right of the church members to elect the pastor? When we come to the argument, we shall show, that this pretension of the church was always sharply disputed, and never enforced after 1692.

We now proceed to consider the particular case which these gentlemen have selected as affording a fit opportunity to bring forward their objections to the provisions of the Constitution of this State, and to the law, settled as it is by repeated judicial decisions. The history of the case itself is instructive, and shows to what an extent the usurpation of a church may be carried.

Dr Chaplin a venerable and excellent pastor, having, we regret to say it, become unable to perform his parochial duties, proposed to his people the settlement of a colleague. The Doctor and his church, or a majority of them, believed that they had an exclusive right to invite candidates. 'Providentially,' they say—and it was a very favorable providence,—there was a Mr Todd from Andover 'present.' It was evidently one of those *prepared* providences, which so often occur in human affairs; or to speak frankly, for we are indignant at such a profanation of the name of the Almighty, the Orthodox majority of the church had *foreseen* this event; had prepared for it; had arranged the whole course of procedure at headquarters,* and Mr Todd *providentially*, as we are told, found himself on the spot, at the most pressing moment of Dr Chaplin's need. Mr Todd accordingly preached and was some time after engaged by Dr Chaplin for eight sabbaths. The church, consisting, we believe, of between twentyfive and thirty male members in a parish in which there were about three hundred voters, finally, by a vote of seventeen to eight, gave Mr Todd a call. The parish, it would seem from the Result, thought this measure of the church rather too strong. After full trial, they found that they did not like Mr Todd; for on the 25th of November they voted to appoint a committee to supply the pulpit, treating as it deserved, the usurpation of the church over rights so completely secured to them by the Constitution, and the solemn decisions of the Supreme Court thereon.

Dr Chaplin, although he knew that the church had given Mr Todd a call, agreed, when the parish committee called upon him, that they might fill the pulpit for four sabbaths. The vote of the parish was, to fill it for four months. Their committee, except for the first sunday when there was no preaching, actually supplied it from the date of their appointment, and the only objection on the part of the church, which we can perceive, was, that it was filled by Unitarian clergymen; though we admit that there hardly could be supposed a more important objection in the minds of those, who deny the christian character to Unitarians. Dr Chaplin's patience becoming at length exhausted, the following note was addressed to the parish committee, and the Council seem to consider it a very proper one.

'GENTLEMEN,—After mature reflection, I have thought it my duty to remonstrate once more, against your thrusting a man into my pulpit against my wishes, and, as I believe, against the wishes of a majority of this people. Yours, &c.

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* Mr Todd, it is said, was sent to Groton, one of the richest towns in the county of Middlesex, at the expense of an Orthodox missionary fund. This discovery, for the fact was concealed, had no small share in producing disaffection to Mr Todd and to the Orthodox policy.

January 7th, 1827. DANIEL CHAPLIN.'

What a strange aspect does the subject assume to us now? The *concurrent* right of election is admitted explicitly and repeatedly by the Council, but it is contended that the right to select the candidates is vested *exclusively* in the *disabled* incumbent, and his church!* In the present case, the church actually proceeded to an election, without giving the majority the opportunity of hearing a preacher of their own choice even for a single sabbath. This, we trust, is not a specimen of Orthodox justice and apprehension of right.

The parish committee were calm and resolved. They knew that the Constitution had guaranteed to them the right of election, and of necessity the depending right of selecting candidates. Dr Chaplin speaks of '*thrusting a man into his pulpit against his wishes.*' Is this correct? In May preceding, he had expressed to his people a wish to have a colleague. They had therefore a legal right to choose one. The right to choose includes the right to select candidates. Dr Chaplin had parted with his right to exclude those whom he did not like, by inviting the parish to provide a colleague. Surely no man will be so absurd as to contend that the parish, even if they had but a *concurrent* vote, had no right to select their candidate. Jesuitical mockery it would indeed be, if the church could say to the parish, 'You may choose as you please. You have entire freedom of election; but you shall never hear a preacher on probation, who has not been graduated at Andover; who does not bear the genuine stamp, so as to render it sure that he is not counterfeit.'

But we own we are unable to comprehend what is meant by the property of a pastor in his pulpit. It is not a new thought. We heard something like this claim about fifteen years since; but we acknowledge that it is to us a mystery. The church and the pulpit are the property of the parish. The pasfor is the incumbent under contract. If he become *unable* to perform his contract, his right, legally speaking, is gone; though in our judgment, base indeed is the conduct of that christian society, which in all cases would avail itself of its *legal* rights. But most assuredly when by the act of God the incumbent is deprived of his ability to do his duty, and especially when he avows that inability, and invites his people to select a colleague, his rights over his pulpit are, *pro hac vice*, gone; they are utterly extinct, so far as it respects the new candidate.

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* It is not among the least remarkable circumstances in this case, that Dr Chaplin himself came into his present office in a very irregular way, and in violation of church order. His predecessor, the Rev. Mr Dana, was under the suspicion of not being friendly to the Revolution. Without any ecclesiastical proceedings whatever, as we are informed, the town voted to dismiss him, and chose Dr Chaplin, who held his office for many years while the rightful incumbent, according to church discipline, was living.

Such was the unhappy case, which Dr Beecher and others selected as a proper occasion for them to teach the courts and people of Massachusetts, what the laws of Massachusetts are, and what are the rights and duties of the good, honest, but blind people of this ancient State; to read them a lecture on their degeneracy; to threaten them with dreadful retribution,--from whom, or of what nature they do not undertake to state, knowing, probably, that terror is always greater in proportion as the objects of it are dimly and obscurely perceived.

The first remark we shall make, is, that the question whether the decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court were in direct violation of the constitutional and legal rights of churches, hardly seems to have been submitted to this learned Council. The judgment pronounced by Drs Beecher and Porter, appears as perfectly gratuitous on their part, as if the Andover Theological Faculty itself, had, *ex proprio motu*, assembled and undertaken to review, arraign, and condemn the decisions of the highest court of law in the State without the invitation of any party interested. It was a voluntary, and, as we think, impertinent intrusion of opinion. The Council was not a mutual council, but an *ex parte* one; a council not deciding on theological, but civil questions.

The Council say, page 61, that 'so far as we can learn, but *one* denomination of professed Christians in the State, have given any evidence of approbation of the law [which decides the right of electing the pastor to be in the whole people,] or sought to avail themselves of it, and *that* a *recent*, and, compared with the *freemen* belonging to other denominations, a *very small* denomination.'

What are we to understand by this? That the liberal Christians are a *new* denomination? They are Congregationalists; what were the members of this Council? The liberal clergy are, and always have been received as members of the

Convention of *Congregational* ministers. One of them is Treasurer of that body. Is it competent in this Council to expel from the bosom of the church a large portion of the Congregational clergy and parishioners in the State? Are these the first fruits of this importation of followers of the Saybrook Platform? Why this contemptuous suggestion of the 'recent' origin, and of the 'small' number of the liberal Christians? The laws in question do not apply to the Catholics, the Episcopalians, the Baptists, the Universalists, and the Methodists. They were designed for the Congregationalists—and will this Council, as christian ministers, dare to say, that in the *Congregational* church the liberal Christians are 'a very small' party? They know it to be otherwise; and as to their opinions being 'recent,' we may refer these gentlemen to Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke, or to President Adams, who enumerates many eminent divines of Massachusetts, who held these opinions in his youth, which must have been before the middle of the last century.—This language of contempt in which the Orthodox clergy too often indulge, may well be spared. It only proves the want of the true spirit of our holy religion, as well as a conviction that they are unable to meet liberal Christians, on the fair field of argument and scripture.

While a large portion of the Result is devoted to a question, as we have already said, not distinctly submitted to them, viz. whether the Supreme Judicial Court did, or did not understand, or wilfully misinterpret the Constitution and laws of this State, no notice whatever is taken of an important part of the third, and the whole of the fourth questions propounded to the Council by the small majority of the former Groton church. The part of the third question to which no reply is given, is, 'Whether the claim of the *minority* of the church to be considered the first church in Groton, *can* or *will* be sustained by civil or ecclesiastical power?' The Dedham case, which the Council appear to have studied with close attention, would have enabled them to reply, 'that the *deserted* minority of the Groton church could and would be held rightfully to be the first church in Groton, both by civil and ecclesiastical authority.' Was it not unkind, therefore, to lead the seceders into error, by omitting to state these decisions to them? Nay, was it the part of peaceable and loyal citizens to endeavour to impress the opposite opinions on the misguided and ill advised majority?

The fourth question is, 'Do this Council regard the minority of this church as having walked disorderly, and what course do they advise the church to take concerning them?' On this subject, the Council have preserved a prudent silence. They felt, that it would savour of the ridiculous to charge the minority with *disorderly walking*, merely because they did not desert the congregation, nor quit the house in which their fathers worshipped, or because they preferred a clergyman of liberal opinions. In Massachusetts we have not yet gone so far as the Consociations of Connecticut have done, by expelling a brother for heretical opinions; and as to excommunication, in this case, after the voluntary secession of the majority, it would have been about as wise, as the papal excommunication of the realm of England, after parliament and king had by solemn acts renounced the papal authority. Though the Council was silent, the church, it seems, did proceed to the thunders of excommunication; but the lightning did not strike.

In this stage of our remarks, we would advert for a moment to the arrogant style of this Result. No bishop of the Romish or English church, would dare to use language so haughty, and insulting towards the great mass of Christians, who are non-communicants, and who comprise, among us, seven eighths of the christian public. They are contemptuously stigmatized as the 'world,' and lest you should doubt what they understand by this term, they define it to be the immoral, debauched, profane, and unbelieving part of society. You are warned expressly, that if the election of the pastor should devolve upon the non-communicants, there would be an end of all vital religion;—indeed they add that religion would not even be supported. Let us take a single example of their way of speaking.

'The amalgamation of the church,' it is said, 'with the *world*, in the election of *her* pastor, may seem a small thing to many; but small as it may seem, the *distinct* power of the church to elect *her* pastor, and admit and expel *her* members, independent of any secular alliance or influence, constitutes the mighty secret of uniting, in this alienated world, evangelical doctrine, vital godliness, and pure discipline, with *liberty of conscience,* equal civil rights, and permanent civil support.'—p. 61.

This is the language of the Result, and we confess that coming from Connecticut gentlemen of all others, it fills us with astonishment. The experience of that State, in which their doctrines have been reduced to practice, ought to have made them hesitate to use it. Besides, if correct, the churches of Massachusetts have never, for one day, since 1692, according to the express admission of these Councilmen themselves, been in the enjoyment of this mighty secret of entire independence. They have never had the 'distinct power to elect their pastors.' The parish, the 'world,' the helots, the burden bearers, the paymasters have always had a negative; there has always been a 'secular alliance and influence.' But it is not, to our dim perceptions, easy to see any trace of 'liberty of conscience' in such a case as that of the Groton church. Thirty members are the church. They claim the right to 'admit or expel members.' They annex their own conditions. You must pronounce their creed, and 'assent and consent,'—two words in the act of uniformity of Charles II. which threw out two thousand dissenting clergymen on the famous St Bartholomew's day,—to a creed of their devising, or sixteen out of the thirty may exclude the other three hundred christian voters of the town, not merely from the communion, but from the right of voting with the church. Call you *this* liberty of conscience? The church members are to have a negative on the votes of the parish. The three hundred and thirty shall not hear the clergyman and the opinions they prefer, because sixteen men do not approve of them! Still they must pay, and give 'permanent civil support,' and this is misnamed 'equal civil rights.' The very claim is evidently an assumption that the church members have a monopoly of piety; aye, and of knowledge of the scriptures; and it is distinctly stated by this candid Council, that if the right of election be *restored* to the great mass of christian worshippers, from whom it has been wrenched, there will be an instantaneous decline and final extinction of religion. What a reproach on human nature! What distrust of that Being, who has declared that he will uphold his church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it!

It is perhaps treating these broad assertions of the Council with too much consideration, to test their soundness by an appeal to experience; but we shall select one case for this purpose from their own Result. They admit that the society in Brattle Street, from its origin, elected their pastor in a general meeting of the church and parish. In short, its elections are as republican, as our civil ones have always been. What has been the effect in a trial of a century and one quarter? We say nothing of Colman, the two Coopers, Thacher, and Buckminster. Of course we shall also be silent as to the living pastors. But we ask, what has been the character of the mass of that society? Have they been profligate, unprincipled, indifferent to the support of religious worship? Has the society not kept pace with any Orthodox church, in its zeal for the support of religion and in the moral and religious character of its members?

The truth is, that the suggestion is a slander on human nature. There is not the slightest foundation for the fears expressed, that the exercise of the natural rights of the whole christian society would be dangerous to the cause of vital piety. So far from it, we are convinced that the spirit of usurpation over these rights, which has been displayed by the Orthodox clergy and church members, has been exceedingly injurious to the spread of true religion.

It is now, as we have said, more than fifteen years since the courts of law gave the only possible construction which could be given to the Constitution, as to the right of electing religious teachers. Is it true that there has been the least diminution of zeal for religion? These Connecticut gentlemen know very little about our state of society. We know they consider it to be corrupt. Dr Dwight, with all his prejudices, had a more correct knowledge of the state of morals and religion here, and sufficient liberality to do us justice. Yes, insulted as we are by these laborers in our vineyards, who have come in at the eleventh hour, and have not borne the heat and burden of the day, we are confident that the moral and religious character of this State will compare even with that of their own, with all its Consociations and usurpations.—Perhaps we have said more on this point than the illiberal suggestion that has called forth these remarks, merited.

It would be too severe a trial of the patience of our readers, should we attempt to follow the Result in its rambling course of assertion, argument, and declamation. We can only select, in addition to those we have already noticed, some prominent parts, and show the little reliance we can place, either upon its statements of facts, or of legal principles. There is, throughout, a fearless rashness of assertion but too common in the theological writings of some of our sects. We do not make this remark in a spirit of censure; for we are fully aware, that the habit of dogmatizing, like all other bad habits, soon gets the mastery over our resolutions, and often renders us insensible when we are acting under its despotic influence. We are not, however, casuists enough to decide the precise shade of difference in a moral view, between assertions made at hazard, which those who make them, do not know to be true, and those which are made against knowledge and conviction. Christian charity will induce us to place the almost innumerable errors of fact in the pamphlet under review among the former.

Let us give a specimen of its unfounded assertions.

'Our fathers came hither professedly to organize and establish churches, wholly *independent for existence*, on any *civil association;* and the right of electing their pastors was claimed and exercised by the *churches*, and recognised and confirmed by law, first in 1641, about twelve years from the commencement of the colony of Massachusetts, and again in 1668, after the commencement of the *parish controversy*, and again in 1695, at the *close of it;* and the churches continued in the uninterrupted enjoyment of this right until interrupted by the late decisions, a period of about one hundred and fifteen years.'—pp. 22, 23.

Again,

'The churches existed for *eighty years* before the towns and parishes were allowed any voice in the election of a pastor; and then the right came in the form of a *concession*, on the *part of the churches*, and a *compromise*, *in consideration of the aid furnished by taxation*, for the support of the Gospel. And now, did the church depend for her existence and protection in law, upon her alliance with towns and parishes, when she had for almost an *hundred* years, enjoyed absolute independence, and was, in fact, the primary institution, for whose sake our Fathers came hither, and to whom these *civil associations* were made *subservient*, without the least shadow of alliance, or power of interference, and which were afterwards received into *partnership*, upon the specific condition, that each should enjoy a *concurrent* vote in the election of a pastor?'—pp. 29, 30.

Here is about as pleasant a foundation for a papacy, or at least a presbytery, as one might wish to see. The *State* was founded for the *Church*, and all its rights and privileges are the result of a *charter* on the part of the *church!* Civil associations were made subservient to *her*, as *her* champions would express it, and *she* takes them into *partnership!*

The truth is that there are as many errors in the statement quoted above, as there are sentences.

1st. So far from our fathers having refused any alliance between church and state, the whole history of Christendom can hardly disclose so close a one. To the state, the clergy went for permission to hold a synod in order to force all men to think as they did. To the civil rulers, they applied to give to the proceedings of the synod the force of law; they demanded the arm of flesh to enforce their creeds.

2d. It is untrue that the concurrent right of election in the parish was a concession made by the churches. It was forced from them by public sentiment. They protested against it. They predicted, as these gentlemen now do, that the ruin and downfal of all religion would be the consequence of it. The parish owed this imperfect act of justice to the legislature, not to the church.

The true history of the case is this. In 1641, when the legislators were all church members, they made a law to perpetuate their own power. This is not an anomalous case. Men are always ready to relieve others of the labor of making laws, and to assume it themselves. But discontents of the most violent nature arose against the usurpation. This is expressly and repeatedly admitted by the Groton Council themselves.* The dispute was a sharp and angry one. The rights of the great body of Christians prevailed, and in 1692, the whole power of election was given to the *people.* The church made great efforts, and regained a portion of its power in 1693. The law then enacted gave a concurrent choice to the church and people. But the usurpers were dissatisfied with an equal division of power, and by aiming at too much, they have finally lost all;—an issue not by any means unusual to those who aim at unlawful power.

In 1695, the church had influence enough to procure a law which virtually gave the exclusive right of election to them, by bringing to their aid an ecclesiastical council. But why are these gentlemen so disingenuous as to speak of the act of 1695, as an *operative* one? They must know that it was so odious, that it was *never enforced in a single case* from that day to the present. The communicants acquired a power by that act which they never dared to exercise. Why, too, do they so often refer to the act of 1693, giving the concurrent power to the church, when they know that it was repealed by the act of

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* See Result as quoted above, p. 136. Again;—'The efforts of the church to hold, and of towns and parishes to acquire, the sole power in the election of the minister, produced *one of the fiercest controversies* that ever raged in the State, until it was composed by the compromise of 1695.' Result, p. 40.

1695? These omissions, or misstatements, or mistakes, have no tendency to gain our confidence.

3d. One is not a little amused with the ease, with which these gentlemen extend the period of their usurpation. They begin by stating the duration of their dynasty, or exclusive power, to have been *eighty* years. The fact is that the power was taken from them in *sixty* years, and fiercely disputed *forty* years before. Soon after, this young right, which never had a legitimate existence, grows to the age of *nearly one hundred* years. We mention this inaccuracy, but it is unimportant in any other view than as tending to show, that this Result is rather poetical than historical and legal.

4th. They say, that the admission of the people to an equal, or concurrent vote in elections of ministers, was a concession made to the people in *consideration of the aid furnished by taxation.* There seems to be a small anachronism in this statement, even according to the facts adduced by our learned, but rather negligent friends. They state that the legal obligation on a town to support the pastor, originated in 1652, and the act giving to the parishes an equal voice, did not pass till 1693. Was this concession, then, the effect of the grant of taxation? Were the gratitude and sense of justice of the churches so very feeble, and the recognition of their duties so very tardy?

Lastly, these venerable Counsellors are still more mistaken in a more important assertion, which they repeat in many places with increased confidence; viz. 'that there never was any interruption to the concurrent claims of the church from 1695 down to the *late* decisions.' What a deplorable ignorance of *our history!* We are not in the least degree surprised at it, however, in gentlemen who are so ignorant of our laws and usages, that, instead of speaking of our 'inhabitants,' our 'citizens,' our 'people,' they almost invariably call the mass of voters the 'freemen,'—a phrase familiar in Connecticut, but which must appear as strange to our 'inhabitants,' 'citizens,' and 'people,' as if they had called them their 'high mightinesses.'

A tolerable acquaintance with our ecclesiastical history would have shown the Council at Groton, that frequent disputes arose between the church and people as to the right of choosing the pastor, between the passage of the stillborn act of 1695 and the adoption of the Constitution. We shall here cite a single case, which of itself refutes the sweeping assertions of the Council, and which explains the reason why all parties, Orthodox and liberal, united in taking away the exclusive and unfounded pretensions of the church, by an explicit provision of the Constitution.

The case which we shall cite, was a very remarkable one. It is exceedingly instructive; because it shows to what hazard a religious people may be subjected by the fanaticism of a few members of the church. It was a case, in which the church changed its creed, while the parish retained their own; and we cannot refrain from asking, by the way, with all suitable reverence for this venerable Council, whether, if it had so happened that the church at Groton had been Unitarian, and the parish had remained Orthodox, we should have been instructed and enlightened by the learning of these gentlemen?

The pastoral office in the first church in Middleborough, in the year 1744, being vacant by the death of the Rev. William Thacher, a majority of the church,—having been converted to the doctrines and fanaticism of Whitfield, designated by the title of 'new lights,' and having thus abandoned the opinions which they and the congregation had before held,—were resolved not to agree to the choice of any minister who did not hold these new opinions.—These 'new light' opinions, we would remark by the way, were not those of our fathers. The Orthodox clergy do not now hold them; they opposed them at that time, and especially Whitfield's field preaching. We ask these venerable Counsellors what are the rights of a parish, when a majority of the church desert their former principles? Are the parish bound by their proceedings? Must their faith follow that of a body of men, who are not their superiors in understanding, and often not their equals?

The church of Middleborough kept the parish in a state of confusion from May till September. They vexed and harassed them with contradictory votes and resolutions. On the 9th of September the majority of the church brought a clergyman of their own sentiments, without the assent of the parish, nay, when they knew the parish had provided another, and broke into the meetinghouse. Great disorder and disgraceful scenes ensued. The parish had more physical force and were victorious. They were not, however, insolent or intolerant. They invited the 'new light' preacher to fill the pulpit half the day.

The most essential part of the case was, that the parish and minority of the church called a council, who decided that '*the church ought to give way*—that the *custom of the several parishes*, when destitute of a minister, had been to supply the pulpit by a committee chosen by the *whole parish*.' The church would not listen to the advice of this council, proceeded to call a minister of their own new opinions, and actually ordained him against the wishes of a majority of the people! The people however did not submit to this usurpation, but proceeded to choose and settle a minister of their own opinions. Thus, there must have been two councils, at least, in the middle of the last century, who declared the right of election to be in the people.

If the members of the Groton Council had read through the '*Ratio Disciplinæ*' of Cotton Mather, which they quote with respect, they would have found that even that zealous stickler for church authority, admitted that in his time, the early part of the last century, great discontents prevailed at the concurrent power of the church. 'Though,' says he, 'the law of the Province about choosing and settling a minister be a very wholesome law, and has much of the gospel in it, yet there *grows too much upon the inhabitants who are not yet come into the communion*, a disposition to *supersede* it and *overrule* it. *Many* people would not allow the church *any privilege to go before* them in the choice of a pastor. The clamor is, "We must *maintain* him;"'—and a most reasonable clamor it was. These discontents kept increasing, the church prudently yielding to a storm, which they could not resist, until the formation of a Constitution in 1780, furnished a fit opportunity to settle the right, in conformity with that fundamental principle of civil liberty, that '*taxation and representation or the right of voting, are inseparable*.' This was the great principle of our revolution, and involves an *inalienable* right. The Groton Result would have been much more correct, if, instead of saying, that the claim of the church was *uninterrupted* from 1695 to 1780, it had alleged that it *never* had been for one hour *undisputed*.

We shall give another example of inaccuracy, which is so truly ludicrous, that we should not be credited, if we did not exhibit it in their own words. Finding that the terms of the Constitution are clear and unambiguous, they felt it to be necessary to show, that churches were *corporate* bodies, and therefore within the provision of the Constitution. This position they sustain in a manner peculiar to themselves. But there was one insuperable difficulty in their way, viz. the statute of 1754 incorporating the *deacons*, since revised, February 20, 1786. They endeavour to evade the irresistible force of this statute, by a course of reasoning which we think unique, and would recommend as a model to any writers, who may be hard pressed by arguments which they cannot answer.

'The language of the law of 1754 *implies*, that the churches were corporations before, and was intended to *confirm rights*, which had come into doubt only by a change of circumstances, rendering technical accuracy more necessary. It is entitled an act for the "better securing grants and donations to pious uses," and is as follows: "Whereas many grants and donations have heretofore been made, by sundry well disposed persons, and in such expressions and terms as plainly show it was the intent and expectation of such grantors and donors, that their several grants and donations should take effect, so that the estates granted should go in succession; but doubts having arisen, in what *cases* such donations and grants may operate, so as to go in succession; for ascertaining whereof, Be it enacted, that the *deacons* of all Protestant churches shall be deemed *so far* bodies corporate, as to take, in succession, all grants and donations."'—p. 34.

Upon this slender foundation are assumed the following extraordinary positions.

1st. 'This act implies the *preexistence*, in *reality*, of corporate powers in the churches.'—Ibid.

Answer. It implies precisely the *reverse*. Such an inference is precluded by it. If churches had been corporate bodies, the act would have been superfluous.

2d. 'It says that property had been given to them intended to go in succession.'—Ibid.

Answer. It says no such thing. Churches are not even mentioned in the preamble.

3d. 'That some doubts had arisen concerning the corporate powers of the churches, implying that *once there were no doubts* on the subject, and to preclude these *modern* doubts in the shortest and most effectual manner, they make these powers *certain*, by an act of incorporation.'—Ibid.

Answer. They do not say that there were any doubts about the *corporate powers* of the churches but in '*what cases* grants and donations may *operate*'; and they then proceed to put an effectual end to all doubts as to the corporate powers of the churches; *they decline to grant to the churches any such powers*, but incorporate the 'deacons,' with great caution, '*so far*, as to take in succession all grants and donations.'

Throughout all the residue of the Result, the Council speak of the act of 1754 as having incorporated the churches! What can you say to such reasoners? Will the gentlemen contend that the right of election of pastors is given to the *deacons* by the Constitution, they being the only body politic in the church? It has been supposed that this Result was submitted to Orthodox counsel, men learned in the law. This blunder about the act of 1754, proves that this could not have been the fact.

It had been laid down by the Supreme Judicial Court, that 'the only circumstance which gives a church *any legal* character, is its *connexion* with some legally constituted society, and those who withdraw from the society cease to be members of that particular church, and the *remaining members* continue to be the *identical* church.' This opinion every lawyer will at once admit to be correct. Our Council, however, contradict this opinion. They say, 'that though the churches of Massachusetts have in fact existed within the limits of a town or parish, —— it *may not be true*, that the legal existence of the church depended on *her civil location* within some town or parish. There is no such condition expressed in the ancient laws, and the historical evidence leads to a conclusion directly the reverse of this.' They then proceed to present a confused idea of what they mean by this separate existence of the church. They appear to think the church an ambulatory body, capable of locomotion, and separable from all other human society. But if they had perused with care the act of 1800, which they quote, they would have seen that the privileges and liberties therein secured to the several churches were thus confirmed *only to such churches* '*as are connected and associated in public worship* with the several towns, parishes, precincts, districts, bodies politic, being religious societies, established according to law, within this commonwealth.' Our laws recognise and sustain no others. Our churches are, and always *de facto* and *de jure* have been thus associated. If a church should remove out of a parish, or cease to worship with the parish, their legal existence would cease. They could not take the pastor with them. His contract is with the parish. He could not recover his salary, either of the parish, or the church. The church thus separated could no longer vote on parish affairs. Church members removing out of the parish lose also their right of voting. They who remain are the only true church.—These principles, will not be controverted by any sound lawyer.

We now proceed to consider a part of this Result, which is of a more grave character, and which will demand from the Council some public explanation. At the close of their argument on the real intent and meaning of the third article of the Bill of Rights, they say, that the construction given to this article by the courts,

> 'is not a "*fundamental expression of the public will*," and that the *freemen*, who adopted the constitution, had *no conception* of its alleged *hidden* import. Indeed,' say they, 'there is a tradition, that the *first legal expounder* of the third article said, soon after having given his first exposition of it, "That when it was framed, he believed it would come to this, though he had not expected it would be in his day; and that the people did not understand the article when it was adopted; and if they had, they would as soon have voted in a hierarchy." '—p. 53.

This is a most serious attack on the integrity, and understanding of Chief Justice Parsons. We believe it to be wholly a fabrication intended to impose on the credulity of these venerable strangers. We think moreover, that prudence and delicacy towards the memory of that great man, should have induced the Council to require some better evidence in the case than 'tradition.' The story is as absurd as the calumny is atrocious. Chief Justice Parsons was one of the youngest members of the Convention for framing the Constitution. The committee appointed to draw up the Constitution was numerous. The Convention adjourned for some months to give full time to prepare it. The committee met daily in Boston and discussed every topic with the greatest caution. The third article received more attention than any one. Upon that committee were, if we recollect rightly, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Caleb Strong, James Bowdoin, and many other eminent statesmen. When their report was made to the Convention, every part of the Constitution was fully examined. Nearly the whole people were then Orthodox. The Constitution was in the hands of the people for some time before the period of voting upon its acceptance. Is it possible, that the orthodox Caleb Strong,* and Samuel Adams, the pillar of the Old South, a man of rare sagacity, and all the other astute men in the Convention, could not perceive the *hidden* meaning of the *simplest* sentence in the Constitution? Why did they not insert the word 'churches,' instead of the words 'religious societies,' which last is strictly technical, and used as such in all the acts of incorporation before and since? Or why did they not insert a saving *proviso* 'reserving to the several churches their usual and accustomed *right of concurrence*?' It cannot possibly be explained but upon the ground that they intended to settle the right of election, for ever, on those who support the teacher.—We shall have occasion to revert to this subject in the close.

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* The third article, it has always been reported, was drawn up by Caleb Strong.

There is another criminating imputation to which we beg the attention of our readers. In the year 1800, a bill was brought in and passed for the support of religious worship. That act adopted the same construction, which was afterwards given by the Supreme Judicial Court, with regard to the exclusive right of the whole parish to elect their pastors. The language of the act is, 'that the churches shall have, use, exercise and enjoy, all their accustomed privileges and liberties, respecting divine worship, church order, and discipline, *not repugnant to the Constitution.*' But, as this law passed some time before the Court had occasion to pronounce its decision on the meaning of the clause in the Bill of Rights, the Council at Groton unadvisedly undertake to affirm, what it is absolutely impossible they could know, that, at that time, 'it had never been whispered or dreamed, that the Constitution had "*impaired*" the rights of the churches or "*enlarged those of towns*," '—according to the words of Chief Justice Parsons. They proceed: 'The understanding of the law of 1800 could, therefore, be none other than that the churches should continue to enjoy, under the protection of the law, all the rights, which they had been accustomed to enjoy. HE [the capitals and Italics are their own,] who subjoined the phrase "not repugnant to the Constitution," knew, doubtless, what *he* meant by it, but even *he* would not, at that time, have dared to tell the people.'

Here again we have another unprincipled coward brought upon the stage. Who '*he*' was, we are not told. It was however some artful, intriguing man, who held the understandings of the legislature in utter contempt, and, the Council seem to think, deservedly; for they did not know, as the Council pretend, what was the purport of a very plain clause in their own act. Who was this second culprit,—for it must have been a second?

Having had some connexion with the legislature of 1800, we are satisfied that it was not Chief Justice Parsons; that he was not a member. We believe that the father of this bill was Enoch Titcomb, *a deacon of a church*. Samuel Phillips of Andover, one of the founders of the Theological School, and many other eminently Orthodox gentlemen, were in the Senate at the time of the passage of that act.—Why could not the venerable Council have favored us with their own views, as to the meaning of this exception? When we look into the constitution, with minds not disposed to find a Jesuitical trick in every thing, not prone to the habit of suspecting others of base and dishonorable intrigues, we must own, that we can see no part of the Constitution to which this exception could possibly apply, but that relating to the *right of election*. The Constitution does not 'impair' or restrain the rights and privileges of the churches in any other respect than this. It must therefore be presumed that this exception referred to this particular feature of the Constitution; and if so, there was a legislative construction of it, several years before the decision of Chief Justice Parsons, and in entire conformity with his opinions.

We are much indebted to the reverend Council for bringing this statute of 1800 to our recollection. We considered the law so settled, the habits of Massachusetts so naturally lead us to respect our courts of law, that we had suffered it to escape us. By what unhappy accident the Council at Groton drew it into notice, we are unable to say. All we can affirm is, that it is entirely fatal to all their pretensions, and takes away the whole effect of a heavy mass of eloquence.

By the first section of the act of 1800, no privileges are given to churches except such as are *connected* and *associated with* existing bodies politic. By the second section, all the towns, parishes, precincts, bodies politic, or *religious societies*, are held to be constantly provided with a public teacher of piety, religion, and morality, under certain penalties to be recovered by indictment. Surely it will not even be pretended, that both the religious societies and the parishes, and also the churches attached to them are liable to these fines! If this should be the case, there would be a double set of fines; a fine on the parish as a corporation, and an equal fine on the *included* corporation, as the Council consider it, the church. For, if the churches are incorporated societies, and within the provision of the Constitution, as 'religious societies' they are entitled to elect; *e converso*, as religious societies, they are liable to this penalty and subject to indictment. The rights and responsibilities must be reciprocal. Is there a lawyer in the State who would not laugh, till he could laugh no longer, at the indictment of a church—without property, as most churches are, without means of raising the fines,—and at the same time another indictment against the parish for the same offence! It is so absurd that we are ashamed that we have wasted so much time in presenting the thought.

But this is the least important objection. The parishes are liable to a perpetual and increasing fine, renewable every six months, for not electing and providing a religious teacher; and yet, by the construction of this venerable Council, they have not the *power* to do it. A majority even of one, in a church, can deprive the parish of power to fill the vacancy. Nine men, for that was the majority in Groton, could keep that pulpit open for ten years, and yet the parish would be liable to the repetition of the fine every six months! It is clear, then, that the Legislature, in 1800, gave the same construction to the Constitution, which the courts have since done.

By the third section of the act, it is provided, 'that any *contract* made by any town, parish, &c. with any public teacher, who may *by them* respectively *be chosen* for their religious teacher, shall be binding on the *corporation*.' It will not be pretended that the *contract* was ever made by the church, or that it is binding on them. And yet why not, if they are bodies politic in the sense of the Constitution?

By the fourth section, every town, parish, and body politic, or religious society, has a right to *assess taxes* for the support of public worship, &c. Will any man pretend that churches have this power? No. It will not be pretended. The Legislature, in 1800, therefore, did not consider the churches as bodies politic and corporate.

But the conclusive reply to this pretension, will be found in the sixth section of this law, by which all laws providing for the settlement of ministers made *prior* to the Constitution, are expressly repealed. Why repeal the law of 1695 unless *repugnant to the Constitution?* Let the construction adopted by the Supreme Judicial Court be right or wrong, this repeal has annihilated the pretensions of the churches. The property of the church was preserved by the act of 1754.

incorporating the deacons. But the privilege of election depended solely on legislative discretion. The power which gave it, not to a corporate body, but to individuals, had surely a right to resume it. They have done it. There are no longer any exclusive privileges in church members.

We shall now make a few remarks on the three grounds taken by the Council.

The first point they assume is, that the church, in their narrow sense of the term, was *instituted by Jesus Christ himself;* that he gave her the right to elect her own pastors; that the church in the early ages was composed only of *covenant members;* that our ancestors so considered its rights, and character; in short, that there is a rightful permanent despotism in the church; for such must be the effect, since not only the rules of admission are made by the church, but the church members have an arbitrary power of rejecting an applicant on any pretext or no pretext at all, and are not responsible for such rejection. Indeed they would in all the eminently Orthodox churches, reject an applicant for the meritorious offence of thinking for himself; for making his own creed; for refusing assent and subscription to a covenant containing sentiments which he cannot find in his bible.

This question is rendered of very little moment, since the repeated judicial constructions which have been put on the third article of the Bill of Rights; but we shall not pass it by without remarking, that there is something revolting to the feelings to see our Saviour's name cited to support a gross abuse. With the bible in our hands, we know that it contains no directions of our Saviour whatever, about the form of his church, no rules or limitations for the admission of members, and that he was wholly silent as to the choice of pastors, or the persons who should choose them. All these matters rest on tradition.

But we forbear an examination of this question, now immaterial, and refer our readers to a discussion of it in a review of the Dedham case in the Christian Disciple for July and August, 1820. They will there find it maintained, that in the early ages of Christianity, the church was the society of Christians worshipping in one place;—that in this, the usual acceptation of the word, the church was divided into two classes only, clergy and laity,—not into three, clergy, church members, and ordinary worshippers;—that church and parish were in the language of those times, convertible terms;—that the *choice of bishops, or presbyters*—one and the same thing,—that is *pastors, was made in a meeting of all the people;*—that even if it could be proved, that no persons were in the first centuries admitted to the church without entering into a special covenant, it would by no means follow, that such a course is necessary in the present age, which is of a very different character; nay, that Hooker himself, one of this Council's favorite authorities, maintains that the children of confederate parents are, *ipso facto*, '*true members* according to the rule of the gospel, by the profession of their *fathers' covenant*, THOUGH they *should not make any personal and vocal expression of their engagement* as their fathers did;'—that, instead of a constant succession of churches, in the sense in which that word is used by Congregationalists, *the church in our technical sense* never had an existence, till the separation of the Independents from the Presbyterians in the seventeenth century; and that the high pretensions of churches in regard to the election of pastors, are so far from being supported by an uninterrupted usage even for the last two centuries, that they have never been fully recognised for a single hour. But if it had been otherwise, we maintain, that no length of time however great, can give a prescriptive right to usurpation. The reformation proceeded wholly on this principle. Equality in the christian church is one of its fundamental principles. It is to be sure, one which has been more often violated than any other. There has been an unceasing effort to lord it over God's heritage, and this Result is but one of the latest of the million of efforts to this effect. But it comes in an inauspicious age for the spirit of domination. Popes and Jesuits may be restored in name, but not to their dangerous power. The glory has departed from them. The human mind is free, and men will no longer, except in distracted Spain, hail their despots as benefactors, and insist upon the restoration of their chains.

There are two grounds of a legal nature taken in the Result, which are new. They are pretensions, which escaped the notice of all the legal and public characters, who have been employed in examining this question. It is rather curious that these points of law should never have occurred to the counsel in the three decided cases on the rights of churches, or to the learned judges, or to the Legislature, or to the late Convention, when they were discussing the third article, and yet that Drs Beecher and Porter, strangers to our laws, should have discovered them at a glance. The clause in the Bill of Rights which restores definitively to the parish, to the people, the exercise of inalienable rights of which they had been forcibly deprived, was expressed in these terms; 'that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, *at all times*, have the *exclusive* right of electing their public teachers, and of *contracting* with them for their support.' This clause is intelligible, unambiguous, positive, and peremptory; and it is of great importance, that we should take notice, that the same bodies which have the right of election, have the power of *contracting* with the pastor elect. No bodies have this power but the *civil* corporations. No church can make a contract. No church ever did make a contract, either before, or after the Constitution was adopted. We may say, *ergo*, the churches were not the bodies to which the right of election was given.

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* Hooker's Survey, Part I. p. 48.

The pretensions of the churches of Massachusetts were gone for ever, unless they could show, that they came within one of the descriptions of that short clause. Towns, parishes, or precincts, they could not pretend to be. No man in Massachusetts was so ignorant, or so bold as to affirm, that either of these descriptive names applied to churches. But at last, forty seven years after the adoption of the Constitution, and about fifteen years after a judicial decision was made upon it, the Council at Groton discover that churches are *corporate bodies* and *religious societies*. In order to show this in a very logical and truly legal manner, they begin by denying that any bodies of men existed in 1780, capable of fulfilling these terms, or which answer to them, but churches. This, if correct, would have some weight. It would not of course make the churches bodies politic; but as the words must be supposed to have had some meaning, there would have been a color for the pretence, that churches were intended or designed by these words. If the assertion of the Council had been true, it would indeed be very perplexing to us, that Caleb Strong who drew up, and the accurate lawyers who examined, and discussed this article, should have omitted the word '*churches*,' and should have given to these poverty stricken institutions the power of contracting, when they knew that they had no funds, and no means of raising them ; but we might have bowed with submission to an inevitable construction.

But the assertion, 'that besides towns, parishes, and precincts, there were no other religious societies or bodies politic but the churches,' is a most unhappy mistake, betraying an ignorance at which a Massachusetts' pupil at a country academy would have blushed. Our statute books are full of acts of incorporation of 'religious societies ;'—they were so at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. What were the fourteen religious societies of Boston? They were neither towns, parishes, nor precincts. They were 'bodies politic or religious societies.' These were their precise technical names, and they exactly correspond to the phrase in the Constitution.

But these learned civilians may say, 'So were the churches too. They were bodies politic and religious societies.' We reply, that neither in law, nor in common language, were they the one or the other. How do they shew that they were bodies politic? By such a strain as this; 'Our fathers came hither to preserve the liberties of the church. They would not suffer *her* to depend on the *world*. Incorporations must be *presumed*. They would not have permitted this poor *handmaid*, the church, to be turned out, without her *shepherd*, among a merciless, infidel, wicked race.' This is the general tone, though not in the precise words of the pamphlet.—We ask these gentlemen, why they did not apply to two or three learned professional men, who are the just pride of Orthodoxy? These gentlemen would have said to them,'—In Massachusetts we have no corporations by prescription. Our statute law has no chasms. We can find no act incorporating a church. A corporate body can act only by its common seal. We know of no church that has one. We search the registry of deeds for two hundred years; we can see no deed from any church. We consult the records of the courts; we find no suits for or against a church. The act of 1754 shows that the churches were not corporations then, and that act did not make them such. Gentlemen, you injure the cause of Orthodoxy by meddling with topics which you do not comprehend. Preserve a discreet silence. Imitate the apostles in a suitable submission to the ruling powers. Set an example of decency and moderation, and you will gain more proselytes than by a display of zeal without knowledge.' Such would have been the sound advice of these excellent lawyers and citizens.

The last point the Council make, is, that the framers of the Constitution *did not intend* to deprive the church of its former privileges; that the third article was not understood; that the people were deceived. We would remark in answer to these general, declamatory, loose, and inconclusive reasonings, that we have in this State, what *they* may think an odd way of judging of the intentions of legislators; viz. *by their words*. If they are clear, present no doubtful or ambiguous expressions, if they apply to existing and well known institutions, and describe them in a simple and accurate manner, we never resort to fanciful and imaginary suppositions and conjectures. We hold, that if the people are fit to be trusted with power, they must be supposed to be capable of comprehending the *clearest language*.* We know the Orthodox rule is different; *credo quia impossibile est*. But upon the principle we have just stated, we infer, that the people *comprehended* the third article of the Bill of Rights. We infer, that they *knew* of the decisions of the Supreme Court in Avery *vs.* Tyringham, Burr *vs.* Sandwich, and the case of the First Church in Dedham. The Orthodox lawyers certainly knew of them. We infer, therefore, that as these decisions were all published before the discussions in the late Convention, as the third article then underwent very full revision, and no man attempted to restore the churches to their usurped powers; —we infer that the construction of the courts on the third article met with universal approbation. We consider the silence of that Convention equivalent to a confirmation of the exclusive right of the people, who are the contractors and the tax payers, to elect those who are to teach them and their children morality and religion.

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* The great burden of complaint on the part of Dr Beecher and others, is, that the clause in the Bill of Rights giving the exclusive right of choice to the people, was smuggled through the Convention and not understood. We have taken some pains to ascertain the facts from authentic documents. The Committee who reported the draft of the Constitution, did not introduce this clause. They simply provided by the third article, that parishes and towns should be required to support a religious teacher. When that article was under consideration in the Convention, the representatives of the people inserted the clause as a *proviso*, giving to the people, who were held to pay, the right of electing their teachers. (See the printed report of the Committee published by order of the Convention.) And here we cannot forbear quoting a passage from the Address of the Convention to the People, written by Samuel Adams and signed by James Bowdoin. 'This article,' say they, 'underwent long debates, and took time in proportion to its importance; and we feel ourselves peculiarly happy in being able to inform you, that *though the debates were managed by persons of various denominations*, it was finally agreed upon with much more unanimity than usually takes place in disquisitions of this nature.' Thus carefully prepared and thus commended, they express themselves confident that it would meet with the support of the people. It has met with their support. In the Convention of 1820–21, not a word was uttered against this clause respecting the election of teachers; and we are persuaded that there is not at this moment even an Orthodox parish in the State, which would vote to give up its parochial rights, and surrender its liberties to the church members.

We shall not insult the understandings of our readers by replying to, or retorting the sometimes canting, sometimes inflammatory, and sometimes threatening language of this Result. Take a specimen; it would not have disgraced a midnight meeting in the *Convent des Jacobins*. 'The reaction which is *begun*, is *but* begun; and if it be *terrible* now, what will it become when an extended sense of injury shall have roused and united the entire mass of Christians of all denominations, whose *rights* are placed in *jeopardy?*—for of all modes of promoting sectarian views, that of *legislation* and *aggression*, is the most hopeless, in a republican government.' p. 62. To us, all this is a sealed book, a mystical jargon. We can comprehend nothing of the existing, or the threatened 'terrible' reaction, nor of 'promoting sectarian views by legislative enactment.' But one thing we do know, and which these gentlemen do as certainly *not* know—that the people of Massachusetts have a natural sagacity and shrewdness, which will at once enable them to appreciate this Result according to its real merit, which, in our opinion, is not such as will entitle its authors to canonization. We feel no apprehension, that our people will, by coaxing or threats, be induced to surrender rights which it cost them one hundred and fifty years of patient but determined efforts to secure.

Since the foregoing review was sent to the press, we have obtained from members of the first and only parish in Groton, a full statement of their side of this case, with copies of the documents which passed between the parties in this affair. We are glad that we were not in possession of these papers when writing the review. There is in the Result of this Council, it would appear from these papers, so remarkable a suppression of material facts; such a coloring of the whole transaction, which the true history will not warrant, that it would have been difficult to have preserved the tone of moderation which such a subject requires.

Our review was designed as an examination of principles, not of the conduct of the parties in Groton. The town of Groton, for it seems there is no second parish, might have been rash, or its measures illegal, and yet the principles of the Result of Dr Beecher, might have been unsound and indefensible, and his arraignment of our highest courts, turbulent and refractory. But from what we have seen, and we have carefully perused every document, we are compelled to say, that in no public transaction, in civil or religious concerns, did we ever meet with greater moderation, a more strict regard to decorum, not to be disturbed by provocation; a closer adherence to legal principles, united with a firm and enlightened determination to vindicate civil and religious liberty, than in the proceedings of the town of Groton, and of its committees. Their temperate and wise conduct is highly honorable to them. These documents should be, and indeed must be submitted to the public. The town of Groton owes it to its own honor, assailed as it has been by this Council. It owes it to the cause of christian liberty.

We shall simply state, what our limits will now alone enable us to do, that this Council was not only an *ex parte* one; but a *mutual one* was never asked. This is a direct violation of the Cambridge Platform, and of the order of church discipline;—a pretty singular measure on the part of gentlemen who profess so high a veneration for the usages of our ancestors. The town were not notified of it, nor were they represented at it.

The point in dispute, we are happy to see by the papers, was brought simply to this; Shall a parish once Orthodox, and changing its opinions in the proportion of three to one, be compelled to settle an Orthodox preacher? This was the Groton case stripped of all the disguise thrown around it.

Art. VI.—*Seventeen Discourses on several Texts of Scripture; addressed to Christian Assemblies in Villages near Cambridge; to which are added six Morning Exercises.* By Robert Robinson. First American Edition. Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, and Co. 12mo. pp. 406.

Robert Robinson was an extraordinary man. He was remarkable for the changes of his life; for his genius; for his native, vigorous, but somewhat undisciplined powers of mind; for his unwearied activity in different occupations wholly unlike each other; for his strong, benevolent, unrefined virtues, a little tinctured with vanity; for his excellent, though imperfect views of true religion, and what constitutes the character of a Christian; for the real pleasure which it gave him to manifest his hearty contempt of all the various classes of pretenders, who elect themselves to constitute the world's aristocracy of saints; for the keen relish with which he was disposed to pull off and pull to pieces sanctimonious affectation, hypocrisy, pretension, and parade; and for a corresponding independence of character in all things, which often shot out into eccentricities, half natural, half a matter of ostentation. In his own day, we believe, he had no rival as an eloquent extempore preacher, with power to command the attention, equally of the refined and the most uncultivated. In the society of Baptists at Cambridge, which he may almost be said to have formed, his successor has been the famous Robert Hall, a man apparently with greater advantages of education, and a more finished writer, but not his superior in native powers, and not his equal in liberality of feeling, and just conceptions of religion.

Robinson forced his way upward to distinction under very unfavorable circumstances. He was born in 1735. His father, who held an office in the excise, was a worthless profligate. He ill treated his wife, who had been led to marry him against her father's consent, partly from the unkindness which she experienced at home. He died when his son Robert, the youngest of three children, was about seven years old, leaving his family in distress through poverty. Of the two other children, one, a son, had been apprenticed to a painter, and the other, a daughter, to a mantuamaker. Robert was sent to a Latin school when six years old, where he recommended himself to the master by his abilities and good conduct, and made some proficiency in the classical languages. He likewise acquired a knowledge of the French, which he was enabled to do the more readily, as the French usher lodged at his mother's house. When he was fourteen, however, the poverty of his mother compelled her to take him from school, and endeavour to procure him some employment. An attempt to obtain a more desirable situation having failed, he was bound apprentice to a hairdresser in London, who had offered to receive him without a premium.

During his apprenticeship, he rose at four or five in the morning to study, procuring old books from stalls. He was tolerably attentive to his trade, and strictly virtuous in his conduct. His mind was much occupied by religious topics, and he was fond of attending a variety of preachers among the different sects of the Calvinistic Dissenters. But he was particularly attached to Whitfield, whom he used to call his spiritual father; and on leaving his trade, when he was about twenty years of age, he commenced preaching among the Methodists, which he continued for about two years.

During his apprenticeship, and afterward, he kept a regular diary, which sufficiently proves his religious simplicity. In one place, he says: 'I think this day our dear king is seventyfour years of age. O! my soul, bless God for the liberty we enjoy under his mild and gentle reign. Lord bless him with the choicest of thy blessings, spiritual and temporal! I went to the monthly meeting at Mr Halls' and found it was good to be there. A good man in his own hair from Deptford prayed first; then old Mr Crookshanks preached a sweet sermon, very awakening, from Hebrews xi, 7—the oldest preachers are the most thundering of late. God prosper them. Mr Hitchin prayed next very sweetly; then Mr Conder dismissed us with an affecting prayer. Lord hear us for this sinful land.' From the mention of the age of George II, this appears to have been written after he was twenty years old. In the following extract, the conception expressed of the piety of Frederick the Great and the Prussian army, is somewhat startling: 'As the Lord has been pleased so signally to own and bless the Prussian arms, (having on the fifth of November, when many I trust were praying for them, enabled him with about 1700 men,* to conquer an army of French and Austrians of 60 or

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* This is the number given in the volume before us; but Robinson probably wrote 17,000, which would be near the truth He refers to the battle of Rosbach fought the fifth of November, 1757.

70,000: the Lord stirred up the king of Prussia and his soldiers to pray; they kept up three fast days, and spent about an hour praying and singing psalms before they engaged the enemy: O how good it is to pray and fight!) we kept this day at the tabernacle,' &c.

Such characteristics of an individual like Robinson ought not to be kept out of sight. It is only with those who look but on the surface of things, that they can injure his fame, or affect the influence of what is excellent in his character and writings. They are highly instructive. It is a very remarkable fact, and a decisive proof of the original strength of Robinson's mind, that from being an apprentice to a hairdresser, and the author of such a diary, he rose to be one of the eminent men of his age, a keen and vigorous writer, and a most eloquent and powerful preacher. We learn from his diary, how different are the forms which the mind may assume at different periods of life. Nor is this the only, nor the most important lesson which it teaches. It may instruct us, when disposed to regard such extravagancies as it presents, only with ridicule, that they are not merely consistent with sincere piety, but that they may be the errors of a mind gifted with natural powers far beyond the common lot.

While he was preaching among the Methodists, he had an opportunity of giving proof of his christian integrity. A rich relation who had promised to provide liberally for him, and had bequeathed him a considerable sum in his will, threatened to withdraw his favor altogether, unless he quitted the Dissenters. The threat was unavailing; Robinson persevered in what he believed his duty, and suffered the forfeit. Soon after, he became a Baptist; and in the year 1759, when he was twenty-three years of age, began to preach to a small congregation of Baptists at Cambridge, with which he remained connected during the rest of his life. While yet among the Methodists, though almost without means of support, he had married. His wife's maiden name was Ellen Payne.

After preaching to his congregation for two years, he was regularly settled as their pastor in 1761. He had then, as he himself informs us, no prospect of assistance from his family. His wife's fortune, originally a hundred pounds, was partly gone. He had never inquired what his congregation would allow him, nor had any body proposed any thing. Their numbers, it is said, were only thirtyfour, and most of them were poor villagers. They had been quarrelling together about the question of free communion; and the libertinism of many of the former members had given a bad character to the whole society. They paid their future pastor for the first year that he was with them, three pounds twelve shillings and five pence. 'We lived,' he says, 'in bare walls, and they fit to tumble about our ears.' His salary however gradually increased, till in 1770, with nine young children, a wife, and an aged mother to support, he received ninety pounds, a sum which at that time was far from being equal in value to forty pounds when the Deserted Village was flourishing.

But 'the love of his people,' he says, 'was worth a million.' For them and for his family he labored without respite. He was constant in his attentions to them, particularly to the poor and to children. Of the latter he used to say, 'that if a child but lisped to give you pleasure, you ought to be pleased.' He preached extempore twice, and occasionally three times, on the sabbath; and delivered several lectures during the week among his scattered congregation, preaching sometimes in barns, and sometimes in the open air. He took the hours before they had commenced, or after they had ended the labors of the day,—the evening, or the early morning, and intermitted his lectures in hay and harvest times. But these were not his only labors. The sum which he received from his people being so inadequate to his support, he was obliged to provide necessaries and comforts for his family by other means. He accordingly engaged in agriculture, first renting some land, then purchasing it, and afterwards making additional purchases, till he became a busy, successful, thrifty farmer. There is a long letter written in gay spirits, in which he describes, evidently with a little exaggeration, the multiplicity of labors and duties that came upon him in one day, in the latter part of May, 1784. He thus relates his occupations before breakfast. 'Rose at three o'clock—crawled into the library—and met one who said, "Yet a little while is the light with you: walk while ye have the light—the night cometh when no man can work—my father worketh hitherto, and I work."—Rang the great bell, and roused the girls to milking—went up to the farm, roused the horse-keeper—fed the horses while he was getting up—called the boy to suckle the calves, and clean out the cow-house—lighted the pipe, walked round the gardens to see what was wanting there—went up to the paddock to see if the weanling calves were well—went down to the ferry, to see whether the boy had scooped and cleaned the boats—returned to the farm—examined the shoulders, heels, traces, chaff, and corn of eight horses going to plough—mended the acre staff—cut some thongs, whip-corded the boys' plough whips—pumped the troughs full—saw the hogs fed—examined the swill-tubs, and then the cellar—ordered a quarter of malt, for the hogs want grains, and the men want beer—filled the pipe again, returned to the river, and bought a lighter of turf for dairy-fires, and another of sedge for ovens—hunted up the wheelbarrows and set them a trundling—returned to the farm, called the men to breakfast, and cut the boys' bread and cheese, and saw the wooden bottles filled—sent one plough to the three-roods, another to the three-half-acres, and so on,—shut the gates, and the clock struck five—breakfasted.' The remainder of the letter is in the same style. In another, written in 1772, he says that he is attending his wife for the tenth time in childbirth; 'three nights I have sat up, and what with the fatigue of overseeing so great a family, where one is old, another sick, and all, as it were, past help, or not arrived at it; what with public labors and a variety of *et ceteras*, I am now fit to sleep on the floor.' In a letter written apparently a few days later, after mentioning the encouraging prospect of his wife's recovery, he says; 'I have had a fine week, you must think, nurses, helps, &c. to the number of seventeen or nineteen in a day with my own family; and I, poor I, all day forced to find eyes and feet, and thought for all.'

But it was not merely for himself and his family that he thus labored. Robinson was an eminently charitable and hospitable man, always ready to communicate from his own means, such as they were, to relieve the necessities and add to the comforts of others. In this particular, the sentiments expressed in one of his letters, were those on which he acted. In the original they are blended with some reflections on the vanity of learning in a christian preacher, which he himself, we are confident, would, if called upon, have explained away and limited, till we should have differed from him but little or not at all; but which, as they stand, are expressed much too broadly and loosely. We mention this in order to explain the allusions to the same subject in the extract given. 'I feel,' he says, 'three pounds, gained honestly by the sale of a fat bullock, produce more fire in my spirit, than all those pretty, but poor tassels and spangles, can give me. With three pounds I can set fire to ten cold hearts frozen with infirmity and widowhood, poverty and fear. Half a guinea will purchase the native eloquence of a grateful old woman; and she, if I set her to read, will give me a criticism of the heart, and the finest reading in the world. Oh! bless the old soul! what honied accents she pours into my ear! If I can honestly get, and afford to give away three pounds, it will always be my own fault if I be not very happy. Now then set me to preach. How is it possible I should be dull! The luxury of living to the glory of God, and the good of society; the joy of having saved a forlorn and forgotten cripple from hanging herself in despair; the felicity of setting fire to incense that burns to the glory of God; these are preparations of the pulpit, which the cold consumer of midnight oil never derives from his accents and quantities.'

But, notwithstanding the pressure of all his other occupations, such was the untiring activity of Robinson's mind, and such too, it must be added, was the uncommon vigor and elasticity of his animal frame, that he was able, in 1770, to commence a distinguished literary career which terminated only with his life. To explain in some degree his marvellous industry and the versatility of his powers, it must be remarked that his health was always firm, and that he enjoyed an almost boyish lightness and alacrity of spirits till the last year or two of his life, when his constitution gave way, in consequence of excessive exertions, and his confining himself too much to merely intellectual pursuits. Like other strong men, he was too confident in his strength. 'I have but one nerve,' he used to say, 'and that comes from my breeches pocket.'

In 1770 he commenced his well known translation of Saurin's sermons, the first volume of which was published in 1775. The several volumes contain valuable preliminary matter on different subjects. In 1774, he published his '*Arcana;* or the Principles of the late Petitioners to Parliament in the Matter of Subscription.' It has the reputation of being one of the most able works which have appeared on the subject. Its immediate occasion was this. In 1772 a petition was presented to parliament by members of the church of England, principally clergymen, but including, likewise, members of the professions of civil law and physic, praying for relief in the matter of subscription to the thirtynine articles. It failed of its object, by a great majority in the house of commons; as did a motion to the same effect the following year. In 1772, likewise, a bill was introduced for the relief of the Dissenters, whose clergymen and schoolmasters were, and we believe are, *legally* exposed to heavy penalties if they undertake their offices, without subscribing all the *doctrinal* articles of the church of England. Though it passed the house of commons, by a great majority, it was thrown out in the house of lords; all the bishops, with one honorable exception, Green, bishop of Lincoln, who was never afterwards translated, voting against it. The same was the fate of a similar bill the following year. These subjects excited great attention. Among the members of the church of England who interested themselves in the cause of religious freedom, the most distinguished were Lindsey, Robert Tyrwhitt, then fellow of Jesus College, Dr John Jebb, bishop Law, and, we regret to add, Paley. The Defence which he published about this time of the Considerations of his patron, bishop Law, only increases the sorrow, with which an honest man must read the poor sophistry in respect to subscription, with which he afterward paltered with his own conscience, and taught others to do the same.

We happen to be writing with the '*Arcana*' on the table before us; and in taking it up, the first passage on which we open, is so characteristic of Robinson's style as to be worth quoting. The book is written in the form of letters. Addressing his correspondent he says; 'You know the story of father Fulgentio, preaching at Venice on Pilate's question, *What is truth?* He told his hearers that at last, after many searches, he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said that there it was in his hand; but then he put it in his pocket, and coldly said; *But the book is prohibited.* Now what great difference would there have been, if he had said, *You may read the book, but its true meaning is prohibited?* Yet this is what all the Arminian clergy in England must say, if they speak consistently with themselves; for in the opinion of all impartial judges, the established religion is Calvinism.'

Robinson was a thoroughly *catholic* Christian, and an enemy of intolerance in all its forms. He regarded in the true spirit of our religion all attempts of sects and churches, of Episcopalians or Baptists, to impose the subscription or the profession of their creeds upon others, by holding out bribes in the one hand, and inflicting penalties and disabilities with the other. He was a sincere and enlightened lover of liberty religious and civil. He admired the American constitution, and regarded the character of Washington with the veneration to which it is entitled. His fame early extended to our country; and in one of his letters, he speaks, in a tone of exhilaration, of a visit from some distinguished Americans. He was invited by them to remove and settle among us. 'Happiest of countries,' says he, 'peace and prosperity attend you! I shall never see you; but if I forget the ability and virtue, that struggled to obtain, and actually did obtain, all that mankind hold dear; let my right hand forget her cunning.'

We cannot transcribe these words without feeling that in this country, the contest is to be won or lost, on which the hopes of mankind depend. If the clouds which have broken away in the heavens, and let down upon us a clear sunshine, unknown before, should close again, no human foresight can determine the continuance of the gloom and storms, that will follow. We seem, however, not to be fully aware, that as the highest earthly blessings cannot be obtained, so they cannot be secured without unremitting and strenuous exertions. Of late, we hear, especially from ourselves, too much of our national praises, and too little of our duties and responsibilities. At one period, it was necessary in order to produce a proper feeling of patriotism and gratitude, that we should be reminded of our distinctions; but of late, national flattery, mingled with falsehood, has been administered in too much abundance; in draughts adapted to intoxicate or to sicken. Such flattery may be as pernicious to a people, as to a monarch; and is commonly offered with the same selfish purposes to the one as to the other. We need those who will warn, and counsel, and exhort. A republic is in continual danger. There is no season of idleness or indifference for those who wish well to their country, their children, or mankind. As regards our national government, there is always danger of the existence of an unprincipled opposition, loving intrigue for its own sake; and having no object but the gratification of private ambition in its meanest forms; but restless, cunning, working its way steadily; and silent or clamorous in its operations as occasion may require. Such an opposition may embarrass government, defeat the most important measures, and consume the time of our public councils in noisy and endless harangues, and the discussion of questions brought forward only as part of the hostile machinery of a faction. Its members may even labor to dishonor their country in the adoption of public measures, for the sake of bringing discredit on those who are at the head of affairs. Taking advantage of pernicious prejudices, false principles, wrong sentiments, and corrupt passions, they may countenance and strengthen them; deceiving, misleading, and, as far as it is in their power, perverting the moral sense of all that portion of the community over which they can gain influence. To these dangers is our general government exposed; nor is any one of our confederated republics secure in its present prosperity. We speak on these subjects merely with the feeling of Christians and of moral men. As for the names of party distinction, no one can regard them with more indifference than we do. In addressing Unitarian Christians, we consider ourselves as addressing a very enlightened portion of the community, and especially as addressing men, who understand well, that true religion exercises its unrelaxing authority over every act that may affect the condition of our country or our fellow men.

We return from what is hardly a digression. In reading the lives of those in our own times, who have felt and written like philosophers and Christians, we cannot but observe with what an earnest gaze their attention has been turned to America. The recollection of what has interested them most deeply in the progress of human improvement, necessarily awakens all our hopes and solicitudes for our native land. Its fate becomes blended with their history.

Robinson was, as we have said, a thoroughly catholic Christian; and this fact alone implies that he had just notions of what is essential in religion; and attached no extravagant importance to any of those false doctrines, the reception of which others have made the necessary condition of escaping everlasting misery. Educated as a Calvinist, under such preachers as Gill and Whitfield, his belief was through life gradually changing, and becoming clear and rational. Upon the occasion, however, of Mr Lindsey's publishing his celebrated Apology for Resigning the Vicarage of Catterick, he came forward as a defender of the proposition, that 'Jesus Christ is truly and properly God,' in a work, entitled 'A Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.' In what sense he maintained this proposition, the reader of his Plea may probably think that he himself would have found some difficulty in distinctly explaining. He writes with great candor, and with much respect for the integrity of his opponents. His work was thought very able by those who ought to be best qualified to judge of its merit; and his services were very thankfully acknowledged, not merely by Dissenters, but by dignitaries of the establishment. Proposals were made to him to accept a situation in the church, but of course were rejected. 'Do the Dissenters know the worth of the man?' asked Dr Ogden. 'The man,' said Robinson, 'knows the worth of the Dissenters.'

On many topics of controversial theology his opinions seem, during much of his life, to have been loose and unsettled. In discussing them with his brother ministers, he sometimes treated such subjects with what seemed to them levity and sinful indifference. On one occasion he said, for instance, 'Brother, I have delivered my present sentiments; but I am going to feed the swans at the bottom of my garden; on my return, perhaps I shall think differently.' He had a habit very provoking in addressing another who is possessed with a solemn sense of the orthodoxy and importance of his opinions. He would gravely ask such a one to give a clear account of his belief. 'Brother,' he would say, 'explain the matter; when I understand the subject, I will preach about it.' His own orthodoxy respecting the trinity, which, at the time when he wrote his Plea, would not have stood any severe test, gradually melted away. In a letter written in 1788, two years before his death, he thus expressed himself; 'As to personality in God, a trinity of persons, I think it the most absurd of all absurdities; and in my opinion, a man who hath brought himself to believe the popular doctrine of the trinity, hath done all his work; for after that, there can be nothing hard, nothing inevident, the more unintelligible, the more credible.' It is remarkable that one commencing life as Robinson did, should have died as a guest of Dr Priestley, from an interview with whom he had expected much gratification; and that the first honors to his memory should have been paid in a funeral sermon by that eminent man.

Besides the works of Robinson, which have been mentioned, his translation of Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon is well known. There are others which attracted much attention at the time of their publication, and passed through repeated editions. They may be read at the present day with interest and instruction. One of them is a 'Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Non Conformity.' It is a strong, able, undisguised attack upon the church of England. Another is entitled, ' A political Catechism intended to convey, in a familiar Manner, just Ideas of good Civil Government, and the British Constitution.' In the advertisement, he says, it is the duty of all good citizens, ' to support the present excellent administration,' which was the Rockingham administration. Notwithstanding, however, his attachment to the administration of which Mr Burke was a member, his Plan of Lectures and his Catechism, some years after their publication, when Mr Burke had separated from his party, brought upon Robinson an attack in parliament from that eminent man, which he shared in company with Dr Priestley and Dr Price.* Few can think more highly than we do of the genius and the integrity of Burke. But after all, he was one who ' born for the universe, narrowed his mind ;' and became a politician and a partisan, when he ought to have been a philosopher. With the feelings and views of a politician, he was more solicitous to reconcile himself to the existing state of society, to free it from its abuses, and to trim it into shape, than to anticipate or provide for any essential improvement in the condition of our race. He was *ultimus Romanorum ;* the greatest among those who lived in a fashion of the world which is passing away.

Robinson's high reputation, his talents and virtues, gave him, at one period, great influence with the denomination to which he belonged. But it was shaken and weakened by his liberality of sentiment, by his resistance of all usurpation over the faith of others, and by his disbelief of many of the articles of the Orthodox creed. In 1781, he published a tract, entitled ' The general Doctrine of Toleration applied to the particular Case of Free Communion.' The proposal of free communion was in itself obnoxious ; and Robinson had besides the hardihood to affirm, that ' there is, there can be, no moral turpitude in involuntary error.' The expression of this opinion was regarded as highly offensive, by Mr Abraham Booth, a distinguished Particular Baptist, one Dr Rippon, an eminent man, and others, who, conceiving that they possessed a monopoly of truth in this sinful and ignorant world, were outraged that their peculiar possession should be so undervalued. At some monthly meeting of Baptist ministers, a voice was heard, which may not yet have reached the ears of all whom it is adapted to inform. Mr

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* See Annual Register for 1790, pp. 76, 77, and Dyer's life of Robinson, p. 155. There must be an anachronism in the date assigned by Dyer to Mr Burke's attack.

Abraham Booth, as Dr Rippon relates, 'stated with an energy of mind, and a force of argument never to be forgotten, that if error is harmless, truth must be worthless, and with a voice for him unusually elevated, declared, that every partisan of the innocency of mental error is a criminal of no common atrocity, but guilty of high treason against the majesty of eternal truth.' The words of Mr Booth and his admirer may sound to many like an echo of one of the Rev. Gabriel Kittledrumle's sermons in Old Mortality; but we are none of us, probably, fully aware of the state of things in which we live; and are apt, it may be, to believe the world wiser than it is. We are much mistaken if as gross folly is not delivered with as much arrogance and dogmatism, and almost as much effect, to congregations in our own metropolis. In the present case, the effect of this and similar denunciations was considerable. Many of his own denomination were led to view Robinson as an object of suspicion; and of its leaders, many without doubt, had before regarded him with jealousy.

Still the weight of his character was such as to withstand, in a great measure, the attacks to which he was exposed. In 1781, a respectable meeting of gentlemen of the Baptist denominatian, convened in London for the purpose, applied to him to undertake a history of the Baptists. He assented to their request; and was occupied in literary labors relating to this work during the remainder of his life. The fruits of his studies appeared after his death in two large quarto volumes; the one entitled a History of Baptism, and the other, Ecclesiastical Researches. These works may be of some use to the student of ecclesiastical history; but they are among the least valuable of his writings. He wanted that long discipline of learning, and those comprehensive views, to be derived only from a very extensive acquaintance with collateral subjects, which are necessary to qualify one for such undertakings. This want, no studies, pursued merely for the particular occasion, can supply. The facts which are learnt by the undisciplined student are often but very imperfectly apprehended. Their true character and bearing are not perceived. He can hardly fail to misjudge as to the proper inferences from them, and he is very liable to mistake and misstate the facts themselves. In order to accomplish well such works as those just mentioned, the mind must be accustomed to critical study, and philosophical investigation; otherwise, we shall find in them loose, partial, exaggerated, false statements, only conformed in their general outline to what the author may think the truth. These faults are characteristic of Robinson's histories. They are distinguished, likewise, by an occasional levity of style, harsh judgments harshly expressed, and strong and sweeping assertions in coarse language, which, as the author is often in the wrong, give an air of flippancy to his composition. Still a man like him could not write two quarto volumes without affording abundant proof of the vigor of his mind. The amount of labor of which they give evidence is wonderful. It is curious, and may be useful, to perceive in what manner the facts in ecclesiastical history were viewed by one regarding them from the position in which Robinson stood, and expressing himself with so much independence. His remarks may suggest new thoughts. His language is often bold and forcible. To give a single example; after relating the proceedings by which Calvin brought Servetus to the stake, he proceeds; 'Many have pretended to apologize for Calvin; but who is John Calvin, and what are his nostrums, which end in tyranny and murder, that the great voice of nature should be drowned in the din of a vain babbling about him?'

Robinson's devoted attention to his congregation, and particularly to the poor, has been already mentioned, and is one of the very pleasing traits of his character. When preaching in the villages through which they were scattered, he used to take pleasure in visiting his poor parishioners, and partaking, when asked, of their brown bread and black tea. The smallest expression of kindness from them, though it were but lighting his pipe, was gratefully acknowledged. 'When a poor man,' he said, 'shows anxiety to administer to your comfort, do not interrupt him. Why deprive him of the pleasure of expressing his friendship?' He was piously attentive to his mother, who died at a very advanced age, having been long an inmate of his family. He was an affectionate husband and a fond father. He was very kind to his servants, familiar with them, patient with their weaknesses, and possessing the art of governing tempers thought by others to be unmanageable. He used to say that 'nothing so much humanizes the heart as bearing with the infirmities of others.' In his notions of education, he seems to have anticipated principles more generally adopted since his time. 'He rather invited inquiry than imposed tasks.' 'His opinion was that young people recollect longer, what they discover by their own sagacity and observation, than in the way of formal lessons.' A great part of his house was stuck over with cheap pictures which might serve for their instruction. 'Children,' he said, 'catch their most useful hints in their most unguarded moments.' 'His system however,' we are told, 'inclined to excessive indulgence;' but though the writers of his life say or insinuate this, they afford no proof that any ill effects followed from it. In 1787 he lost a daughter; and it is thus that he speaks of her in a letter to a lady, written about three weeks after her death:—

'You will not be surprised when I inform you, that all our hopes and fears concerning *Julia*, ended in her departure on the evening of the 9th instant. You, I know, foresaw it. For my part I wilfully blinded myself; I could not, I would not believe it could be, but it was and I have felt it, and ever shall feel it. Saturday she seemed better, sat up, gave me a drawing of a moss-rose bud for my watch, and ate two slices of the breast of a goose and some green pease. Lord's day worse. Monday worse still. Tuesday up into an easy chair, and put again to bed more than twenty times in the day, yet she ate a bit of hare for dinner. At seven I gave her a night draught, which she took with eagerness, and said, she would not take any thing more to night, but go to sleep. Presently, she said, Nancy kiss me. Nancy kissed her, and Patty. Reclining her head on the pillow, she added, Lord into thy hands I commend my spirit, and without a struggle, a sigh, a groan, or any unpleasant appearance, fell asleep. Oh! Mrs. T——, the picture is in my mind. I shall never lose it!

> Turn hopeless thought, turn from her. Thought repelled,
> Resenting rallies, and wakes all my wo.

Julia was the beauty and the pride of all my family. She was straight as an arrow, five feet ten inches high. A dark eye like fire, and an oval visage full of sensibility, and sweetness. A complexion like the lilly tinged with the blush of the rose. She had a fund of sterling wit, and a wise, grave reason that directed the use of it. Nothing escaped her observation, and whether she roved in the regions of fancy, or plodded in the facts of creation and providence, her fine reasoning powers reduced all to truth, arranged all in order, and directed all to make her circle happy. She had the most just and sublime notions of God, and a perpetual veneration for him. No suspicions invaded her serene bosom, during a gradual decline of three years: on the contrary, often would she exclaim, his tender mercies are over all his works! Shall not the judge of the whole earth do right! She had felicity enough to enjoy, and to communicate, and her sisters who always waited on her, said, father, Jule is an angel! My heart, my aching heart! She was an angel. Ah! too true! She had wings, and flew away. Do dear Mrs. T——, forgive me. It eases me to write to you, for you, I know, share my grief.

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How wonderful are God's ways! My mother at ninety, with a complexion and a vivacity proper to seventeen, goes into mourning for seventeen, decrepid, departed, decayed! Mrs Robinson and the family have borne the shock better than could have been imagined. The lot has fallen upon me, and they, in eagerness to comfort me, console themselves.

About the beginning of the year 1790, as he was completing the fiftyfifth year of his age, his health began to give away, under the pressure of his various labors and cares. His body failed, and his mind shared in some degree its weakness. He undertook, for relaxation, a journey to Birmingham to visit Dr Priestley. He retained the sprightliness of his conversation, but he felt that he was an altered man. He said to one who visited him while in that city, 'You have only come to see the shadow of Robert Robinson.' He preached, however, in Dr Priestley's pulpit. The next Tuesday evening he passed in their company, entertaining them with his usual vivacity. He did not fear death; but had always expressed an apprehension of the distress of parting with his family and friends, from the affliction which they must suffer. He died that night, agreeably to a wish which he had expressed, 'softly, suddenly, and alone.' When he was found in the morning, the bed clothes were not discomposed, nor his countenance distorted.*

The writings of Robinson have a peculiar interest from the fact that they are *his* writings, that his mind with all its power and goodness, and all its inequalities and eccentricities, pervades and gives life to the whole. There is nothing of mere mechanical composition in his pages; nothing but what gives proof of the individual author. But of all his writings the volume which has afforded occasion for this article, is the most curious and interesting. It is the only one, we believe, which has been republished in this country; and if one alone were to be selected, it deserved the distinction. It consists of sermons which were actually delivered to the humblest of the poor of his congregation; to men and women, many of whom could not read, sometimes assembled in barns, or in the open air. And these sermons are perfectly adapted to their comprehension; and at the same time contain an exposition of the great truths and duties of religion so clearly and forcibly given, that he must be a very wise and a very good man, who may not be benefitted by their perusal. In reading them, one may enjoy a pleasure similar to that derived from Miss Edgeworth's stories for children, in perceiving the skill with which a powerful mind accommodates itself to the understandings of the weak and uninformed, while we feel also that the truths conveyed to them, are well suited to our own improvement. The composition of these sermons was the peculiar work for which Robinson was preeminently fitted. They form a volume unique in its character, presenting an exhibition of intellectual power such, we believe, as is not elsewhere to be found. No other sermons with which we are acquainted, approach to them in the characteristic excellencies which ought to distinguish such discourses. We will give a few passages merely as specimens of the style of address. The title of the first sermon is, 'The Christian Religion easy to be understood;' the text is Ephesians iii. 4. Robinson begins in the following manner.

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* The particulars in the preceding account, except where Robinson's own letters are quoted, are principally taken from Memoirs of his Life and Writings by George Dyer; and from Memoirs [by B. Flower] prefixed to a Collection of his Miscellaneous Writings in four Volumes 8vo, Harlow 1807. Neither writer can be much praised; and Dyer, especially, seems to have had little power of comprehending and estimating Robinson's character.

BRETHREN,—'Suppose the apostle Paul, when he first stood up in the synagogue at Ephesus to teach Christianity to the Jews, or in the school of Tyrannus to a mixed assembly, had begun his discourse by saying, "Men of Ephesus, I am going to teach a religion which none of you can understand;" I say, suppose this; put yourselves in the place of the Ephesians, and you must allow, that he would have insulted his hearers, disgraced himself, and misrepresented the religion of Jesus Christ.

'He would have *insulted the assembly;* and they would have thought, This man either doth understand the subject of which he is going to speak, or he doth not. If he doth not understand it himself, he hath gathered us together only to hear him confess his ignorance; and what have we to do with that? If he be ignorant, let him sit silent as we do, and give place to such as do know what they talk of. If he does understand it himself, why should he affirm we cannot? Are we assembled to hear him boast? Does he take us for idiots, who have no reason, or for libertines, who make no use of what they have?

'He would have *disgraced himself;* for what can render a man more ridiculous than his pretending to instruct others in what he doth not understand himself? Paul would have appeared in the pulpit just as one of you, taskers, would appear in the chair of a professor of Hebrew at a university. What character more disgraceful can a man assume, than that of the leader of a credulous party, whose religion doth not lie in understanding and practising what is taught, but in believing that the teacher understands it! A provision indeed for the glorious consequence of a blind guide; but not for the freedom, and piety, and happiness of the people!

'I said, he would have *misrepresented the christian religion;* and I am going to prove this, by showing you, that Christianity is not a secret but a revealed religion—that you are all of you able to understand it—and that there is every reason in the world why you should apply yourselves to the thorough knowledge of it.' pp. 1, 2.

Again;

'When I affirm, the christian religion hath no mysteries now, I do not mean to say that the truths and the duties of Christianity are not *connected* with other truths and other exercises, which surpass all our comprehension; but I affirm, that the knowledge of the incomprehensible parts, and the belief of what people please to conjecture about them, though they may be parts of our amusement, and perhaps improvement, are yet no parts of that religion which God requires of us under pain of his displeasure. Suppose I were to affirm, there is no secret in mowing grass, and in making, stacking, and using hay; all this would be very true; and should any one deny this, and question me about the manner in which one little seed produces clover, another trefoil, a third rye-grass, and concerning the manner how all these convey strength and spirit to horses, and milk to cows, and fat to oxen in the winter; I would reply, All this is philosophy; nothing of this is necessary to mowing, and making, and using hay. I sanctify this thought by applying it to religion. Every good work produces present pleasure and future reward; to perform the work, and to hope for the reward from the known character of the great Master we serve, is religion, and all before and after is only connected with it.' p. 3.

We will give but one more extract from this excellent sermon:

'Another says, I am a very sober man, I go constantly to a place of worship, and I cannot comprehend the christian religion. All this is very true; you are a sober, decent character, and regular in your attendance on public worship; but recollect, I am speaking not of your body, but of your mind. Now, it is a fact, abroad or at home, in the church or in the barn, your attention is always taken up with other things, and so taken up as to leave no room for "the things which belong unto your *everlasting* peace." Sometimes your corn, sometimes your cattle, sometimes taxes and rates, and sometimes your rent and your servants' wages; but, at all times, to live in the present world, engrosses all your attention. You resemble yon child fast asleep, without knowing it, in the arms of a parent. "God besets you behind and before, and lays his hand upon you. It is he that watereth the ridges of your corn, and settleth the furrows thereof; he maketh the earth soft with showers; he clothes thy pastures with flocks, and crowns the year with his goodness. It is he that giveth thee power to get wealth, and multiplieth thy herds and thy flocks, and thy silver and thy gold, and all that thou hast." And you, inattentive man! you cannot comprehend that you are under an obligation to know and do the will of this generous benefactor. What does Christianity require of you but to love and serve this God? If you do not serve him, it is because you do not love him; if you do not love him, it is because you do not know him; and if you do not know him, it is not for want of evidence, but attention.

'It is not only to you that I affirm this connexion between attention and knowledge; for if this barn were filled with statesmen and scholars, generals and kings, I should be allowed to say to one, Sir, you understand intrigue; to another, Sir, you understand war, to besiege a town, and rout an army; to a third, Sir, you understand law, and every branch of the office of a conservator of the peace; to another, Sir, you understand languages, and arts and sciences; and you all understand all these, because you have studied them; but here are two things which you have not studied, and which therefore you do not know; the one, how to plough, and sow, and reap, and thresh an acre of wheat; and the other how to live holily in this world, so as to live happily in the world to come. Are you not convinced, my good brethren, that the same circumstance, which prevents those gentlemen from knowing how to perform the work that you perform every day with pleasure, prevents you from knowing the practice and the pleasure of true Christianity? In both cases the subject has not been attended to.' pp. 5, 6, 7.

In another sermon we find the following statement of the argument for the existence and perfections of God from the works of creation.

'See here, I hold a Bible in my hand, and you see the cover, the leaves, the letters, and the words; but you do not see the writers or the printers, the letter-founder, the ink-maker, the paper-maker, or the binder. You never did see them, you never will see them, and yet there is not one of you who will think of disputing or denying the being of these men. I go further; I affirm that you see the very souls of these men in seeing this book; and you feel yourselves obliged to allow that they had skill, contrivance, design, memory, fancy, reason, and so on. In the same manner, if you see a picture, you judge there was a painter; if you see a house, you judge there was a builder of it; and if you see one room contrived for this purpose, and another for that; a door to enter, a window to admit light, a chimney to hold fire, you conclude that the builder was a person of skill and forecast, who formed the house with a view to the accommodation of its inhabitants. In this manner examine the world, and pity the man who, when he sees the sign of the wheat-sheaf, has sense enough to know that there is somewhere a joiner, and somewhere a painter; but who, when he sees the wheat-sheaf itself, is so stupid as not to say to himself,—This creature had a wise and good Creator.' p. 22.

To us there is something quite pleasing in the next extract, and we can easily understand how one who preached thus should command the attention and love of his people.

'To be a Christian, it is necessary to have the holy Scriptures: you have them in your own mother tongue, so cheap that any body may buy the book, and so plain that the meanest creature may understand it. If any one be so extremely poor, that he cannot purchase a Bible, the charity of other Christians will bestow it for nothing: and if any one cannot read it himself, other Christians will read it to him How often have I had the honor of doing this for some of you! We had in our congregation a poor, aged widow, who could neither read the Scriptures, nor live without hearing them read; so much instruction and pleasure did she derive from the oracles of God. She lived in a lone place, and the family where she lodged could not read; but there was one more cottage near, and in it a little boy, a shepherd's son, who could read; but he, full of play, was not fond of reading the Bible. Necessity is the mother of invention. The old widow determined to rise one hour sooner in a morning, to spin one half-penny more, to be expended in hiring the shepherd's boy to read to her every evening a chapter; to which he readily agreed. This little advantage made her content in her cottage, and even say, "The lines are fallen to me in pleasant places." You, little boys, learn to read, and read the scriptures, to comfort the old people about you. Perhaps you may make lame and blind people say, for your sakes, "The lines are fallen unto us in pleasant places; yea, we have a goodly heritage."' pp. 43, 44.

In the same sermon he says,

'Let us finish. Christians, of all men, should be the least prone to discontent. A Christian, who hath God for his portion, and who, dissatisfied with that, renders himself unhappy about the little things of this life, behaves as if he could not enjoy the day for want of a glowworm, or the ocean for want of one little drop more.' p. 49.

On the morality of the Gospel, he thus observes;

'Morality being a rule of practice must be *clear*. It is a great fault in masters giving orders, to be obscure. Even a willing servant may err through the doubtful meaning of a direction, and in such a case we ought not to tax him with carelessness, but ourselves for not speaking clearly and plainly. This is one proof of the goodness of the morality of the Gospel, that it neither is, nor can be misunderstood. A man desires to be informed what God expects him to do towards himself. The Gospel tells him, God requires him to fear him, to love him, to confide in him, to imitate him, to pray to him, to treat him as the first cause, and the chief good. A man desires to know what Jesus Christ expects of him. The Gospel informs him, that he expects to be heard, to have his doctrine examined and believed, his life imitated, and himself "honored by all men as they honor the Father," to be treated as the Teacher, the Saviour, the Judge, and the Friend of mankind. One wishes to know how he ought to conduct himself to his neighbours. The Gospel tells him, "All things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Another wishes to know what conduct he ought to observe to his enemies. The Gospel says, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." Another asks, How ought I to manage myself? The Gospel answers, "If thy right eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; if thy right hand cause thee to offend, cut it off and cast it from thee; it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell-fire." These duties are so clear that all the world understand them; therefore Christians love the morality of the Gospel, and therefore the wicked hate it. Clearness is one character of goodness, and the morality of the Gospel hath it.' pp. 61, 62.

The following is a part of what he says of free inquiry in religion.

'Remark, further, that free inquiry in religion is *essential to the virtue* of a character. The virtue of man consists in his making use of all his own faculties; not in believing that other men have made a virtuous use of theirs. Now it is possible, a man may make use of all his faculties, and yet not be able to perceive the evidence of some opinions, which are called articles of faith; and consequently he may doubt the truth of those articles, yea, it is necessary to the virtue of his character that he should doubt them; for it is not in his power to believe without proof, and it would be unjust to profess to believe what he does not believe. Let us not be so weak as to imagine, that a man cannot think justly unless he thinks as we do. Let us allow that his justice consists in thinking, and reasoning, and acting as well as he can; and that he is accountable for all this, only to "one master, even Christ." As freedom of thought is the parent and guardian of all virtue, so the want of it is the nurse of vice, and particularly of that general disposition to all sin; I mean servility. A low, servile soul, habituated not to think for itself, but to be led by a guide, is prepared for the commission of any crime, or the belief of any absurdity, that a mercenary guide may find convenient to enjoin. No men teach the depravity, the extreme and excessive depravity of human nature, with a better grace than these men. Were I disposed to sink a soul into the lowest degree of wretchedness, either as a citizen of the world, or as a member of a church, I would inculcate, with all my might, a spirit of servility, and that would answer my end better than any other method in the world. I would not shock a man with the sounds of perjury and blasphemy, impiety to God and injustice to men; but I would gently inform him, that he was a poor, depraved, foolish creature, not able to judge between good and evil, truth and error, and that he would discover great arrogance if he thought otherwise: but that I was a wise and sacred man, wishing well to his soul, and that by believing what I said to be true, and by doing what I directed to be done, he would be pious, and safe, and happy. There is therefore no virtue. but a great fund of iniquity in implicit faith.' pp. 172, 173.

Afterward he says,

'By the way, there are many Christians extremely ignorant of the wisdom of the schools, who yet will be always applying the science of other men to their own ideas of religion; and what with learned words and vulgar ideas, polished phrases and gross notions, great sounds and little or no meaning; they make the christian religion the most abstruse of all hard things in the world. Do you wonder you do not understand them? They do not understand themselves.' p. 182.

In a sermon on proper behaviour towards such as give confused accounts of religion, there are the following fine remarks.

'Lastly, our conduct should be *patient*, and we should bear with the evil for the sake of the good. Let me expound this case by another. Our Lord commands us to "love our enemies." Most men complain of the difficulty of this duty, and think it harder than all the Ten Commandments: but would not a little attention to the meaning make this hard thing easy? When a neighbour becomes an enemy, we forget every thing of him except his enmity: that day, that one fatal day, that action, that unjust,that unkind action, that word, that cruel word, occupies the whole of our attention: that we hate, and it deserves hatred, and the Lord doth not require us to love enmity, injustice, and ingratitude, those black and dismal crimes. Now could we find temper to consider the whole of the man, we should find something lovely in him; and that lovely action we ought to esteem, even in the person of an enemy. What! Is virtue nothing, because the man who doth it does not happen to be my friend? Perhaps I love virtue only for the sake of the benefits I derive from it, and perhaps I should find in my heart to dislike an angel, who should pass my door and visit my neighbour who is an enemy to me. The man is not all enmity, he loves his wife and family, and many people; he loves his country, and perhaps his God too, though he doth not happen to like me: but who am I, that I should make love of me a test of excellence? Am I perfect, and always in every moment an object of esteem? People will not enter into these just and mild sentiments, and therefore they see nothing to love in their enemies; but, if they once dislike, go on, like the Philistines and Edomites towards Israel, till hatred is transmitted from father to son, and becomes, as a prophet expresseth it, an "old and perpetual hatred." Apply this to the case in hand. If it be possible to find a little truth in a great mass of error:

that little truth deserves esteem, and we should consider it as the Lord considered Lot, whom "he sent out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthew the cities in which he dwelt."' pp. 238, 239.

In regard to the instruction of children in the truths of religion, he says;

'There are two general ways of teaching children the truths of religion. Some make use of catechisms, which children are made to get by heart. This is an exercise of the memory, but not of the understanding, and therefore nothing is more common than to find children, who can repeat a whole catechism, without knowing any thing more than how to repeat it. The hardest catechisms are certainly the worst; but the most plain are nothing but an exercise of memory. The chief recommendation of them is, they save a parent a great deal of trouble: but does not the death of a child save you a great deal more? Yet who would part with her child on that ground? The other method is by hearing them read some little histories of Scripture, and by asking them questions, to set them a thinking and judging for themselves. This is an exercise of the understanding, and when the understanding is taught its own use, it is set a going true, and if it gets no future damage, it will go true through life. In order to instruct our children, we should inform ourselves; otherwise they may put us to the blush, and on this principle Joshua enforced religious knowledge among the Jews, "that," saith he, "when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean you by these stones? then ye shall answer them, The waters of Jordan were cut off," and so on.' pp. 327, 328.

The Morning Exercises are much shorter than the sermons, and have more of a secular character. But they contain excellent advice, which a preacher might well spend his time in giving to such congregations as assembled round Robinson.

If we have formed a just estimate of this volume, it is one of the best with which we are acquainted for circulation, and gratuitous distribution, among the less educated and poorer classes of Christians, and we should be gratified, therefore, if by our present article, we may procure it the attention which it seems to us to deserve.

Notices of Recent Publications.

7. Poems and Essays, by Miss Bowdler. Boston, Wells and Lilly, 1827. 12mo. pp. 268.

We are glad to see a reprint of this sensible and useful volume. It has passed through at least sixteen editions in England, and well deserves its celebrity because of the comfort and aid which it has given to so many minds. We should possibly have been better pleased if the poetry had been omitted, for it hardly increases the value of the book. It is the Essays, full of the natural expression of quiet and sensible thoughts, of subdued yet fervent feeling, of devout and tranquil faith, together with views of life and manners the most practical and correct, which render it a welcome addition to our stock of religious books. It adds greatly to the interest with which it is read, to know that the essays were written to beguile the hours of long continued disease and suffering; and that they present the picture of the author's own mind, who exemplified all the lessons of faith and patience which she inculcates. We recommend the work to our readers' attention, and cannot do it in better or more just terms, than those of Mr Melmoth, quoted in the Introduction. He 'does not hesitate to declare that he considers the performance' before us, 'as a production of inestimable value to every reader, who has a taste for elegant composition, or a heart disposed to profit by wise instruction; instruction the more forcible, as' the author 'was, it is generally said, the bright exemplar of her own excellent precepts. The genuine principles of christian ethics, undebased by the smallest alloy of bigotry or superstition, are judiciously pursued through their important consequences, and applied with singular accuracy to the various purposes of moral agency. The language and the sentiment lie level to the most *ordinary* understanding, at the same time that the most *improved* will find much to admire in both. A style that neither seeks nor requires the aid of artificial ornament, distinguishes every page; and a vein of modest eloquence runs through the whole.'

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8. Address delivered at the Eleventh Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, December 25, 1826. By Timothy Fuller. Boston, C. S. Hamilton, 1827.

The expectation of universal and permanent peace is often considered as the dream of enthusiasts. Many, however, are undoubtedly in favor of all that has been done or can be done to recommend this object, who have never looked for an early attainment of it. They regard it as an end to be constantly kept in view, and promoted, let its accomplishment be never so distant. Centuries may pass away, before the world at large is convinced that its accomplishment would be for their best interest. Yet the blessing of the peace maker may in the meanwhile be actuating more and more strongly the children of God in every land. The prospect may be constantly brightening, their fellow labourers every year becoming more numerous, and that kingdom which cometh not with observation be established in more and more hearts, though a careless observer may consider the hope of final success as still vain and fallacious. But that end ought not to be rashly given up as unattainable, towards which some visible and marked progress has been made; and are there not circumstances in the present aspect of the world, which may allow us to hope that Christianity will finally prevail over war? This religion of peace is gradually and silently taking place of all those delusions which taught men to think war and warlike glory, revenge and the extermination of enemies, were regarded with favor by the invisible powers of heaven. The altars that a few centuries ago smoked with sacrifices to the God of battle, now send up incense to the ever present Jehovah. The breeze that brought with it the noise of the war song now falls upon the ear with the notes of the evening hymn. War itself has lost much of its ferocious nature. It 'has not indeed ceased, but is disarmed of half its horrors. Massacre, extermination, and *slavery* are no longer avowed as the objects of war or as its necessary concomitants. Hostile armies, except in the heat of conflict, spare the lives of the vanquished, and often extend to them the offices of humanity.' (Address, p. 6.)

The very existence of Peace Societies proves that great progress has been made in the cause they advocate. The confidence of the friends of this cause is an indication and a source of their strength. The western continent is free, and it is not the interest of freemen to be at war. 'It becomes the virtuous and good of all nations, and especially of our own free and happy States to impart, as far as in us lies, to the rising communities the benign spirit of our own constitution, our laws, and maxims of peace and national justice. Much has already been done by our example; much by the intercommunication[?] of the citizens of our States with those of the new born Republics; and much may be effected by the friendly policy, which our government, in coincidence with the feelings of the nation, has adopted in its diplomatic intercourse with them. It scarcely seems an expression of exaggerated hope, to predict a system of amity and justice, so humanely conceived and so wisely adjusted between ourselves and all the existing nations of this hemisphere, as to ensure a long reign of harmony and friendship with all its attendant blessings.' (p. 17.) This spirit of freedom, and with it the love of individual peace and enjoyment, may spread more rapidly, when it shall be seen that a greatness and glory may be obtained in peace, which cannot be hoped from war.

When it shall be found that it is the interest of the nations to remain at peace, means will be sought for reconciling national differences without resort to war. Such means have been found by the United States and England. A question has been amicably settled by reference to a friendly power, which was of much greater importance than many which have been the cause of bloody and destructive wars. If one difference has been so settled, many may; and it is not unreasonable to hope that by the mutual consent of several nations, a tribunal shall be formed, to which all their disputes may be referred for adjustment.

These are some of the circumstances which have been ably and fully presented in the Address before us, to induce the friends of peace to rejoice in the hope of its final prevalence, and to encourage them 'never to abandon the great purposes of their association.'

9. Hymns for Social and Private Worship. Boston, Wait, Greene, and Co. 1827. 18mo. pp. 150.

This little volume has been compiled on the principle, that every hymn intended to be sung in public or in private, should take the form of a direct address to the Supreme Being. We do not think this principle a sound one. Our reasons for not so regarding it we have already given.* It seems never to have been so considered by any writers of sacred poetry, and if universally and rigorously applied, would throw into disuse a very great proportion of hymns which we cannot but regard as among the very best in our language. Even in prayer, it is not a principle always followed throughout the exercise, and the consequence often is a great gain in point of force and expression. There is, it is true, great danger of departing from it too far. Nothing can be more revolting than those devotional exercises in which it almost totally disregarded. It is not an age since we heard from a pulpit in this city, and it was an Orthodox pulpit too, what was doubtless intended for a prayer, but what would certainly have been more in place in a lecture on political economy. The system of checks and balances in the constitution of our national government, was detailed with a minuteness and accuracy which would not have disgraced the pages of the Federalist. So in hymns, there is an extreme of a similar character, which cannot be too carefully avoided. But, if they contain such religious sentiments as a devout christian would approve, and be sung with a solemn recognition of the presence of God, the mere form in which they are written, is, in our view, of little or no importance.

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* Vol. III. p. 496.

There is another principle which has been followed in compiling the volume before us; viz. that when hymns are sung in concert, they should be sung 'in plural language to signify a joint cooperation' This we cannot but think an over refinement. The very act of singing together is a sign of 'joint cooperation,' nay, is 'joint cooperation' itself. Besides, if 'we' and 'our' must be used in social worship, 'I' and 'my' are the only proper words for worship in private, and this volume is fit only to be employed for one of the purposes announced in its title. From this last principle we have discovered no deviation; but from the first, departures are frequent, and it would have been a miracle had it been otherwise. Still this collection has been made from the best of motives and the best of feelings; and though we think the rules its compilers have adopted are too exclusive, there are doubtless many who view the subject as they do, and for such persons they have performed, and performed well, a most acceptable service. The volume is a small one, and the hymns generally among the most unexceptionable we have, and may circulate and do good where larger collections cannot find their way. As the profits of the edition, should there be any, are to be given to a most praiseworthy charity, there is another inducement cordially to wish it success.

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10. Books for Children. 1. The Advantage of a Good Resolution. 2. The Four Apples. 3. The Confession. 4. The Child who took what did not belong to her. 5. The Botanical Garden. 6. John Williams, or the Sailor Boy. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. pp. 92.——7. Evening Hours, Nos. I, II, III. Boston, Munroe and Francis, and New York, C. S. Francis, 1827. pp. 106.

The first six little books, whose titles we have given, are the beginning of a series of books for children, which thus far entitle the publishers to the thanks of parents. The number of stories and religious fictions designed for very young readers, in which the sentiments of the popular theology are more or less clearly inculcated, is almost incredible. This, like every other branch of Orthodox influence, is systematized, and the country is likely to be overspread by little books, that will instil theological prejudices into the mind long before it is capable of detecting the art or the purpose. It will be a worse plague than that mentioned in the Old Testament; 'There came a grievous swarm into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants' houses, and into all the land of Egypt; the land was corrupt by reason of the swarm.' We are glad, therefore, that the attention of writers and publishers, who entertain more rational views of religion, is beginning to be directed to the wants of childhood. Our wish is not that children should be kept from reading, but that proper books should be prepared, in which simple and practical truths only shall be exhibited in interesting relations. The stories published by Messrs Bowles and Dearborn have this object, and are unexceptionable in character. Printed on a good paper, with a large type, and ornamented with a neat wood cut, they are suited to attract those for whom they are written. The six we have mentioned, belong to a series, which, though composed of distinct narratives, is so paged as to constitute a volume. John Williams is an excellent story, and was read by us with peculiar interest from our knowledge that it was in almost every incident true, or, as children say, real.

Evening Hours is a work of somewhat different character, and was written for an older class of children. It contains, in successive numbers, a familiar exposition of the evangelical history, and such practical remarks as a judicious christian mother might be disposed to make to her children, when perusing with them the bible. Incidents of action are introduced, that give an air of reality to the fiction, and render the instruction more attractive. The design is excellent; its execution good. We think the author has in some instances suited the matter and the expressions to youth rather than to children, and we would advise a greater adaptation to a tenderer age in the future numbers. We know not how far this work will be carried. But we hope it will not be closed, till the entire narrative of our Saviour's life has been illustrated; and then we should be pleased to have from the same pen, a series of conversations on the character of Christ. We have always found children interested by plain and affectionate discourse respecting him who 'took little children in his arms and blessed them.' We recommend the series we have noticed, and particularly Evening Hours to parents and Sunday School teachers.

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11. A Catechism for Children. By Henry Colman. Fourth Edition. Salem, J. R. Buffum and J. M. Ives, 1826. pp. 26.

This little catechism, in point of arrangement, simplicity and clearness of expression, and the good judgment shown in the selection of topics of instruction, is one of the very best in use. There is nothing in it, which mere children, for whom it is intended, cannot understand, nothing which it is not of the very first importance they should know, respecting God and his providence; their duties to Him, to themselves, and others; their condition here, and their hopes hereafter; Jesus Christ and his religion; the bible and how they should use it. An explanation is in one section given, in the simplest terms, of the names of Jesus Christ, with reasons for observing the first day of the week, an account of the Lord's supper, of baptism, and of other words and phrases which are often on the lips of children and of which it is important they should have clear conceptions. This is followed by the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, a Summary of human duty in the words of Jesus, the christian Rule of Equity, the Invitations of Jesus, the Prophet's character of Christ, three Lessons for Children by Dr Paley, a Prayer for a Child, and the Lord's Prayer. All is admirably adapted, as we have said, to the capacities for which it is intended, and there is not in the whole a questionable sentiment or expression.

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12. An Address, delivered at the Opening of the Boston Mechanics' Institution, February 7, 1827. By George B. Emerson. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827. 8vo. pp. 24.

This Address of Mr Emerson is exactly suited to the occasion and to the audience for which it was intended. It is a plain, simple, and perspicuous statement of the objects of the Institution and of the ends which it may be expected to fulfil, without any of that attempt at display for which the performances of our countrymen on all occasions are so remarkable. He takes a view of the origin and progress of institutions of a similar kind, and the effects which they may be expected to produce, directly upon the qualifications of mechanics for their peculiar occupations, and also indirectly upon their intellectual and moral characters generally. In both these respects, and fully as much in the latter as in the former, we concur with Mr Emerson in entertaining the highest expectations of the influence which institutions of this kind are to have in improving the character and condition of that large, and, among us, highly important and respectable class of the community, which is immediately concerned in them. It is gratifying to be able to remark that a deep interest has been taken in promoting the success of the Boston Institution, by many persons of scientific attainments, who are not practical mechanics; and that the very full attendance upon the lectures which have already been delivered, indicates the spirit which has been awakened, and which is likely rather to increase than diminish.

Intelligence.

The Christian Denomination.—We are happy in being able to lay before our readers the following account of the rise, progress, character, faith, and prospects of the Christian denomination in the United States. The document containing it is an official one, and is given entire. We are not aware that it has ever before been published in this country. We gratefully acknowledge our obligation to the writer for permitting it to appear in our work, though it is hardly to be expected we should concur with him in every sentiment he expresses. It is in the form of a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the General Baptist Assembly of England, and is a most interesting and authentic article of intelligence.

New York, January 30*th*, 1827.

MR SMALLFIELD,

THE United States General Christian Conference, which was holden at Windham, Connecticut, on the first of September last, were sorry to learn that the contemplated correspondence between the Christian denomination in the United States of America, and the General Baptists of England, had been wholly neglected on the part of our Corresponding Committee, and that the letters from yourself as the Corresponding Secretary of your brethren had miscarried. The Conference are desirous that the contemplated correspondence should be carried into effect, and as an evidence of the sincerity of their profession appointed the Rev. Mr Jones of Salem, Massachusetts, the Rev. Mr Badger of Mendon, New York, and myself, a Corresponding Committee to accomplish the desirable object. The Committee have met and appointed me their Corresponding Secretary, with instructions to write to you before the sitting of your General Assembly in April next;—in whose name I now make the following communication.

The Christian denomination having been the last that has risen in the world, which has come to any note or respectability, is probably the least known both at home and abroad, of all the religious sects at the present day. Consequently the generality of writers who have condescended to notice us, have usually given an erroneous and confused account of our character, faith, and numbers. The obscurity of the Christian denomination of which I speak, has originated from a number of causes, the principal of which, however, are the manner of our rise, and the means by which we have spread ourselves and our views of divine truth. We have had no Luther, no Calvin, no Fox, no Wesley, who has headed a party of Christians and been recognised as a master among us, and whose fame has been celebrated as a founder of a new sect. Neither have we had any Council, Synod, General Assembly, or Conference to frame articles of faith separate from the scriptures to impose upon the consciences of our brethren, and bind the disciples of Christ, who has said *call no man master on earth.*

The rise and progress of the Christian denomination, have been attended with many peculiar characteristics. As I have already intimated, no individual is recognised as the founder of a new sect, as has formerly been the case among other denominations of Christians. Many individuals in different parts of the United States, about the same time, became dissatisfied with that sectarian spirit, which seems to be the ruling and governing principle of most of the christian sects of the present day, and likewise with the principles upon which they acted as religious bodies. It appeared to us that all the various sects had greatly departed from the *simplicity that is in Christ*, and from that spirit of *love* and *union*, which our blessed Lord had so earnestly and frequently inculcated upon all his disciples in every age, and which constitute the very essence of Christianity; that they moreover by introducing *force* instead of *choice* as a principle of action in religious bodies, had violated the rights of conscience, invaded the prerogatives of the King of Heaven, and divided and scattered the flock of Christ. We farther saw that in carrying on and maintaining this sectarian and theological warfare between different parties of Christians, many unhallowed weapons were employed, many false and erroneous statements made to excite prejudice against each other, much time and money wasted that might be better employed, and many unchristian tempers cherished and nourished; that in many instances professors of different parties, instead of uniting their efforts to reform the wicked and diffuse the blessings of the gospel through the destitute parts of our country, were contending about the *mint*, *anise*, and *cumin* of religion, and wasting all their strength to no purpose.

Under these circumstances many individuals, becoming dissatisfied with the movements of sectarian bodies, withdrew from different sectarian denominations, and formed themselves into independent churches on the principles of christian liberty. In New England we first separated from the Calvinistic Baptists. As soon as it was understood that a separation had actually taken place, and a new denomination been instituted upon liberal principles, a number of large churches of the Calvinistic Baptists, declared themselves independent of the Baptist Association, and united with the new party. Many new churches were constituted in a very short time. The doors of the meetinghouses of the Free-will and Six-principle Baptists were all thrown open to the ministers of the new sect, and at first it was expected they would all be amalgamated into one body. This, however, has not fully taken place as yet, although a friendly intercourse is still cultivated among us.

The principles upon which the new churches were constituted were the following. The scriptures of truth were to be the only rule of faith and practice, and each individual to be left at liberty to search the divine records, and exercise and enjoy the inalienable right of private judgment, both as it relates to doctrine and practice; and no individual member to be subject to the loss of church fellowship, so long as he lived a life of piety and devotion, on account of his sincere and conscientious belief. No one was to be subject to discipline and church censure but for immoral conduct. The name Christian should be taken to the exclusion of all sectarian names, as the most proper appellation to designate the body and its members. The only test of admission to the membership of a church, should be a personal profession of the christian religion, accompanied with an evidence of sincerity and piety and a determination to walk according to the divine rule. Each church to be considered an independent body, possessed of supreme authority to regulate and govern its internal affairs.

The topics on which we dwelt most in our preaching, were the excellency and sufficiency of the scriptures as a rule of faith and practice. We contrasted the scriptures with human creeds and formularies of faith, giving the bible the preference, which we claimed as our only and all sufficient rule. We insisted upon the rights of private judgment, which no man had power to alienate, and denied that any man or body of men whatever had any right to impose his or their sentiments upon another. We insisted upon the absolute necessity of personal religion, of holiness of heart and purity of life; and that sinful and wicked men must become holy and pure by a change of heart and conduct, before they could be regarded as the proper subjects of the kingdom of heaven. We portrayed the evil effects of sectarianism, its bad moral influence upon society, and its chilling and withering effects upon vital religion. We asserted that we had seen and felt these things, and from a conviction of its evil tendencies, had renounced it; that we had dropped every name but that of Christian, and extended our love, charity, and christian fellowship *to all who lived godly in Christ Jesus.* It was our constant theme,

> 'Let names, and sects, and parties fall,
> And Jesus Christ be all in all!'

We maintained that our churches were established upon those broad and liberal principles inculcated in the New Testament; that they were open to the reception of all sincere and devoted Christians; that we laid more stress upon the virtue of the character, than upon a speculative belief in this or that doctrine; and herein lay the most important distinction between the Christian denomination and other sects; for they preferred a correct belief in speculative points to evangelical piety and morality. We asserted that the principles upon which we acted were peculiarly favorable to the formation of a deep and thorough piety, as they threw open the heart to expansive benevolence and inculcated christian charity, and that these were the only principles upon which all Christians could be cemented together in union and brotherly love. We furthermore proved that the uniformity of sentiment, so much contended for by the different sects as the only ground of union among Christians, existed merely in profession; that no such uniformity had ever existed in the church of Rome, for she had always been fermented by divisions and discordant sentiments; and that no uniformity of sentiment, strictly speaking, existed in the discordant sects around us. We also maintained from the nature and constitution of man, the diversity of their capacities, the habits of thinking and different modes of education, that a diversity of sentiment would be entertained by different Christians on the subject of religion, as well as on all other subjects, and, consequently, the only way of preserving union among Christians is by keeping *the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.* We accordingly inculcated in our own societies, charity, forbearance, and brotherly love.

These topics with their connexions and dependencies, were dwelt upon with interest and zeal in our public discourses; and as we preached altogether extempore, the effect produced was similar to that of the preaching of the celebrated Whitfield, Wesley, and their associates, at the commencement of Methodism. These principles we disseminated, not so much by our writings as by our personal labors. And as all ministers travelled more or less, and many devoted the whole of their time to travelling and preaching *the word of the kingdom*, there was a rapid diffusion of our sentiments through the country, and an astonishing increase of our numbers. The Lord has been with us and multiplied us, and spread us over the face of the new world.

About the same time we commenced our operations in New England, others enlisted in the same cause in the Southern and Western States, at that time wholly unknown to each other. In the Southern States they separated principally from the Methodists, and in the Western from the Presbyterians. These bodies, however, shortly became acquainted with each other, and have long since been considered as forming one extensive denomination of Christians, and have cooperated together in promoting the general cause of truth and piety.

From the rapid increase of our numbers and extent of the body, it was soon found necessary, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse, to cultivate mutual friendship, and to bring into active operation the mutual energies of the whole body in support and promotion of the general cause, to form associatons of churches and ministers, called by us Conferences. These Conferences, however, have no prerogative over the independency of the churches. The plan which has been adopted in forming Conferences is the following; that the ministers and churches, which are represented by delegation, form themselves into one Conference, or more, as may be convenient in each State. Hence the origin of what we call State Conferences, and all these were to form one by delegation, denominated the United States General Christian Conference; this Conference to meet as often as shall be deemed expedient. It has always met every year since its formation, save in one instance. No delegate, however, as yet has met with us from the Western States. It is expected they will be represented at the sitting of the next Conference. We have an account, through the medium of our periodical works, of the following number of conferences, which have been formed in the different States. One in the State of Maine; one in New Hampshire; one in Vermont; one in Massachusetts; one in Rhode Island and Connecticut; two in New York and New Jersey; one in Pennsylvania; one in Virginia; one in North Carolina; three in Kentucky; one in Tennessee; one in Alabama; four in Ohio; one in Indiana; one in Illinois; one in Missouri; and one other which has recently been formed in one of the Western States.

It would be difficult to determine correctly the extent of our numbers. In looking over the minutes of the several Conferences, I perceive they give an aggregate of about five hundred ministers. The number of churches belonging to several of the

Conferences is not given; but the whole number is generally estimated to be from seven hundred to a thousand. The most probable estimate gives fifty thousand communicants, and about two hundred thousand, including the congregations who wait upon our ministry, who have embraced the principles and doctrine inculcated in the Christian denomination. It will be seen that this estimate of our probable number is much larger than that given by Mr Potter in his letter. It has been ascertained that our body is much more extensive than it was supposed to be at the time he wrote. Besides, our increase since then has been very considerable.

We have now established among us three periodical works, published monthly, in a pamphlet form, similar to the Christian Reformer. The oldest is the Christian Herald, published by R. Foster, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This work was first published by the Rev. E. Smith in the form of a newspaper, and is said to be the first religious newspaper published in the world. The second is the Gospel Luminary, conducted by the Rev. Mr Millard of West Bloomfield in the state of New York, for the two Conferences in that state. The third is the Christian Messenger, a work recently commenced under the direction of the Rev. Barton W. Stone, Georgetown, Kentucky. The Rev. Mr Potter's paper was discontinued at the close of the first year.

We have no public seminary or theological school under our direction. Those ministers who have received a classical education in the denomination, have been educated privately, or at some of the public colleges under the direction of the different sectarian denominations. Many of our ministers have only a common English education, and some others have educated themselves. We make no boast of a learned ministry. We say with the eminent Robinson, '*Let him who understands the gospel, teach it.*'

As it respects doctrine, it is granted, when the Christian denomination first began to organize societies, there was a great diversity of sentiments and opinions among us; for some were educated Baptists, some Methodists, and others Presbyterians, each party bringing along with them the prejudices of education. In New England, as we separated from the Calvinistic Baptists, a few of the first churches were established upon the principles of close communion; but this was soon abandoned as unscriptural. In the Western states, as they separated from the Presbyterians, they were at first Pedobaptists, but in a few years they all became Baptists and were baptized. At first we were all nominally Trinitarians, having been educated in that doctrine. The doctrine, however, was soon canvassed, brought to the test of revelation, and universally rejected as unscriptural and antichristian, with all its concomitant doctrines.

From these few remarks it will be readily seen that we were united at first only in the great principles of christian liberty, taking the scriptures of truth as our only rule of faith and practice, with a firm determination to go where this *lamp to our feet and light to our path* should lead us. Having shaken off the trammels of human formularies, and freed ourselves of the frowns of a disaffected hierarchy, we were now prepared to read the scriptures with a mind free from bias and prejudice. We accordingly searched the divine record with serious and prayerful attention. It was made a topic of conversation in our private circles. Many points were discussed in our periodicals, and, in various ways, such an interest was excited among us to know what was, and what was not taught in the New Testament, that we read it over again and again till we made ourselves completely masters of the letter, and were able by this means to show that many things, held quite sacred by the different sects around us, both as it relates to doctrine and practice, were unauthorised by scripture. For instance, when a Trinitarian attacked us, and began to talk about three persons in the Godhead, he was immediately requested to show the chapter and verse where the doctrine of three persons in one God was taught; and when he evaded our request by asserting the holy and ever blessed trinity was a profound mystery, he was requested to show in what part of the bible the trinity was called a mystery, and as he could not do this, he was then told the doctrine of the trinity was not a mystery, but a riddle, a contradiction, an absurdity, a doctrine no where taught in the bible. In this way our most unlearned ministers were able to put down and confound at once their most learned opponents.

By searching the divine record and explaining it in a connected sense, we very shortly arrived at about the same conclusions as it respects the true doctrine of the gospel; so that at present there is quite a uniformity of sentiment among us. We understand the true doctrine of the gospel to be included in the following short summary:—

1. That there is one living and true God, the Father almighty, who is unoriginated, independent, and eternal, the creator and supporter of all worlds; and that this God is one spiritual intelligence, one infinite mind, ever the same, never varying. 2. That this God is the moral governor of the world, the absolute source of all the blessings of nature, providence and grace, in whose infinite wisdom, goodness, mercy, benevolence, and love has originated all the moral dispensations to man. 3. That all

men in every age, country, and grade of society, sin and come short of the glory of God, consequently fall under the curse of the law. 4. That Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God, the promised Messiah, and Saviour of the world; the Mediator between God and men, by whom God has revealed his will to mankind, and by whose death and resurrection the new covenant has been confirmed and ratified, by whose instumentality God is still carrying on his benevolent purposes towards the human family, who also is appointed of God to raise the dead and judge the world at the last day. 5. That the Holy Spirit is the power and energy of God; that holy influence of God by whose agency in the use of means the wicked are regenerated, converted, and recovered to a virtuous and holy life; sanctified and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light; and that by the same Spirit the saints in the use of means are comforted, strengthened, and led in the path of duty. 6. The death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. 7. The free forgiveness of sins on the ground of the rich unpurchased mercy of God, which has been revealed in Christ and confirmed by his death, so that this mercy and forgiveness comes to us through the labors, sufferings, and blood of our blessed Lord. 8. The necessity of repentance towards God. 9. Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. 10. The absolute necessity of holiness of heart and rectitude of life, to enjoy the favor and approbation of God. 11. The doctrine of a future state of immortality. 12. The doctrine of a righteous retribution, when God will render to every man according to the deeds done in the body.

All these great and important truths we fully believe are taught in the New Testament, and we all agree that they include the first principles of Christianity. In some smaller points there is a difference of opinion among us. Some believe in the personal preexistence of our Lord, and others reject that doctrine; all believe in the doctrine of his miraculous conception. Some believe the suffering of the finally impenitent will terminate in their utter destruction; the great majority consider the scriptures leave them in a suffering condition; none profess the doctrine of final restitution to holiness and happiness. We find no such doctrine revealed in the scriptures, and as we take revelation to be the rule of our faith, on this ground it is wholly indefensible. We consider the doctrine resting wholly upon inferences and deductions, which are no proof, no revelation. In this country nearly all the Universalists have renounced this doctrine. They now deny the doctrine of a future retribution altogether, and maintain, that all who die impenitent will be raised from the dead morally holy and pure, and consequently must be happy. This is the inference they draw from the benevolence of the Deity. It requires, however, but little discernment to see that this doctrine strips Christianity of its chief motives to a holy and virtuous life.

It will be seen by this short statement of our faith, that we are strictly Unitarian in our sentiments. We, however, choose to be known by the name of Christian to the exclusion of all other names not found in the scriptures, this being the most significant appellation of the followers of Christ, and agreeably to our views, given by divine appointment. It will be proper here to state, that our mode of preaching and applying these doctrines is very different from that body of Christians usually denominated Unitarians. We are Evangelical Unitarians in preaching and applying the Unitarian doctrine; and are frequently denominated the Evangelical Unitarians, to distinguish us from the Unitarians in this country and in England. It is this mode of preaching and applying the Unitarian doctrine, which has crowned our labors with such a rich harvest; it is this which has given us access to the common people, who constitute the greatest part of our churches and congregations; it is this through the medium of which we hope to prove a blessing to the world; and it is this which constitutes us the pride and glory of Unitarianism.

Like all other new denominations, we have had to encounter much powerful opposition, endure many hard struggles, and bear the burden and heat of the day; in the midst of a complication of reproaches from older and more popular sects, our labors have been abundant, and our exertions unwearied; we have fought the good fight of faith, and hope to lay hold on eternal life. Many of our preachers have been young men, who in the morning of life have renounced all for Christ's sake, who have gone forth in the strength and ardor of youth, preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ to a perishing world, and having food and raiment, have been content therewith. *The wilderness has budded and blossomed as the rose, the desert has rejoiced, and the solitary places been glad for them.* The power and glory of God has been revealed, and the light of a pure, spiritual, and rational religion is diffusing itself through the new world. Primitive christianity is stripping off the meritricious ornaments with which she had been clad in the dark ages, and rising in all her beauty, glory, and excellency. Many of her mistaken sons are coming forth to the light, beholding new charms and graces in the mother of us all.

The prospects of the Christian denomination are more encouraging than at any former period. During the last year we have been favored with many precious revivals of religion, and many new churches have been planted Report brings cheering intelligence from the Western States. In those parts the success of a free gospel has exceeded our most sanguine expectations. It is stated by Mr ———, who has been travelling under the direction of the American Unitarian Association in the Western States, to collect information respecting the moral and religious state of that part of our country, that the Christian denomination are the most pious, intelligent, and increasing body of people in the Western States. The same account is given by the Rev. Mr Badger who has recently visited those parts under the direction of the Western Conference in this state.* We regard ourselves as feeble instruments in the hands of Him who ruleth over all, in the accomplishment of these mighty acts which God has wrought by us. To Him be all the glory and praise for ever and ever.

In closing this account of the rise, progress, character, numbers, faith, and prospects of the Christian denomination, I will once more observe, that I am authorised to state the Conference exceedingly regret, that this correspondence has been delayed to this late period ; some of the circumstances of delay, however, have been beyond their control. It is hoped in future we shall be able to continue the correspondence regularly. You will be so good as to answer this communication soon after the sitting of your General Assembly in April next, so that your communication may be in time to be laid before the United States General Christian Conference to be holden the first day of September next.

With every sentiment of gratitude and esteem,
I subscribe myself your brother and friend,
Simon Clough.

Mr George Smallfield.

Theological School at Cambridge —The friends of this institution have reason io congatulate themselves and the public on its condition and prospects; a brief account of which we propose here to lay before them, together with a statement of its deficiencies and wants Regarding it, as we do, an object of the highest interest and importance to the religious community, we would both keep them apprized of its actual state, and urge them to increase its means of usefulness.

Divinity Hall, the public building of the School, was finished and dedicated in August 1826. It is placed in a pleasant and retired spot at a little distance from the buildings of the

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* New York.

University. It contains a Library, a Chapel, and rooms for the accommodation of fortytwo students, each of whom occupies a separate apartment. The arrangement of the building is on a novel plan, and has given great satisfaction for its conveniences, while its retirement from the University and the village, and its keeping near each other those who are engaged in similar pursuits, are calculated to have a most favorable influence on the habits and manners of the young men. At the same time, its vicinity to the University is such, that they may enjoy to the fullest extent the great advantages resulting from its extensive Library, from the public Lectures of its professors, and from habitual intercourse with men of enlarged minds and literary attainments. Some charitable foundations in the College for this object, together with a portion of the income of the theological funds and contributions from societies and individuals, give means of affording pecuniary aid to such students as require it.

The instruction in the School is given by the Hollis Professor of Divinity, the Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature, the Hancock Professor of Hebrew, and a Teacher of the German language. There is an annual examination of all the classes in April by the Faculty, in presence of the Directors, and a public exhibition in July. The School is also visited at times by a committee of the Directors, who have a constant general oversight of its affairs.

During the three years which complete the regular course of instruction, it is intended, as far as possible, to accomplish the following objects, the means for affecting which are now provided.

I. To make the student acquainted with the Hebrew language, so as to enable him to read the Old Testament critically, and to give him a general knowledge of the literary history of its several books, of the arguments for and against their genuineness and authenticity; the facts and principles relating to the criticism of their text; and of the various sources of their illustration, especially those to be found in the best commentators. During this course of instruction, particular attention is given to what is most remarkable in the contents of the different books.

II. To afford such instruction in the German language as will enable the student to make whatever proficency in it he may desire, so as to have always at command this important key to biblical learning.

III. To enable the student to obtain just views of the meaning and purpose of the several books of the New Testament; to which end they are all gone over critically, from one to three chapters being made the subject of each exercise. The principles of the interpretation of language are taught in connexion; and likewise the facts and principles relating to the criticism of the text of the New Testament.

IV. To afford instruction in the doctrines and evidences of natural religion; in the evidences of revealed religion; in christian theology; in the nature and history of christian institutions, ecclesiastical powers, rights, and duties, and the relations and duties of the pastoral office.

V. To give readiness in extempore speaking by extempore discussions, held one evening in each week by the whole School in the presence of one of the Faculty; and also by a discourse delivered extempore each week by one of the students.

VI. To afford instruction in the composition and delivery of sermons, and the proper mode of conducting public worship; two evenings in each week being set apart for this purpose, when sermons are delivered, and public worship offered by the students of the two older classes in rotation, in the presence of the School, and of the Faculty; the members of the Faculty remarking upon the performances.

To aid them in these pursuits, the students have access to the books in the College Library, as already mentioned, and to a small collection just commenced in Divinity Hall. But the want of a good theological library is at present, one of the greatest deficiencies of the School. A library is the very heart of such an institution. Where books are to be found, there will be scholars; and without them scholars cannot exist. In every thing beyond elementary learning, they must be the main dependence of the student and of the instructer. There is no one in our country engaged in the thorough examination of any branch of knowledge, but must have felt continual embarrassment from his inability to procure those works, which he may have occasion to study or consult. If they are to be obtained by him at all, it is often only at an expense which most students can ill afford, and after the delay of months or a year in sending across the Atlantic. It is gratifying to perceive that the public attention is at last directed to this subject, which is of such vital importance to the growth of literature and science in the country. The proper zeal which has manifested itself in our cities, particularly in Boston, it may be hoped will extend to our Colleges. The Directors of the Theological School in Cambridge have devoted to this object, all the means which could properly be applied to it; and for the deficiency which exists, they have no other resource than the public liberality, and the just interest which ought to be felt, and, it is believed, is felt, in the institution under their care.

It will be perceived from the preceding statement, that no provision is made for distinct and systematic instruction in Ecclesiastical History and the Pastoral Care, although both these subjects receive much attention from the present officers, so that the School cannot be said to suffer materially from the deficiency. But as its numbers are increasing, and it is desirable that more time should be given to these important subjects, than can be devoted by men who are constantly engaged in other branches, the institution must be considered deficient until express provision for them shall be made. Many friends of the institution are known to have felt strong interest in this subject, particularly as regards a professorship for the Pastoral Care, while they regard it as in some measure essential to its prosperity. We hope that they will not suffer their good wishes to pass away in words, but will take some active and effectual steps toward establishing at once, an office whose labors are needed and whose influence would be so beneficial.

Another deficiency yet remaining to be supplied, is that of aid to the students who are preparing themselves for the ministry without sufficient means of their own. Experience has satisfactorily proved, that without such aid an institution of this character cannot prosper, nor the churches be supplied with pastors. The means at the command of this institution have already been described. In its present growing state they are altogether inadequate, and need to be permanently enlarged. The Directors have proposed to this end, that Scholarships should be founded, with funds of 2,000 dollars each, the income of which would be sufficient for the support of one student. They look with confidence to the donations and bequests of liberal friends for the accomplishment of this project. They have taken pains also, to interest some of our congregations in the object, and have actually obtained from subscriptions in six churches, the means of aiding as many young men the present year. In some of these the subscription is to be continued annually. This measure is to be regarded as one of no small importance to the institution; not only on account of the aid which is in this way so easily bestowed, but chiefly because of the sympathy and connexion which thus grow up between the churches and the seminary from which they are to derive their ministers.

In concluding this brief statement, we earnestly recommend this institution to the favor, the patronage, and the prayers of our brethren. Those who are acquainted with its concerns, know that they are in a prosperous state, and that the spirit of study, improvement, and piety prevails to a most commendable and gratifying extent. We speak it with the sincerest and most heartfelt confidence and pleasure; and we will not allow ourselves to doubt that those, who perceive the immense consequence of such a seminary to the interests of truth and religion, and how much its best influences must depend on its being put in possession of the best and most extensive means,—will readily and cheerfully contribute to supply the deficiences we have pointed out, and render still more efficacious the means which it now enjoys. It ought to be a favorite object with our religious community; for, as far as human judgment can discern, it is only the favor of man and the blessing of God on this School, which can secure to our churches the services of enlightened and liberal advocates of the uncorrupt and simple gospel.

The Miltonian.—This is a political newspaper published in Northumberland County, in the heart of Pennsylvania, and extensively circulated in the western parts of that State. Several numbers of it fell into our hands a few months ago, and we found each of them to contain spirited and able articles in favor of Unitarianism; and we were happy to learn, that though this had been going on for some time, the patronage of the paper had not suffered, on the whole, in consequence. We regard this as one of the clearest evidences that can be given of the rapid progress of liberal opinions throughout our country; for, ten years ago, we do not believe that any editor in the Union would have dared to insert articles, like those above mentioned, in a political journal. We only wish, that more sympathy could be excited amongst us in favor of those, who, at a distance from the strong places of Unitarianism, and almost unsupported, are bearing their testimony to the truth with a martyr's spirit, and sometimes with a martyr's sacrifices.

Manchester College.—-This seminary, barely mentioned in our last number as among the institutions in England under Unitarian control, was founded at Manchester, Feb. 22, 1786, and removed to York, Sept. 1, 1803, to be placed under the care of Rev. Mr Wellbeloved, who is now theological tutor and principal. Rev. William Turner, jr. is tutor in mathematics, physical science, and intellectual philosophy, and Rev. John Kenrick, in the classical and oriental languages, and in rhetoric. The institution derives its support from funds which yield about £900 annually, from annual subscriptions and benefactions, collections in Unitarian churches, and what are called Fellowship contributions. The receipts from these various sources for fifteen months, amounted. according to the last report which we have seen, to about £2500. There are generally about thirty students, two thirds of them preparing for the University. Others pay 100 guineas *per annum*, 'which defrays the expense of lectures, board and lodging, and every other charge connected with a residence in the College.' Divinity students, when on the foundation, have their whole expenses of lectures, board, and lodging defrayed. The course of study, which comprehends five years, is so arranged, that with the exception of Hebrew, it is alike suitable, during the first three, for both descriptions of students.

The students are lodged, one in a room, in three or four plain but neat and convenient brick buildings, surrounding a court upon one of the northern streets of the city. The mathematical tutor occupies one of the buildings, in which is a refectory, and the domestic arrangements are under his control. The chapel contains some portraits of distinguished divines and benefactors of the College, and there is a very valuable library, consisting of 9000 select volumes. The young men are uniformly represented as studious and exemplary. In time past, the complaint has been made that they came from the College rather learned than apt to teach. But it is now agreed on all hands that there is continually less and less occasion for it, and that the College is exciting a strong and unanimous interest in the Unitarian body. It is the only public literary institution of that denomination in England, and furnishes a large proportion of its ministers, though not a few are supplied from Glasgow, where no doctrinal test is imposed on students, and by conversions from Calvinism.

Unitarian Mission at Calcutta.—The Society for the Promotion of Christianity in India, some time since pledged itself to provide, and authorised its Executive Committee to transmit to the Unitarian Committee of Calcutta, $600 *per annum* for ten years, in case of the establishment of a Unitarian mission in that place. The first payment has accordingly been made out of the funds arising from subscriptions for this object. We state the fact in the hope of drawing the attention of the liberally disposed to the wants and plans of the Society.

Unitarianism in India.—The following extracts from a letter addressed to a gentleman in Boston by the Rev. William Roberts, a Unitarian Missionary residing at Pursewaukum, Madras, gives us information respecting his charge in that place, and the prospects of Unitarianism in that part of India, which must be read with great interest.

* * 'Our society at present consists of about twenty families and a few individuals. Our children are about fifty. Eight of

these families are up in different parts of the country; the rest live dispersedly in Madras. Most of them are converts from Heathenism and Catholicism. They are all poor. Most of them are gentlemen's servants. Their earnings are barely enough to support their families. They had no other inducement but the conviction of the truth to declare for and profess Unitarianism openly. Some of them, in our first beginning, after having been convinced of their errors, actually took pains to learn to read on purpose that they might read the bible, or at least the fundamental parts of religion, with their own eyes, before they received baptism. Since they became Unitarians, they all have had their share of abuse and ill will from their relations, friends, and neighbours. Most of the men now can read. We teach our children, both male and female, to read and write. But owing to the poverty of the parents, the females are generally taken away from the schools when they can read the catechism and other small books. All the families and most of the individuals possess the Old and New Testaments and all the Unitarian tracts that I have got printed within the last four years. Formerly we had divine service once only on Sundays; but now we have two services and I preach or explain some parts of scripture both times. * * *

'We have two schools; one at Pursewaukum under my own roof, and now for eighteen months, with the assistance of the head scholar, under my own management; and the other at Hanicollam, about three miles from Pursewaukum, under the management of Antony Maliapah. In both schools we have now in general about fifty scholars; twelve boys and four girls of Unitarian parents; the rest are of Catholic, Moor, and Heathen parents. Since our Pursewaukum charity begun, from the year 1810, besides Catholic and Heathen children of our own, more than twenty boys and girls have received their education and gone out of school. Most of our school books are of my composing. My views in them were to teach the doctrine of one God, the Messiahship of Jesus, good morals, and confutations of both heathen superstitions and trinitarian corruptions of Christianity. A few of these books are printed; others are in cadjan leaves and copied as wanted.

'Since our existence became known to the respectable English Unitarians by my letters, though I have not been able to prevail with them to think upon sending a missionary to this country, they have been very kind. I have had from them abundance of excellent books and several remittances of money. After Master's death, in the year 1822, my situation was made known; and by inquiry it was ascertained what will be sufficient for me to give up my time to the instruction of my brethren. They have agreed, if their fund would allow, to allow me yearly £60 for my own support, and £40 for the expense of printing, schools, &c. They have remitted in the year 1823, £50; in the year 1824, £50; and in last year Rupees 857. I have had also at times when I was in need, from the Reverend W. Adam of Calcutta, 450 rupees. These sums, besides allowing for my support for the last three years, and paying the expenses of the schools, &c. enabled me in part to print some of my tracts. My printed tracts are eight in number and contain near five hundred pages. The Reverend W. Adam got seven of them for the Unitarian library at Calcutta. I have sent them also to England, but have not heard whether they have received them or not. I shall with much pleasure send you a set of them when I can find any body to take it from me to forward it to you. On 25th December, 1822, Mr Edward Poole of America, who first acquainted us with the conversion of the Reverend W. Adam and Rammohun Roy, visited us at Pursewaukum, stayed the whole time of divine service in the chapel, gave me fifty rupees to assist me in my printing, and took with him two copies of our liturgy, then just finished printing, another printed tract containing two sets of questions, &c. to Trinitarians, translated from the Christian Reformer. * * *

'The printed tracts in our own language have confirmed my brethren in their faith, and furnished them with arguments against attacks of both Heathens and Trinitarians. I have given many of them freely to those of the Trinitarians and Heathens that wished to have them, and have sent many of them to different parts of the country. I have also sent some of them to some of those missionary gentlemen who understand our language. Some missionary gentlemen have sent for me and have spoken to me; but none of them have taken much trouble either to confute my doctrine, or to convince me of the truth of theirs by arguments. In general, after a single conversation, they endeavour to avoid my person.

'Though our printed tracts are a great acquisition, and my time is fully employed to promote the truth to the best of my humble ability, yet the progress is very slow. Conversions are rare. Our tracts are chiefly in circulation among the poor. * * * * More books in our own language, more teachers and a person or two of better abilities at the head of Unitarians, are necessary before any impression could be made upon many. That Unitarianism will triumph over the superstitions of my country I have no doubt. But the professors of it, and teachers, and books in abundance must increase. At present we are only keeping the truth alive and bearing our humble testimony to it. My books are in my own language, Tamul. I have no ability to write and express the contents of them in English to the satisfaction of my respectable friends; and they, not knowing what these contain, I am afraid that I shall not be able to procure aid sufficient even to keep up our present establishment. My lot is cast in difficult times; may the will of our heavenly Father be done. * * *

'May 31st, 1826,—Pursewaukum, Madras.'

Ordinations.

On Wednesday, February 28, Rev. Caleb Stetson was ordained pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Medford. Rev. Mr Briggs, of Lexington, offered the Introductory Prayer, and read a portion of the Scriptures. Rev. Mr Francis, of Watertown, delivered the Sermon, from Romans, xiv, 17. Rev. Dr Lowell, made the Ordaining Prayer. Rev. Mr Ripley presented the Right Hand of Fellowship. Rev. Mr Ware, Jr, addressed the people, and Rev. Mr Whitman, of Waltham, offered the Concluding Prayer.

On Wednesday, March 28th, the Rev. Alonzo Hill, was ordained as colleague pastor with the Rev. Dr Bancroft, over the Second Congregational Society in Worcester. Introductory Prayer and Reading of the Scriptures by the Rev. Alexander Young, of Boston; Prayer by the Rev. Dr Harris, of Dorchester; Sermon by the Rev. Mr. Brazer, of Salem, from Col. i. 27; Ordaining Prayer by the Rev. Dr Kirkland; Charge by the Rev. Dr Bancroft; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. Mr Ripley, of Boston; Address to the Society by the Rev. Dr Thayer, of Lancaster; Concluding Prayer by the Rev. Mr Allen, of Bolton.

On Wednesday, April 11, Mr Charles Chauncy Sewall was ordained to the pastoral care of the First Unitarian Church in Danvers. Introductory prayer, by Rev. Mr Bartlett, of Marblehead; Selections from the Scriptures, by Rev. Mr Green, of Lynn; Sermon by Rev. Mr Lamson, of Dedham, from John, x, 36; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Mr White, of Dedham; Charge by Rev. Dr Flint, of Salem; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr Upham, of Salem, and Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Mr Brazer, of Salem.

THE

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Miscellany.

ON SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

[We publish the following communication as an article of Miscellany, instead of Review, because we are not yet prepared to pledge our work to the support of any particular theory upon a subject so embarrassing. We are happy, however, to put our readers in possession of facts, which to many of them, perhaps, are new, and of views, the leading principles of which we are inclined to think correct.]

Among the many works which the discussions respecting the slavery of the British West Indies have called forth, the one published by Mr Stephen a few years ago is perhaps the most valuable.* The author is well known as one of those active and persevering philanthropists, who have for many years exerted themselves in the cause of the African race. He was by profession a lawyer, and resided for many years in St Christopher. His book testifies that he has well improved his advantages for judging not merely of the theory of the slave laws, but of their practical operation. This volume professes to exhibit the slavery of the British West Indies as it exists in point of law. The author proposes in another part to delineate the state as it exists in practice, though he has thought it advisable not to adhere rigorously to this division of the subject. The part already published contains a very searching examination of the slave codes of the colonies, and a critical comparison between them and the laws of other countries similarly situated, both ancient and modern.

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* The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, ancient and modern. By James Stephen, Esq. Vol. I. being a Delineation of the State in Point of Law. London: Butterworth & Son, 1824.

The vague and general declamations against slavery which we hear so frequently, and the violent indignation which is so often expressed at particular instances of abuse and cruelty, give no satisfactory information as to the peculiar state of society which is so loudly condemned; still less do they lead to any conclusions as to the means of diminishing or removing the evil. Mr Stephen therefore seems to have adopted the most correct course to enlighten the public mind, by giving 'an accurate description of the state, as it exists both in law and practice, and pointing out some of its most ordinary and acknowledged consequences, as far as they affect the happiness or misery of the parties.' His work shows conclusively the injustice of the slave laws both customary and legislative, their unnecessary severity to the negro, and their insufficient protection of him, even if carried into thorough execution; and that from the mode of trial, the rejection of negro testimony, and the peculiar state of society, the most atrocious crimes of the whites often go unpunished. He shows also that the origin of many of the most cruel laws and practices, is to be found, not in the necessity which is alleged to excuse them, but in the scorn and antipathy with which the European regards the African. And while his work proves completely the ruinous tendency of the existing system, it must satisfy every reader that there is little hope of any reformation being effected by the colonial legislatures. The following is his recapitulation.

> 'In his relation to the master, the slave is degraded to the level of brutal and inanimate nature. He is mere property; and subjected as such to all the evils that the various rights annexed to property can entail on a sensitive and rational being. He is removed from his home and native settlement, sold and exiled, bereft of his wife and children, and of all that makes existence dear to him, whenever the owner's choice, or that of his unsatisfied creditors, may so ordain. He is demised, mortgaged, entailed, and in other modes subjected to the absolute government of a

master, who has often but a small or temporary interest in his preservation and welfare; and who still oftener is unable to provide for his support. His labors, his subsistence, his discipline, and his punishments, are all at the arbitrary discretion of his immediate rulers, who are for the most part only the mercenary delegates of an owner resident in a distant land. But to these are added subordinate delegates of fearful name, whose powers are awfully important, and susceptible of no effectual control. To the drivers is committed the distribution and exaction of the common labors of the field, their apportionment among the old and the young, the strong and the feeble, the males and the females; and to these lowest agents even, though negro slaves, unenlightened and unsoftened by religion, immoral and corrupt, bereft, by their degradation, of all liberal feelings, and hardened like public executioners by the habitual infliction of tortures penally imposed, the law permits the master to delegate his awful powers. To them, accordingly, he does delegate that which is practically the most formidable and pernicious of them all, the use of the driving whip.

'Such as we have seen are the outlines of the private relation, as recognised and enforced by law.

'In regard to the whole white population, except the owner and his agents, the negro slave stands, as I have shown, in a predicament still more peculiar. He has no legal rights in his relations to them; or what is in effect the same, no remedies for wrongs received from them. His person, and such property as he is allowed by the master to possess, are virtually at their mercy. He can neither prosecute for, nor find evidence of his wrongs; nor exercise even, without subjecting himself to capital punishment, the right of self-defence. We have seen that those recent laws which affect to protect him in some degree against free strangers, and even against the master himself, are, with an unimportant exception or two, incapable of execution, and absolutely useless.

'To the state, the slave also has his relations; for this chattel in the master's hands, is recognised by the penal code, as a rational and deeply responsible being. I have, therefore, reviewed this relation also; and stated the condition of the colonial slaves in their character of subjects, or members of civil society. And what is the result? Of all the ordinary benefits of civil life, the slave would not have been more completely destitute in an African desert, than in a British colony. Not one of those benefits can be said to be effectually imparted to him, while many are totally and expressly denied. Even education, intellectual, moral, and religious, has been shamefully withheld. But to his crimes, on the other hand, the colonial lawgivers have by no means been inattentive. These have been punished with a severity unknown to the laws of the mother country; and equally unknown in the same colonies when freemen are the delinquents. Numberless petty offences and trespasses, for which the latter are liable only to be fined, or to pay damages in a civil action, have been raised into felonies, when committed by a slave. Desertion, and other domestic offences, which are breaches of duty to the master alone, have been treated as atrocious crimes against the state, and visited with mutilations or death. Nay, these much injured beings have been capitally punished for acts which the laws themselves have recognised as the direct and necessary fruits of the master's oppression; and for which, he himself, notwithstanding, was made liable to no legal animadversion at all. Barbarous executions, shocking to nature, have been sanctioned by laws but very lately repealed or disused; and the dreadful punishment of the workhouse slave chain has been recently devised, and is still inflicted, even during the whole life of the offending slave; and often for acts, in their nature innocent, and breaches alone of the harsh duties arising from his servile condition.

'Nor is the poor slave less harshly distinguished in the judicial cognizance of his crimes. Modes of trial and conviction have been appointed for him, highly dangerous to the innocent; as well as inconsistent with the lenity and humane circumspection of English law,—qualities, which in the prosecution of freemen in the same colonies, have not only been retained, but increased.

'To finish this odious summary, the state, thus beyond example severe and cruel, is more loosely and indefensibly imposed, and with far more difficulty dissolved, than the bonds of slavery ever were in any other age or region. The presumption of law, placed every where else on the side of freedom, here universally weighs against it; while a despotic exclusion of all servile testimony makes the conflict of truth, with that harsh presumption, in most cases difficult or hopeless; and, lastly, the colonial legislatures, instead of encouraging voluntary manumissions, have laid restraints, by enormous taxes and other means, on that beneficent power of the master.' pp. 435—436.

Though Mr Stephen's book was written for the express purpose of procuring the interposition of the British government, it deserves an attentive study in this country, from its delineating a state of society and laws very similar to what exists in a large part of the United States. Indeed, the resemblance in point of law is so strong, that by far the greater part of the work is directly applicable to our own country. That there should have been such a likeness previously to the revolution, is perhaps not remarkable. But even since that time the legislatures of our Southern States and those of the British West Indies, seem to have been actuated by a sympathetic spirit in their enactments respecting their colored population.

In comparing, however, the situation of that part of our country which is cursed with a numerous black population, with that of the West Indies, we shall find some cause for self-gratulation. The comparative numbers of the blacks and whites in the States where slavery is permitted, is such that we can have at present no reasonable fear of dangerous insurrections.* The same circumstance affords to every effort made to improve the condition of the blacks in the United States a better prospect of success than in the West Indies. In point of law the slave is better protected, and in point of practice, I believe, is better treated here than there. That the numbers of the slaves increase very rapidly in this country, while in most of the West Indies they are constantly diminishing, is sufficient evidence that their condition among us is happier. But what should give most cause for satisfaction is, that a large number of the most enlightened citizens of the Southern States are inimical to slavery, and thoroughly convinced of its pernicious tendency; while in the West Indies the planters, almost to a man, are its friends and advocates. Nor should it be regretted that all improvements in the social condition of the Southern States, must be effected by themselves; and that their legislatures are not in this respect subject to any superior power.

Notwithstanding all these favorable circumstances, slavery is justly considered a great national evil. All our States seem sincere in the wish to remove this curse from our land and to alleviate its miseries. For its existence among us, we must reproach England. The mother country encouraged the importation of slaves into the colonies, regardless of their true interests; while some of the provinces labored earnestly to check the progress of the evil. The continued exertions of the province of Virginia, for this purpose, which were uniformly thwarted and rendered unavailing by the mother country, are well known. And as soon as our allegiance to Great Britain was shaken off, and while we were yet fighting for our independence, an act was passed by Virginia, which prohibited the importation of slaves, and declared every black imported free. Since our independence the slaveholding States have generally been forward to prevent the increase of the evil. They voted unanimously in Congress in favor of the ordinance which prohibited slavery in the territory northwest of the Ohio; and they have since that time cooperated sincerely and zealously in all the measures which our government has adopted for the suppression of the slave trade. The frequency of emancipation, the warm support which is given to the Colonization Society by many distinguished individuals among them, and the recorded opinions of some of their wisest men with regard to involuntary servitude, are honorable to the country, and encouraging to future exertions to promote the welfare of the African race.

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* In only one of our States does the number of the blacks equal that of the whites; while in the West Indies the former exceed the latter in the proportion of five to one in some islands, ten to one in others, and in some instances in a still higher proportion.

But the citizens of the Southern States, have, upon the subject of slavery, a most unreasonable jealousy of their northern brethren. They appear to think that there are among us many who would abolish slavery throughout the land, at once and at all hazards. There is no reason in fact for this jealousy. I will not undertake to say that there may not be here and there an individual who is insane upon this subject; it would be strange indeed, if no such person could be found. But the insanity of one man is no measure of the opinion of the public. In the opinion of every person here who is in the least familiar with the merits of the question, and indeed of the great body of the community, nothing could be more absurd and dangerous than a sudden enfranchisement of all the negroes. The interest which all cannot but feel upon this subject, may occasionally produce an intemperate warmth of language. But are not the violent, unmannerly, and abusive retorts in which many southern newspapers indulge, equally unjustifiable? If the writings in the Northern States have a tendency to excite the blacks against the whites, which I totally deny, is not the inflammatory language used at the south much more likely to produce the same effect? I certainly would not write a syllable if I believed that it could in any manner operate unfavorably on the character or conduct of the slaves. But is there any danger to be apprehended from a fair and manly examination of this subject, addressed, not to the slaves, but to their masters? I have never heard that the angry and intemperate language with which the Missouri question was argued, or rather fought, produced any effervescence among the colored population at the south. It is known, too, that British publications are widely circulated in our country, which are very far from speaking of domestic slavery with the cautious and mysterious reserve, that seems to be so much desired by its advocates, when any persons but themselves are treating of the subject; but there have been no complaints that these publications have been injurious. To my mind, the printed statutes of Virginia and South Carolina seem much more likely to excite disaffection and rebellion among their slaves, than all that has ever been published in the Northern States.

It is often complained at the south that the citizens of the north wish to interfere with the management of their slaves. The charge is not very definite; but let it be understood as it may, it is false and absurd. Not only is the exclusive right of the Southern States to regulate their own property fully recognised; but the propriety and expediency of leaving it entirely to their management are as fully acknowledged. Our fellow citizens are so far from having the desire which is imputed to them, that they are in general extremely cautious in even expressing their opinions respecting slavery, or the manner in which it may be remedied or alleviated. Doubt and difficulty indeed attend upon every proposal. But this is a subject of national and not merely sectional concern. Every citizen of the United States who has the welfare of his country at heart, has an interest in it. Surely the whole nation has a deep concern in a subject by which one half of it is so immediately and vitally affected. It is a subject on which the friends of humanity cannot forbear to meditate, and on which they have a right to be heard. The law and practice of slavery are as proper topics of discussion, as any other questions in legislation or morals.

It needs no argument to show that slavery is a great and growing evil; but its pernicious effects cannot be fully realized without glancing at the comparative condition of the northern and southern divisions of the country. It is but too manifest that the Southern States are losing their comparative weight in the nation. An examination of the different censuses since 1790, and of the representation in Congress, affords conclusive evidence of this fact. The free States have now a much greater majority in the House of Representatives than they had in 1790. Their gross population has since that time increased more rapidly than that of the slaveholding States; and if we compare the relative increase of the white population in the two sections of the country, the difference is still more remarkable. In commerce, manufactures, and internal improvements, the superiority of the Northern States is unquestionable. If we look to the means of education, or the general intelligence, industry, and enterprise—but it is needless to pursue the comparison.[*]

We would not boast of the more fortunate condition of the Northern States. But we cannot refrain from asking, What has produced this state of things? Is it altogether climate, or is it slavery? The territory of the slaveholding States is much more extensive than that of the free States; their soil, to say the least, is quite as fertile, and their natural advantages for commerce, all things considered, are perhaps equal. As it is not easy to believe that the mere difference of a few degrees of latitude, in a temperate climate, among a people of the same parentage and under the same government, has produced these results, there seems to be no other cause to which they can be ascribed than the institution of slavery.

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[*] The following table of representatives in Congress, which is revised from one in Niles's Register, is believed to be correct.

By the Census of	Whole No. in Congress	From the free States	From the slaves holding States	Majority in favor of the free States
1790	106	58	48	10
1800	142	78	64	14
1810	185	107	78	29
1820	213	124	89	35

The following is taken from the same paper.

Population in what are called the *free* States in 1790	2,027,248
Deduct for slaves in those States	49,254
Free inhabitants of the free States, in 1790.	1,977,994
Population of the same States in 1820, with that of the new free States	5,225,107
Population of the slave holding States in 1790	1,893,078
Deduct slaves	648,437
Free population of the slaveholding States, in 1790	1,244,641
Population of the same States, in 1820, with that of the new slaveholding States	4,367,588
Deduct slaves	1,528,452
Free population of the slaveholding States, in 1820	2,839,136
Gross excess of population in the free States in 1790 only	134,170
The same in 1820	857,519
Excess of free population in the free States in 1790	733,353
The same in 1820	2,388,000
Majority of federal numbers in the free States in 1790	375,000
The same in 1820	1,470,000

The whole article in Niles's Register, merits an attentive perusal. It contains much vauable statistical information.

Of all human inventions slavery has been the source of the greatest amount of crime and misery. The system, even under its mildest forms, has been the curse of every country in which it has been adopted, equally baneful to the oppressed and the oppressor. The human spirit cannot be tamed down like a beast of the field. The masters of slaves always lead a life of fear and suspicion. The student of ancient history will have a thousand facts crowding upon his recollection to attest the truth of these remarks. The Spartans systematically murdered the young and vigorous Helots, to prevent their numbers from becoming dangerous. A million slaves are said to have perished in one unfortunate insurrection in Sicily. Whenever a master in Rome was murdered in his own house, every one of his domestic slaves might be put to death.* If the Romans had felt themselves safe, would they have passed this cruel and barbarous edict? History has shown us the extent of their danger. The desperate insurrections of their slaves more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction. But it may be said, these things happened in distant times, and these spirited actors were whites. Yet the annals of the West Indies present a melancholy catalogue of insurrections by the blacks, and even in our own country, where the evil is far less pressing, we have frequent accounts of murders and robberies perpetrated by them, and we have more than once been alarmed by their plots and conspiracies.

But even a more serious evil than this, is the corrupting influence which slavery exerts upon the character of the masters. It is a melancholy truth, that wherever this institution has prevailed, it has produced a general dissoluteness of morals; it has rendered the masters indolent, proud and revengeful to their equals, and arbitrary and cruel to their inferiors. A celebrated writer indeed has not scrupled to ascribe the barbarous manners of refined antiquity to the practice of domestic slavery.†

The situation of our slaveholding States presents two important subjects of inquiry; the first, as to the possibility of removing all the blacks from the country and the mode of accomplishing it; the second, as to what can be done to improve their condition, supposing them to remain among us. Both problems present great, and, in the opinion of many, insuperable difficulties.

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* We cannot realize the complete inhumanity of this law, unless we take into view the immense number of slaves possessed by individuals in Rome. Tacitus mentions that four hundred slaves of Pedanius Secundus were actually executed under this law. *Tac. Ann.* 14, 43.

† 'Nor can a more probable reason be assigned for the severe, I might say, barbarous manners of ancient times than the practice of domestic slavery.'—*Hume's Essays, Vol. I. On the Populousness of Ancient Nations.*

Undoubtedly if all the blacks could be removed from the country, a great object would be gained; and there is reason to believe that a large and most respectable part of the community at the south, would rejoice to be relieved of the evil in this way. But it is to be feared that the colonization of any large proportion of the blacks, though so desirable, will never be effected. If it be attempted to remove them gradually, will not the natural increase of population supply any diminution of numbers that can be anticipated? Political economists generally admit, that emigration not only does not reduce the population of the parent country, but usually does not retard the rate of increase. In the older Southern States the number of slaves has for a long time been rapidly increasing, notwithstanding the great numbers of them carried into the new States. And if ten or twenty thousand should be exported from this country annually for ten years, there would probably be as many blacks here at the end of that time as if no such exportation had taken place. If the attempt should be made to transport them in larger numbers, it would evidently be very difficult to defray the mere expenses of transportation. And even if sufficient funds for this purpose could be raised, a much larger sum would be wanted to compensate the owners of slaves, as most of the planters would hardly give up for nothing what they consider a valuable part of their property. Then, as the slaves diminished in numbers, their value would increase; since no other class of laborers would flow into the country with sufficient rapidity to supply the place of the emigrants; and any sudden diminution of numbers to an extent that would be effective towards the proposed object, would seriously reduce the wealth and resources of the Southern States. This injury it is true would be temporary. But is it probable that these States are prepared to make so great a sacrifice, as the annual exportation of a large proportion of their laboring population? Besides, if what is generally asserted be true, that the constitution of the whites will not support the labors of the field in many parts of the Southern States, the retaining of the blacks, at least in those parts of the country, is a matter of necessity.

I trust that nothing in these remarks will be considered as intimating an unfavorable opinion of the Colonization Society.

It merits and will doubtless receive the liberal support of the public. It is engaged in a noble cause, and cannot prove otherwise than a blessing to our land. Even if it did no more than direct the attention of the public to the condition of our colored population and the means of improving it, the value of the association would be inestimable. But the citizens both of the south and north, are yielding too readily to the flattering suggestion, that this Society is of itself sufficient to effect all that is possible for the improvement of the blacks; and that all other efforts for the same object are useless and unnecessary. But the removal of the free blacks, though a great benefit in itself, can operate but slowly and indirectly to improve the condition of the great mass of their brethren remaining in servitude. Even allowing this Society a greater success than its most sanguine friends anticipate, the removal of the pressure of our black population can only be looked forward to as a very distant event. This is but a remote and possible consequence of the exertions of the association, and forms no part of its direct and immediate objects, and must be effected by means over which it has no control. It is plain, therefore, that the establishment of this institution, does not in any degree absolve our fellow citizens of the south from further exertions in behalf of their oppressed and suffering population.

What then can be done to improve the condition of this population? No doubt sooner or later slavery will cease to exist in America. In spite of complexion and features, the same spirit of improvement, which in the old world has raised the condition of those held in servitude, will in this country gradually lead to the emancipation of the blacks. There is a regenerating power in our nature which no continuance of abuses and no practice of oppression can destroy; and which is ever renovating the moral and political condition of our race. The only question is, whether the improvement and enfranchisement of the negroes shall be left to the operation of time and accident, or whether the present generation shall exert itself to forward the glorious work.

To give sudden freedom to all the blacks at once, would, I admit, be a rash and dangerous experiment. To make freedom a valuable gift, they must be taught how to use it; they must receive a moral and religious education; they must be instructed in the rights and duties of freemen. All this can be attempted, with any prospect of success, only upon the young. It would not be safe to pass any general laws giving freedom to those now grown up in servitude; nor would such a measure probably prove useful to the very parties whom it was intended to benefit. The first object then should be education. The slaveholding States, with a view to their emancipation, ought, therefore, to provide by law for the education of the negroes. What would be the best mode of doing this, I shall not here stop to inquire; but all the necessary instruction might doubtless be given at an expense very small in comparison with the object, and which would be more than repaid in the improved conduct of the negroes.

All the blacks hereafter born should be declared free after arriving at a certain age; perhaps twentyfive years. And though I believe the injury to slave owners from this measure, would be much less than is commonly supposed, still I think compensation ought to be made to them, and if possible to the full market price of every person emancipated. The property of individuals ought never to be sacrificed for the public benefit without compensation. Indeed the principle of compensation is essential to any rational scheme of enfranchisement, where slaves are so numerous as they are at the south.

The extinction of slavery being a great national object, coming within the letter of the Constitution which gives Congress the power to provide for the general welfare of the United States, the national government would be justified in cooperating with the State governments, by contributing largely to this compensation. The sales of the national lands might be appropriated for this purpose. All the internal improvements effected by the national government, all the roads and canals made or contemplated, the navies, and the fortifications, upon which it is annually expending millions, seem but trifling objects when compared with the redemption of a nation of slaves.

It is easy to anticipate the objections to the measure proposed. It will of course be called visionary and Utopian. It will be said that the evil is incurable, and the mere expense requisite to give effect to this plan intolerable. The expense would indeed be a heavy burden, but not beyond the power of the nation to bear. The compensation must necessarily be regulated by the resources of the States making it; and the contribution of the United States government, in like manner, proportioned to its means.

It will also be objected that the experiment would be hazardous. Nor am I unaware that many difficulties must be overcome, before any scheme of the kind can be carried into successful operation. A long and tedious interval must at all events precede the complete liberation of the negroes. But the danger is magnified to the eyes of the slaveholders. It should be considered that those who are to be liberated are to be educated; brought up with the knowledge that at a certain time they will become free, and be as much as possible prepared for freedom. The experiment too has been tried. A system substantially the same has put an end to slavery in the Northern States, not only without inconvenience, but to the manifest advantage of all classes of society. It is true that the number of the blacks in the Southern States, bears a greater proportion to that of the whites, than it did in any of the Northern States at the time emancipation was commenced. But at present the negroes are in no State sufficiently numerous to cause any reasonable fears whether they are slaves or freemen. The great cause of alarm is, that in every slaveholding State, with scarcely an exception, the black population is constantly increasing more rapidly than the white.*

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* The following table, extracted from a paper by George Harvey, originally published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, and since in the Boston Journal for Nov. 1823, shows the number of free persons to every slave in each State and Territory as given by the different censuses.

States and Territories.		Free persons in 1790	Free persons in 1800	Free persons in 1810	Free persons in 1820
Maine	One slave to	∞	∞	∞	∞
N. H.		897	22981	∞	∞
Mass.		∞	∞	∞	∞
R. I.		72	181	711	1851
Conn.		85	263	844	2836
Ver.		5345	∞	∞	∞
N. Y.		15	27	63	135
N. J.		15	16	22	36
Penn.		115	352	1016	4972
Del.		6	9	16	15
Ohio		9	∞	∞	∞
India.		—	41	102	774
Md.		2.1	2.3	2.4	2.8
Va.		1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5
N. C.		2.9	2. 6	2.3	2.1
S. C.	One slave to	1.3	1.4	1.1	0,9
Geo.		1.8	1.7	1.4	1.3
Lou.		—	—	6	1.2
Tenn.		—	7	5	4.3
Ky.		5	4.5	4	3.5
Ala.		—	—	1.2	2
Miss.		—	1.5	1.4	1.3
Illi.		—	—	72	59
Misso.		—	—	—	5.8
Mich.		—	—	197	∞
Ark.		—	—	—	8
D. C.		—	4	3.4	4
Whole U. S.		4.6	4.9	5 .1	5.3

The character ∞, is used to signify that there are no slaves in the State opposite to the name of which it is placed. In the Southern States and Territories in 1820, the proportion of slaves to free persons was nearly as one to two, there being 1,508,747 slaves and 2,955,987 free persons.

Many other objections have been urged against all plans of the kind suggested. But the field of contention is every day growing narrower. Fortunately, the advocates for the abolition of slavery stand on very different ground from that they occupied fifty years ago. Few persons, at the present day, have the hardihood to assert the natural fitness and propriety of slavery, or to talk of the good fortune of the Africans, in being transplanted from barbarous and heathenish nations into civilized and christian communities. Almost the only arguments now used in favor of personal servitude, at least in this country, are drawn from the danger and difficulty of changing the existing state of society.

It is frequently said that the Africans differ so much from us in color and features, as to make it impossible, or undesirable if possible, that the two races should ever mingle into one, and therefore that it would be dangerous in the extreme to raise up a powerful nation in the midst of us, with which we could never be united by the ties of blood and friendship. The argument would be a strong one, if the question were on the expediency of introducing negroes into the country. But unfortunately the evil already exists to an alarming extent; a nation of strangers is now grown up in the heart of the United States. It may well be doubted whether they would be more formidable when free, than they are while slaves. When men have their persons and property protected by equal laws, they are not very apt to rebel to gain political privileges. Besides, the conduct of the blacks gives us no reason to expect that a more liberal treatment will be received by them with disdain and ingratitude. They cannot but feel, when made freemen, that a great benefit has been conferred on them. Nor would the state of the emancipated negroes be very different from that of large classes of the population in many parts of Europe and Asia. And although this may not be the most eligible condition of society, it certainly may exist without any great danger. The opposers of enfranchisement, in their zeal, are very apt to forget, that scarcely any frame of society can be worse than that now existing in the Southern States; and that the question is not, whether any proposed system be absolutely good, but whether it is not better than the present.

In fact, can any serious danger be anticipated from the negroes when freed? The whites in most of the Southern States, as has been already stated, far exceed the blacks in numbers.

In only one, are the slaves more numerous than their masters. In the intelligence and resources of the two parties, there could be no comparison. The free blacks might not, perhaps, in the beginning, make the very best citizens; but they would be less troublesome than slaves; and we do not believe the most intelligent part of the community at the South, would apprehend that their conduct would prove riotous and violent. Besides, the work of enfranchisement would be gradual, and the number of newly emancipated negroes would never, therefore, be very large. Acquiring freedom in small numbers at a time, they would easily fall into their natural places in society without tumult or disorder, and most of them undoubtedly become the hired laborers of their former masters.

It ought also to be borne in mind, that though the negroes in a state of slavery increase more rapidly than the whites, yet when freed, this disproportion would probably cease. The same moral causes which now check the multiplication of the whites, would then operate upon the blacks. The removal, too, of the free blacks from the country, might still be pursued with unabating and increasing zeal, and a better prospect of entire success. For whatever laws may be made with regard to this class of our population, every thinking mind must desire this removal should be complete.

Another argument, if it can be called so, in vindication of slavery, occasionally resorted to, though of late it has not been urged with so much confidence as it was formerly, is, that nature having created the blacks with minds and bodies inferior to the whites, and painted them with a dark color as a mark of disgrace, no doubt intended them for a state of servitude to their superiors as much as oxen and horses. But this alleged inferiority has never been established. It is impossible to say how much of the stupidity of the blacks is the effect of their situation and want of cultivation. The same opinion which is now prevalent with regard to them, was once the popular belief with regard to white slaves. It is true, however absurd it may appear to us, that slaves were generally believed by the ancients to be an inferior race of men, and naturally devoid of understanding; so hard is it to distinguish what portion of the power of the mind is native, and what acquired. But conceding that the intellectual faculties of the African race are not equal to those of the European; is it therefore just and humane, or even politic and expedient, to continue the present system of personal servitude? If slavery be in itself an evil, which cannot be disputed, the mental inferiority of the blacks does not remedy it.

The ill success which the experiments of manumission have met with in the Southern States, is no argument against the plan suggested. It was to be expected that ignorant and degraded men, suddenly let loose from their chains, would become idle and dissolute, and a load upon society. Debased and brutified by the state in which they were brought up, they were totally unprepared for the change. They had no moral restraint to compensate for the physical one which had been removed. When but a small part of the attention devoted to the education of the whites, has been bestowed upon the blacks and proved to be utterly ineffectual in forming their characters, then, and not till then, may we begin to doubt the expediency of emancipation. It is not freedom, but ignorance and degradation which are dangerous to society. The same fears of enfranchising slaves seem always to have prevailed, and experience has always shown them to be fallacious. The ancients thought it dangerous. The Romans had laws to regulate and restrain manumission. In the middle ages, also, it was considered as detrimental to society; and various laws were passed to prevent it. Yet slavery has disappeared from the greater part of Europe, and from the northern part of our own country, with no such evil consequences as were anticipated. However dangerous, therefore, a sudden emancipation of the whole colored population might be, and however undesirable enfranchisement in any manner might appear, while the present degraded character of the blacks continues; yet, we may fairly conclude that a gradual liberation of the whole class might be effected, with the happiest consequences, provided the proper measures for their previous education should be sincerely adopted and sedulously pursued.

It can scarcely be doubted that it is for the interest of the Southern States to give freedom to their negroes, whenever it can be done with safety. I cannot within my limits refer to the many distinguished political economists, who hold that the labor of freemen is cheaper than that of slaves; nor is it necessary to examine the facts in ancient and modern history on which they build their opinion. But the slightest consideration of the circumstances of the case, can scarcely fail to lead any unprejudiced mind to the same conclusion. The master has to pay for the support of the slave; he has to provide him and his family with food, clothes, and lodging. It is true that these are all cheap, and that a hired laborer in this country can with his wages, support himself and family more comfortably than the slave is supported. But will not the greater quantity of work done by the hired laborer, much more than pay the difference? Which will work best, the hired laborer, who knows his future employment depends on his present diligence, or the slave, who, if he does enough to avoid punishment, has no inducement to any greater exertion? It is impossible to ascertain exactly the comparative value of hired or voluntary, and forced labor; but all writers that I have examined, agree in preferring the former. Bryan Edwards, one of the ablest advocates of slavery, says that one Englishman will perform the work of three negroes; certainly not from superior strength. Other writers make similar statements. And we have it from the best authority, that slaves do as much work in one afternoon for themselves, as in a whole day for their masters. It is notorious that the work done by slaves in the West Indies and in our Southern States, is very small compared with that of hired servants in other countries.

Indeed, the conviction of the dearness of slave labor is becoming general among the planters themselves. This is perhaps the chief cause of the great desire to emancipate their slaves, exhibited by many persons in Virginia and Maryland. The following extract from a southern journal, presents a melancholy, though perhaps not an exaggerated picture of the condition of those States.

'The motives for enfranchisement are every moment gaining power. Many a planter finds the whole income of an immense estate, absorbed by the subsistence of his slaves. He is unwilling to sell them, and their rapid increase threatens to prove the ruin of his fortune. Said a gentleman of this description to the writer, "I should be a rich man, if I had not a slave in the world."'*

I have thus freely expressed my opinions as to the practicability of a gradual, but complete emancipation, and the mode of effecting it. But considering the views of the planters on this subject, the doubts which they may fairly entertain of the expediency of adopting any plan of the kind, the difficulty of arranging the details of a new system, and the still greater difficulty of carrying it into execution, it cannot reasonably be expected that the Southern States generally will at present enact any laws with this object expressly in view. It is therefore more important to inquire what can and ought to be done to improve the condition of the negroes while in their present state of servitude. As it would be impossible within reasonable limits to present any detailed views, I shall content myself with a few remarks.

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* African Repository, No. 6, p. 162.

Though the Southern States are not to be reproached for the existence of slavery, nor for their doubts with regard to the expediency of emancipation, yet they have no excuse for the enactment of severe and cruel statutes, and the toleration of barbarous practices, manifestly not required to maintain the existing system. The most crying abuse is the traffic in slaves which they permit. Though they have consented to the abolition of the African branch of this commerce, they allow a slave trade between themselves, which is scarcely less inhuman. I shall say nothing of kidnapping free blacks, which this traffic encourages, and which the severe laws against it have not been able to prevent. It is notorious that large numbers of slaves are constantly carried from some of the older States, to supply the markets of the south and west. Now although it may be a very profitable business to raise slaves for exportation, and although it may be imagined by the exporting States that they are relieving themselves of their surplus population, yet the traffic itself is not the less disgraceful to the legislatures that permit it. The remedy of the evil is simple. Every State should pass an act to prevent the importation of any slaves, except such as belong to emigrants and come to settle with their masters. Such laws have been passed in some of the States, though not with any design of serving the blacks. But this measure does but half accomplish the purpose, and cannot be effectual unless all the States pass similar acts. This cannot be expected. But any State may completety effect the end, by passing a statute to prohibit the exportation of slaves. As Congress, however, seems to have the right to do this, it is to be hoped that with the cooperation of the southern members, some general law will be passed to remedy the evil. But if it should still be doubted, as it has formerly been, whether Congress have this right according to the Constitution, it would perhaps be unwise to act in opposition to the opinions and wishes of the bulk of the southern representation. Great

Britain has set us a good example in correcting a similar abuse in the West Indies, a late statute having prohibited the transportation of slaves from one colony to another.

But without enacting laws having enfranchisement for their direct object, much may be done to improve the state of enslaved blacks. It would be easy to point out many particulars in which the slave codes admit of great improvement. But I have only room to observe that the first principles of the system are unsound. The object of all the slave laws is to depress and degrade the character of the negro, on the plea that the safety of the masters requires the slave to be kept in ignorance. This may possibly be good policy, if the design be to perpetuate personal slavery forever and at all hazards. But if the wise and enlightened citizens of the south really wish to destroy the evil, their whole system must be changed. In whatever mode and at whatever time emancipation is attempted, the moral and intellectual culture of the blacks ought to precede and accompany it. While the Southern States, therefore, persist in legislating upon the false and pernicious principle that it is necessary to reduce a large part of their population as nearly as possible to the state of brutes, all hope of improving the negroes from the operation of the laws, is idle. All the statutes made to keep the blacks in ignorance and prevent their education, should be at once repealed, and others passed to provide for their instruction.*

The laws of some of the Southern States to restrain manumission, seem to us here to be very impolitic.† If any thing can have a tendency to make the slave restless and uneasy, it must be the knowledge that freedom from his master's gift is almost hopeless. We do not say that the legislatures of the Southern States are bound to encourage manumissions, but they might at least permit them under fewer restrictions. Slaves ought also to be legally invested with the power to purchase their own freedom. The industry and good conduct which would be required to effect this object, will fit them for the liberty they aspire to. The remarks of Mr Stephen on this subject have so much good sense and so much eloquence, that I cannot refrain from copying them.

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* In illustration of the system of policy pursued at the south, I have extracted clauses from one or two statutes, which I believe are still in force. They need no commentary. A statute of Virginia provides that it shall not be lawful for any overseer binding out any black or mulatto orphan, 'to require the master or mistress to teach such orphan reading, writing, or arithmetic.'—*Stat. Jan.* 31, 1805, 2 *Virg. Laws*, 85. The following is from a statute of South Carolina. 'And whereas the having of slaves taught to write or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences: Be it enacted, That all and every person and persons whatever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever, hereafter taught to write; every such person and persons shall for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money.'—*Stat.* 1740, 2 *Brev. Dig.* 243. The fine for teaching a slave to write is the same as for wilfully cutting out his tongue, or putting out his eye. A law similar to that last cited is in force in Georgia.—*Prince's Dig. Laws of Georgia*, 455.

† The following is the law of Virginia. 'If any slave hereafter emancipated shall remain within this commonwealth more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall forfeit all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor of any county

'Such is the value of possible, but far more that of potential liberty, to the slave. What cruelty then can exceed the total privation of this hope; or even its wanton discouragement?

'But it is not more cruel than unwise. The hopes and fears of man are the pledges that he gives to society for his conduct. Without these, he cannot be stimulated to the discharge of social duties; or deterred from the most pernicious crimes. But the slave, if shut out from the chance of enfranchisement, has so little to hope or fear in this life, that no human sanctions can give him adequate motives for obedience to the government or the laws. He sees in the civil authorities, the abettors only of his master's despotism, and the rivets of his galling chain. In the same degree that he desires liberty, he must hate the government under which he lives; and can hope only in a revolution, the possible improvement of his state.

'It is true indeed that civil disaffection, and a dangerous propensity to revolt, are generally inseparable in some degree from the mischievous and odious institution of private slavery. The community that permits and maintains such a state, places under its own foundation a mine, the explosion of which is a calamity not less probable than just.

'But the danger is materially lessened by the frequency and

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or corporation, in which he or she shall be found, for the benefit of the poor of such county or corporation.'—*Stat. Vir. Jan.* 25, 1806, 2 *Virg. Laws*, 97. In North Carolina during the revolution a statute was enacted commencing as follows: 'Whereas the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves in this State, ought at this alarming and critical time to be guarded against by every friend and well-wisher of his country: Be it therefore enacted; That no negro or mulatto slave shall hereafter be set free, except for meritorious services, to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court, and license first had and obtained thereupon," &c.—*Laws of North Carolina, edition of* 1821, *Vol.* 1, *p.* 270, *passed in* 1777. This law was confirmed by a new act in 1796, and, by an act passed in 1818, the power given to the County Courts is exclusively vested in the Superior Courts.—*Laws of North Carolina, Vol.* 2, *pp.* 801 *and* 1446.

facility of enfranchisement. Though that inestimable prize will be the lot comparatively of a few, the hope of future freedom will influence the many, and, what is of vast importance, will be the most influential with those who, being from their superior intelligence and energy the most likely to obtain it, are, from the same causes, likely to give the lead to their comrades, in all cases, whether of obedient or mutinous conduct.

'These principles, though selfevidently true, do not rest for their authority upon theory alone. They are confirmed by experience. The most hopeless slavery has always been the most dangerous to the state.

'In England, where enfranchisement was the most copious and rapid, till liberty at length became universal, I recollect no instance on record of a servile insurrection. In the Spanish colonies, where it has been next in extent, such calamities, if they have ever occurred, have been extremely rare; and we have recently seen that all the efforts of infuriated parties have failed on the continent of South America to excite the slaves to revolt against their immediate masters; and that in Cuba, where they most abound, there has been a perfect internal calm, in spite of the hurricanes around them. In the colonies of Holland and Great Britain, on the contrary, where manumissions are the scarcest, insurrections have been peculiarly frequent.

'But the most interesting view of individual enfranchisement is the tendency which it has to terminate, in the safest and happiest way, the cruel and odious institution out of which it grows. * * *

'Though progressive meliorations by law of the condition and treatment of the servile class at large, certainly ought to be made, they are, it must be admitted, of rather difficult execution. * * *

'The best mode of gradation consequently is that which progressively reduces the comparative number of the slaves, and increases proportionably that of the free population, by means of individual manumissions; though this happy progress should certainly be accompanied, and kept pace with, by meliorations of the state itself.

'Here again history may be instructively consulted.

'The reformation of the servile code of Rome, was attended with no civil disorders; because manumissions, through the benign influence of Christianity, became so copious soon after that reformation commenced, that the slaves speedily ceased to bear a dangerous proportion in number to the free citizens and libertines of the empire.'—pp. 375—377.

A law to annex plantation slaves to the soil, so that property in them should pass only with the land, would be a most beneficial provision. Such a law would not only prevent the cruelty of separating near connexions by sales, but do much to elevate the character of the slave, by protecting him, however slightly, from the tyranny and caprice of his master. It would besides introduce a species of feudal vassalage, in the place of a more aggravated form of servitude.* It is this system, which has operated with other causes to eradicate slavery from the greater part of Europe, and would no doubt contribute slowly to produce the same effect in America. The adoption of a similar course has been strongly urged in England with regard to the British West Indies.

The separation of families, either in private or judicial sales, is an enormous abuse, which no consideration of interest can justify, and should at once be prohibited by law in every slaveholding State.

The exclusion of the blacks from being witnesses against the whites, is one of the most harsh and unreasonable provisions in the southern slave codes. Whatever may be the object of such provisions, whether it is merely to degrade the character of the blacks, or to exclude testimony which is considered unsatisfactory; the effect is to prevent the discovery of truth and impede the course of justice. What danger could be apprehended from making the black a witness, in all cases in which he would be competent if white? A jury surely may be safely left to judge of his credibility, as in other cases in which there is reason for doubting the truth of a witness.

There are many other particulars in the southern slave codes, which are open to serious animadversion, and seem capable of much improvement; I shall merely allude to some of them in a very cursory manner. The severity of the penal laws against the blacks, and the rigor of the slave police, ought to be diminished, and more efficient laws should be made for their protection. Slaves should be regarded in law as *persons*, not as *things*, and should have the rights of persons. They should be enabled to inherit and purchase property. The free blacks, too, ought to have all the civil rights and all the political privileges which it would be safe to grant them. In my opinion, the most wise as well as the most liberal course, would be to give them all the privilegse of citizens, only requiring a certain amount of property as a requisite qualification. Under this restriction, there can be no danger that they can ever acquire any political power, unless they should become as industrious and intelligent as the remaining citizens.

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* Annexing slaves to the soil is permitted by statute in Kentucky, and perhaps in other parts of the country. I cannot say to what extent it has been practised.

Two objections are generally urged against all enactments for improving the condition of the blacks, even if they do not extend to enfranchisement; one is, that they necessarily tend to promote a gradual liberation of the whole class; the other, that such laws, by enlightening the minds of the slaves, render them dissatisfied with their situation, and more disposed to engage in insurrections, and more able to conduct them with success. It must be admitted as it respects the first objection, that if manumission is unrestrained and the character and condition of the slaves improved, there can be little doubt that a general liberation of the whole colored population will finally ensue. But nothing in my opinion can be more desirable than this gradual and quiet change. It cannot however be necessary here to reply to this objection, for the arguments already adduced in favor of a general enfranchisement by law, apply with equal, if not greater force to voluntary manumissions by individuals.

The same arguments will also apply to the other objection. History, shows us, what we might expect, that slaves behave best where they are best treated. Men are not generally disposed to fight to raise themselves above the lot to which they are born; it is only the extremity of oppression and actual suffering which commonly drive them to violence. The resistance increases with the pressure. Will slaves be more likely to rebel, because they have increased security for their persons and property; because a disposition is shown to improve them; because they are treated with more humanity; because an addition is made to their comforts; because the law gives them the right to earn freedom by their own exertions; because, in fine, they have new motives given them for industry and good conduct? Strong evidence is required to prove this. Besides, admitting that an increase of knowledge would give the negroes a desire to rise against their masters; the same knowledge would inform them that all efforts of rebellion would be desperation, and that a general movement of the whole colored population must result in their ruin. They could not but see that the whites in the Southern States have organized governments, with a great majority of the population and all the resources of wealth, talent, and experience on their side; and that in addition to this overwhelming superiority, they could command the regular forces of the United States, and the militia of the north. A general insurrection of an extensive country or of any large district, seems scarcely possible, unless a great majority of the inhabitants join in it. A partial rising of an exasperated multitude may happen any where and under any form of government. But would an increase of intelligence increase the danger of these sudden tumults among the blacks? Would it not rather show them the folly of all such efforts? The following statements from Mr Stephen, who has examined this subject thoroughly and profoundly, are worthy of attention.

'It is well worthy of remark, that these events [insurrections,] have occurred since the abolition, only in two British colonies, in both of which the religious instruction of the slaves had been preeminently neglected and discouraged, and where missionary labors had either been wholly wanting, or prosecuted on a scale too minute to have had any material effect on the character of the black population; while in colonies where the slaves have been extensively the objects of such labors, interior peace and security have prevailed without interruption, during the whole of this revolutionary age.' p. 243.

'The Spanish and Portuguese slaves are as well instructed in religion as their masters; but then it is a fact equally indisputable, that they are fed, clothed, and governed, with a degree of liberality and kindness, which, in other colonies, is utterly unknown. We have incidentally seen also, that the servile code is among them proportionably lenient and just, beyond that of the British islands. Christianity, then, is at least a safe inmate in West India settlements; since those of Spain and Portugal are preeminently tranquil, and exempt from interior convulsions.' p. 267.

I feel the more confidence in the opinions which have been expressed in the preceding pages, because they coincide in all important particulars with the measures which have been suggested in England with regard to the West Indies. There seems to be little hope, however, that any improvement in the condition of the negroes, will at present be effected by any measures which depend upon the State legislatures. But much, very much, may be accomplished by individual exertion. The unreasonable contempt which mere color inspires, as it is the chief cause of the bitterness of slavery, so is it the only serious obstacle to the emancipation and improvement of this proscribed caste. Once convince the whites of the absurdity and injustice of this contempt, and the whole fabric of slavery will vanish like a shadow. Perhaps it may seem visionary to expect that the free and enlightened whites of America, will ever regard the blacks as beings of the same species with themselves. Yet could we practically believe what we cannot in theory deny, that these unfortunate creatures are men and not brutes, that they are endowed with minds, which, if not equal to our own, are certainly capable of improvement; this alone would do more to elevate their character and condition than any laws that could be enacted. A change in the laws, to be effectual, must be the consequence of a change in public opinion. Men of rank and influence at the South, would therefore do well to examine calmly and dispassionately, if there be not something wrong in the prevailing feeling and sentiment on the subject of slavery; if the slave codes are not imperfect and capable of improvement; if the general enfranchisement of the colored population cannot be accomplished consistently with the general welfare of society and the rights of private property; and if the necessity of the continuance of the present system may not be questionable. A thorough examination of the whole subject might perhaps lead to conclusions which they do not anticipate.

The superiority of voluntary over forced labor, is, as I have remarked above, sufficiently proved. But I cannot conclude without adverting to the subject again. If any thing were wanting to attest the fact, it might be found in the remarkable results of the plan pursued by Mr Steele. But as most readers of the Examiner must have seen the account of his experiments, it will not be necessary to detail them. He employed the slaves in his plantation in Barbadoes as free laborers, paying them in proportion to the work done by them, and abolished the severe and cruel discipline which has sometimes been considered necessary to compel the blacks to exertion. 'But,' in the words of the Edinburgh Review, 'it is an important as well as an agreeable circumstance, that he suffered no loss even of worldly gain, by the hazard he encountered for the good of mankind. He expressly describes his operation as having conduced to his profit.'* Similar plans have in other places met with equal success. The same course seems worthy of a trial in our own country. Any wealthy and publicspirited planter might, with very little inconvenience to himself, employ his slaves as free laborers, and agree to pay them according to their work. It can scarcely be doubted, that such an experiment, carefully conducted under the personal direction of the planter, would improve the character of the subjects of it, and be a source of profit to their master. The man who should try such an experiment, and publish the result, whether successful or unsuccessful, would do more for his country, by exhibiting the degree of improvement of which the negro race is susceptible, than if he should transport a thousand emigrants to Africa or Hayti. To insure the most beneficial results it is only necessary to place before the eyes of the planters a few estates cultivated solely by the voluntary labor of negroes. The example of a few individuals would be contagious. The conviction would soon become prevalent that the money paid to purchase human flesh and blood is worse than thrown away; that the real value of a slave is less than nothing; that he is a burden and not a profit to his owner. Many of the planters have shown a noble spirit in liberating and sending away their slaves. Let the same spirit direct them in making this experiment. In what more honorable or more delightful service can the most active and exalted philanthropy be employed? If any experiments have been made in this country upon this plan I am ignorant of them; but even if they have been tried and have proved unsuccessful, I cannot but believe that the ill success has arisen from some great want of judgment or from some circumstance entirely accidental. At all events the experiment deserves a thorough trial.*

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* Edin. Rev. Oct. 1823, p. 183.

I have thus adverted, in a very cursory manner, to a few of the topics connected with slavery. Many of them deserve a much more extended and thorough consideration. The evil to be remedied, though admitted to be great, is far from being desperate. If the citizens of the Southern States would keep their attention constantly and earnestly directed to the means of removing and alleviating it, rather than to the arguments in defence of it; if they would but study what has been done elsewhere in the same cause, rather than take it for granted that nothing can be done, the best consequences could not fail to ensue. Nothing would be more effectual for this purpose, than a work which should give the history of slavery, and a plain comparative statement of the law and practice with regard to it in the several Southern States. Until such a work appears, there is perhaps none, which, either for the nature or amount of the information contained in it, can be consulted with more advantage than that of Mr Stephen. Z.

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* Since the above was written, I have seen some notice in the newspapers of an experiment making by Miss Wright for employing negroes as voluntary laborers; but not enough to enable me to understand the plan which is pursued.

Poetry.

THE RESOLUTION OF RUTH.

Farewell ? oh no! it may not be;
My firm resolve is heard on high!
I will not breathe farewell to thee,
Save only in my dying sigh.
I know not that I now could bear
For ever from thy side to part,
And live without a friend to share
The treasured sadness of my heart.

I did not love in former years
To leave thee solitary now,
When sorrow dims thine eyes with tears,
And shades the beauty of thy brow.
I 'll share the trial and the pain,
And strong the furnace fires must be,
To melt away the willing chain,
That binds a daughter's heart to thee.

I will not boast a martyr's might
To leave my home without a sigh,
The dwelling of my past delight,
The shelter where I hoped to die.
In such a duty, such an hour,
The weak are strong, the timid brave;
For love puts on an angel's power,
And faith grows mightier than the grave.

It was not so, ere he we loved,
And vainly strove with Heaven to save,
Heard the low call of death, and moved
With holy calmness to the grave,
Just at that brightest hour of youth
When life spread out before us lay,
And charmed us with its tones of truth,
And colors radiant as the day.

When morning's tears of joy were shed,
Or nature's evening incense rose,
We thought upon the grave with dread
And shuddered at its dark repose.
But all is altered now—of death
The morning echoes sweetly speak,
And like my loved one's dying breath,
The evening breezes fan my cheek.

For rays of heaven, serenely bright,
Have gilt the caverns of the tomb,
And I can ponder with delight,
On all its gathering thoughts of gloom.
Then, Mother, let us haste away
To that blest land to Israel given,
Where faith, unsaddened by decay,
Dwells nearest to its native heaven.

We 'll stand within the temple's bound,
In courts by kings and prophets trod;
We 'll bless with tears the sacred ground,
And there be earnest with our God,
Where peace and praise for ever reign,
And glorious anthems duly flow,
Till seraphs lean to catch the strain
Of heaven's devotions here below.

But where thou goest I will go;
With thine my earthly lot is cast;
In pain and pleasure, joy and wo,
Will I attend thee to the last;
That hour shall find me by thy side,
And where thy grave is, mine shall be;
Death can but for a time divide
My firm and faithful heart from thee.

W. P.

THE EVERLASTING FRIEND.

'Me cari amici, me propinqui, me pater,
Me blanda mater liquerat:
At non reliquit, qui pios in asperis
Non deserit rebus, Deus.'
Buchan. Par. Psal. xxvii.

Is Friendship's image in thy breast,
With its first holy radiance bright?
Where'er those soft, dark eyes may rest,
Meet they Affection's smile of light?
Doth many a voice of love, for thee
Pour its delightful melody?

Yes! they are near whose tenderness
Hath ever been a gushing stream,
Flowing my inmost soul to bless;—
Beloved ones! ye well may deem
My heart of hearts a shrine for you,
The tried, the lovely, and the true.

Your pure affection is a ray
Reflected from the smile of Him,
Whose goodness pours a flood of day,
To which Earth's holiest light is dim.
Father of mercies! Friend divine!
What love can be compared with thine!

Thou changest not! my soul has known
What 'tis to meet the altered eye,
And shudder at the chilling tone
Of lips once breathing sympathy—
Alas! that even Love's fair flowers
Should fade in this cold world of ours!

Wounded by man, my spirit clings,
Father! with deeper trust to thee;
Unto the shadow of thy wings,
Sure Refuge! changeless Friend! I flee—
Thou *ever* hast upon me smiled;
Thou wilt not now forsake thy child!

E'en from the tried, the faithful few,
Bright, graceful forms have passed away,

And they who were through all things true,
Are with the dead.—While pale decay
May blight Earth's dearest, loveliest, best,
Where shall the trembling heart find rest?

Where but in thee! Eternal One!
Presence of love! where but in thee!
Though desolate, yet not alone,
The children of the dust may be;
And thou wilt guide to that bright home,
Where change and death shall never come. A.

Review.

Art. VII.—*Discourses on Various Subjects and Occasions by* Robert South, D. D. *Selected from the complete English Edition. With a Sketch of his Life and Character.* Boston, Bowles & Dearborn, 1827. 8vo. pp. 455.

We regard the appearance of this volume with no little satisfaction. It may furnish, we hope, evidence of increasing interest in the old English divines, a class of worthies, whose acquaintance, it is to be feared, has not of late been sufficiently cultivated, in this country, even by our theological scholars. We are far from being disposed to think any thing valuable, merely because it is dressed in the garb of olden times; nor do we cherish a sympathy with the spirit of those complainers, who continually ask, why the former days were better than these. But without falling into the mistake of extolling the past at the expense of the present, it may surely be maintained, that the writings of the old divines are stamped with peculiarities and excellencies, that should forever ensure to them a large portion of interest and favor. It is very easy, and sometimes has been quite too common, to sneer at their prolixity, quaintness and heaviness; their profusion of learning, without economy or mercy, on every subject; their long and wearisome agitation of controversies, which have now, in this country at least, become so obsolete and so destitute of interest, that in running over the ponderous volumes, in which they are contained, our feelings are in some degree like those of the traveller in Lower Egypt, when he discerns the summits of ruined towns, or walks over the tops of houses, which were famous perhaps in days of yore, but which have long since been buried under drifted mountains of sand. And with respect to the Puritan writers more particularly, it may be said, that their mode of treating religious subjects is frequently so general and confused, there is so much of vague cant and feverish exaggeration in their statements and appeals, and we are sometimes so lost in a wilderness of stormy, but almost unmeaning words, that one can hardly bring from them any very definite consciousness of edification. 'The great Lord Bacon,' says the biographer of Bishop Horne, 'observed of the first Puritans, that they reasoned powerfully on the necessity of a serious piety, and brought men well to the question, 'What must I do to be saved?' but when they had done this, they were at a loss how to give them an answer.'

These, we suppose, are among the faults which have deterred many from becoming familiar with the large and dark volumes of the theology of former times. They are faults, however, which have been not a little overrated; and in spite of them, these authors have great and redeeming excellencies, which claim for them a high respect from the scholar, and no inconsiderable share of attention from the common reader. The masculine strength of understanding, the affluence and beauty of imagination, the fervent simplicity of thought and feeling, and, in some cases, the sententious wisdom and compacted good sense, by which many of these writings are distinguished, will amply repay the time and labor they may demand, especially when we are relieved from the necessity of seeking these out amidst other less interesting matter, by judicious selections. We cannot but regard these fruits of the great minds of other days with somewhat of the same feelings, with which we look upon a noble forest of aged and venerable oaks, though we may find in it a thick undergrowth, that has no charms for the eye, and even impedes or renders tedious our progress. They are important to the historical investigator, as they throw much light upon the times to which they belong, and as the fleeting manners and opinions of their day are frequently wrought into their structure and preserved there, or developed in allusions and hints. They have, of course, a peculiar value for the theologian, as affording discussions of some of the highest, as well as the inferior topics of religion, in which profound learning, thorough, comprehensive argument, and manly, forthright eloquence are brought to bear, in all their power, upon the subject; and much, and justly as we congratulate ourselves upon the general improvement and the free spirit of our times, we hesitate not to say, that in some of these writers are found traits of liberality and of enlarged views, of which the present age is not much in advance. To the merely literary man they present objects of strong interest, as specimens of the taste and style of their generation. And upon the philological scholar they make a demand for attention, as constituting most important monuments in the history of our language, and as establishing some of the best standards of its purity and strength. The well known assertion of Dr Johnson, in the preface to his Dictionary, that from the eminent writers, in various departments, of the Elizabethan age, might be formed an almost perfect vocabulary of English, may perhaps appear extravagant; but it manifests, at least, the high opinion of their worth, considered in this aspect, entertained by one so eminently qualified to pronounce an opinion on the subject.

No period of English history was more fruitful of great men, and great events, than the seventeenth century; and of the celebrity which gives that age so marked a character, a large share must certainly be assigned to the divines. From the beginning of the reign of the first Charles, or a few years before, to the end of the reign of the second Charles, and somewhat later, theology presents us with such a group of great names, as is no where else to be found, perhaps, in the same space of time; Hales, 'the ever memorable,' Hall, 'the British Seneca,' Reynolds, Taylor, Barrow, Chillingworth, Fuller, Bates, Owen, Baxter, and others, not to mention the less illustrious, among whom we are inclined to place Tillotson; for his works, we suspect, are beginning to experience in some degree that neglect, which is the natural reaction from a reputation altogether extravagant and unmerited. It is manifest, we think, that the greatness of these men, notwithstanding their faults, is of that lofty and unquestioned kind, which the world has been willing to ascribe to very few of those who have succeeded them. Doubtless we find in their writings traces of the same bad taste, which pervaded most of the general literature of their day, and which displayed itself in poetry, for instance, by a continual labor for conceits, an incessant effort to twist and to force every thought and every fancy into some marvellous or grotesque form, a love of taking the reader by surprise with some strange combination of ideas, brought together in a whimsical or ingenious manner, or in unexpected modes of expression. Not that we deem the writings of the divines to be, by any means, so faulty in these respects, as some of the poetry of that age. Many of them, indeed, are quite free from any offensive obliquities of this sort; and whatever of these traits are found among them, are more than redeemed by the strength and energy of which their productions are full; their profusion of intellectual wealth on every subject; their beauty and aptness of illustration; the powerful grasp with which they take up their topics; their superiority to all the poor expedients that weakness adopts to wear a specious appearance; the fearlessness with which they set forth their thoughts; the hearty earnestness with which they urge their persuasions, and their freedom from the labored smoothness that serves only to break down the force of a good sentiment, or the power of a solemn motive.

Among the divines of the period referred to, South must be allowed to take a high rank. His character, more than that of any of his contemporaries, was distinguished by strong peculiarities, some of which appear strikingly upon his writings. His bold and energetic mind was constantly wrought upon by feelings naturally restless and exasperated by the circumstances of the times on which he was cast. It has been observed that 'he was too witty a man to be much loved.' He certainly was the object of abuse neither sparing nor scrupulous, if we may judge from the malignant notice taken of him by Anthony Wood and others. His ardent and irritable temperament would probably have made him sufficiently conspicuous in the most quiet times; and of course, the warm and bitter agitations that rent the community at the period in which he lived, brought him out in a very distinct manner, and made him the object alike of admiration and of keen enmity. Such was his cast of mind, that it was scarcely possible for him to be moderate in any thing, and consequently his excellencies and faults were both of a very decided and strong kind. His sermons are certainly, on many accounts, to be regarded as among the best treasures of our language. He wrought into them, most remarkably, the whole character of his mind and feelings. They accordingly possess all that interest, which may be supposed to belong to the productions of a mind rich and vigorous, and too often unrestrained, operating at a period of keen excitement.

One reason of the value which we ascribe to South's sermons, is to be found in the curious and deep impression, which they bear, of the character of his times. In this respect, he is much more remarkable than Taylor, or Barrow, or perhaps than any of his contemporaries. He was the unsparing and vehement defender of passive obedience, of the divine right of kings, and of the spotless perfection of the church to which he belonged, thinking, one would suppose, as Whiston tells us the Bishop of London thought, that 'the church of England, as it just then happened to be, established by modern laws and canons, came down from heaven with the Athanasian creed in its hand.' In one of his sermons, he declares it to be among 'the principal duties of the clergy to make the king's government easy to him, and to prepare him a willing and obedient people.' The unblushing extravagance to which South carries his opinions on these points, would, we presume, be somewhat startling even to the most hardy asserters of the prerogatives of the king and the church, in the present generation. It is easy to see what might be expected from a man of such views and feelings, at a time when the loyal subjects of England had but just recovered their ascendancy, after being prostrated by the storm which Cromwell had poured abroad over the land, and were beginning to taste the sweets of vengeance and triumph over enemies, whom they had so long dreaded and hated.

Of some of the feelings which may naturally be supposed to have been roused into action among the king's party, a pretty faithful portrait is preserved in the sermons of South. On one occasion he displayed great zeal against the Independents, in consequence of which the Presbyterians began to count upon him as their man. But they soon found, that no enemy of Episcopacy could hope for quarter from him; for he brought within the sweep of his denunciation and his satire alike the Independent, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Socinian, and the Papist. Of Cromwell he seems to have thought no measure of abuse excessive, or even sufficient. On one occasion he described him as 'a bankrupt, beggarly fellow, who entered the parliament house with a threadbare, torn cloak, and greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for.' The Puritans he could not think or speak of with patience; and his invectives against them are without qualification or mercy. That class of men, so venerable as a body, and so worthy on many accounts to be had in everlasting remembrance, were nevertheless distinguished by foibles and peculiarities precisely fitted to be objects for the bitter sneers and sarcasms of South. Accordingly we find he scarcely touches upon any subject, that is not made, before it be dismissed, to afford him occasion for the most violent attacks upon them. Indeed he would go out of his way, rather than not find such an occasion. Their long, extempore prayers, their conventicles, their affectation of scripture language, their pretensions to spiritual illumination, &c. are all favorite topics for his jeers and his indignation. He could not forgive them for the havoc they had made of the established church, the confusion and embarrassment they had brought upon her, from which she found it so difficult to recover, and which compelled many of her friends, at the Restoration, to ask with Cowley,

‘ Will ever fair Religion appear
In these deformed ruins ? Will she clear
Th' Augean stables of her churches here ? '

South was not the man to forget the injury which he thought they had inflicted, nor to spare the vengeance which he believed they merited. The proofs of this are scattered in too great profusion throughout his sermons, to need, or to permit being quoted. The violent asperity of which we have spoken, may seem to the descendants of the Puritans but a poor recommendation. But we should not, for that reason, be less ready to appreciate the value of this peculiarity, as a historical trait full of life and reality.

South likewise alludes to the writers of those times more frequently, we think, than any other preacher of his day. He calls Milton ‘ the Latin advocate, who, like a blind adder, has spit so much poison upon the king's person and cause,' and aims his shafts occasionally at Owen, Baxter, and others of the same stamp. These notices are curious as specimens of the manner in which great men could speak of each other, in the heat of party feelings.—Another feature of the times, disgusting enough indeed, which is preserved in the sermons of South, is the gross adulation paid to that most corrupt of monarchs, Charles II. A striking instance may be found in the shameless passage at the close of the discourse on the ‘ Virtuous Education of Youth.' In the ‘ Sermon preached on the Third of January,' he describes the tumult and disorders of the Rebellion as having ended in establishing on the throne one, ‘ beyond whom they could not go, the *ne plus ultra* of all regal excellency, as all change tends to, and at last ceases upon its acquired perfection.' And he finishes one of the sentences of this lavish eulogy on Charles I, by declaring that he was the 'father of his country, if but for this only, that he was the father of *such a son*.' It seems scarcely credible, that any preacher could have so polluted the pulpit, as to utter from it such fulsome flattery to a profligate and depraved prince, of whom Clarendon speaks in terms of forbearance, when he describes him as spending his time 'in other divertisements, and in the company of those, who made it their business to laugh at all the world, and were as bold with God Almighty, as with any of his creatures.' Yet such was the corrupting influence of a licentious court, partly produced and partly increased by the eagerness, with which men broke from the bondage of the austere and levelling principles of the republicans, and rushed to the opposite extreme, that this unprincipled adulation was very common.

We must, however, do South the justice to say, that on the other hand his excess of loyalty, or his hatred of the Puritans did not always prevent him from dealing out his censures upon the fashionable vices, with an unsparing hand. In the 'Discourse upon Jeremiah vi. 15,' for instance, he rebukes that shamelessness, which 'the common practice of some sins had brought the generality of the nation to,' and represents the libertines as pleading, that their abominations were only 'the mode, the gallantry, and the genteel freedom of the present age, which has redeemed itself from the pitiful pedantry and absurd scrupulosity of former times, in which these bugbears of credit and conscience spoiled all the pleasure, the air, and the fineness of conversation.' And in the same sermon he alludes with honest indignation to the ingratitude experienced by some of those, who had most disinterestedly devoted themselves to the service of their royal master, and who, he says, were neglected merely because 'they had rather work, or beg, do or suffer any thing, than sin for their bread.' South was doubtless a fearless and conscientious man, though his mind was so sadly warped by the keen and absorbing interest he took in the cause of his party.

There is another point of view in which these sermons may be considered as possessing a distinct value. We regard them as affording some of the best specimens of a strong and happy style, which can be produced from that period of English literature. The transition from the older writers to those of the school of Addison, was distinguished by a remarkable change of taste and manner. The prevailing characteristics of the former were freedom, fullness, and energy, producing a cast of style, in which strong minds seemed to find room to expatiate and pour forth their treasures of thought and learning, without fear or restraint. With these traits, were combined the kindred faults of a rugged, unchastened mode of writing, confused magnificence, extravagance, and overdoing. The latter verged to the other extreme; and while they labored to be correct, polished, and refined, carefully pruning away luxuriance and curbing excess, they became too often tame, feeble, and spiritless. South seems to us, in a good degree, to have combined the excellencies and to have avoided the faults of both. To the strong, generous, and powerful manner of the one, he has united no inconsiderable portion of the ease and refinement of the other. At least, he is more free than many of the writers of his day, from those sins against good taste, which Shaftesbury chastises, in his usual sarcastic way, by saying, 'they have of late, 'tis true, reformed in some measure the gouty joints and darning-work of *whereunto's*, *whereby's*, *thereof's*, *therewith's*, and the rest of this kind, by which complicated periods are so curiously strung or hooked on, one to another, after the longspun manner of the bar or the pulpit.'

It may perhaps be said, that South approaches more nearly than any of the old authors, to what is considered the standard of good writing at the present day, which adopts the grace, without the weakness, of the literature of Queen Anne's age, and the strength without the cumbrous exuberance of that which belongs to an earlier date. His faithful adherence to strong, manly 'English undefiled,' is the more remarkable, when we consider the unhappy influence of the debased and wretched taste of Charles's court, on the literature of the age. The sermon on 'Religious Wisdom,' exhibits to advantage his manner of writing, though not so powerful, in some respects, as many of his sermons; and we quote from another discourse the following description of the nature of joy in man's primeval state, as a good specimen of his style:

'It was not the mere crackling of thorns, a sudden blaze of the spirits, the exultation of a tickled fancy, or a pleased appetite. Joy was then a masculine and a severe thing, the recreation of the judgment, the jubilee of reason. It was the result of a real good, suitably applied. It commenced upon the solidities of truth, and the substance of fruition. It did not run out in voice or undecent eruptions, but filled the soul, as God does the universe, silently and without noise. It was refreshing, but composed; like the pleasantness of youth tempered with the gravity of age; or the mirth of a festival managed with the silence of contemplation.'—pp. 13, 14.

In addition to the considerations already stated, it must be admitted, we think, that the strain of thought and discussion in these sermons is of no ordinary character for acuteness and practical power. It is too common to consider South as distinguished for nothing but his wit and ribaldry. That he possessed an abundance of these qualities, is not to be denied. His humor is frequently coarse and malignant; and if we should take from some of his jests the personal bitterness and virulence, which enter so largely into their composition, the portion of wit remaining might be very small. It certainly is not surprising, that his unceasing and illnatured sarcasms upon all, who had not the same submissive and loyal notions of church and state with himself, his misplaced and unbecoming levity, his fierce abuse of every one who had been in any way connected with the subverters of the throne, and his constant readiness to step aside from his subject for the sake of aiming a thrust at some detested opinion or person, should have given disgust to many serious readers, and have led them to think that his discourses might with more propriety be ranked in some other class of writings, than in that of sermons. There is too much foundation for the remark of Doddridge, that 'when most practical, he seems to write with spleen, and has but little appearance of being in earnest for God amidst all his zeal against heretics and schismatics.'

Yet South was something much better than a mere wit, or satirist, or sturdy champion for king and church. He was one of the master minds of his age. A deep vein of manly thought, and of strong good sense runs through his sermons. We find in them at every turn those fruits of intellect which have ripened under much study and reflection; those results which indicate a mind well disciplined and furnished with rich and abundant stores. He made a skilful use of his knowledge, without overlaying his subject with it, a fault too common among his contemporaries, and he seems to have understood well the difference between learning and wisdom. By an apt and happy management of a subject, he knew how to appeal with pungent power to the feelings and common sense of mankind; and it must be acknowledged that his quick sense of the ridiculous was sometimes turned to good account. The treasures of a sagacious understanding, a ready memory, and a beautiful fancy seem to have been ever at his command, and he used them with great felicity for explanation and ornament. The period in which he lived, brought out in strong relief almost every variety of character, from the lowest form of crafty, selfish ambition, to the highest of generous self-devotion; and upon so acute an observer of human nature, as South, these opportunities were not lost. Accordingly his sermons abound with practical wisdom, which may be brought 'home to men's business and bosoms,' and not unfrequently attention is excited and gratified by pithy maxims and sententious remarks, which contain much meaning in little space. Thus he tells us, that 'piety engages no man to be dull,' and well describes the importance of the office of schoolmasters, by saying, they 'have a negative upon the welfare of the kingdom; they are indeed the greatest trustees of the peace of it, as having the growing hopes and fears of the nation in their hands.'

He seems to have been, not a cloistered student, but familiar with the realities of life, and the machinery of human passions and motives; and though in his judgment of these he often indulges in broad caricature and denunciation, yet his reflections, on almost every topic, breathe a spirit of powerful and pointed wisdom, which makes them additions of permanent value to the treasures of human thought. He writes like one who thought it his duty frequently to go out of the technics of theology, and to take careful and sharp notice of men and manners, deeming, as he himself assures us, 'the business of a preacher, to preach up a good life and to preach down sin,' to be of a much wider compass than it was commonly supposed to be. For these reasons, we are very seldom condemned, in reading South, to plod through those dry, barren, wearisome pages, which seem to imply that the writer considers divinity as estranged from all alliance with practical good sense.

We are not inclined to ascribe to South the merit of being a profound reasoner. Probably his feelings were too ardent, his fancy too exuberant, and his love of wit too ungovernable to allow him to attain that character in an eminent degree. He has remarked that mankind 'for the generality are one part reason, and nine parts affection;' and perhaps he wrote under the influence of this maxim. The curious sermon, entitled 'The Mystery of the blessed Trinity,' considered as a piece of argument, is nothing more than moderately respectable. It is far from being thorough in its Orthodoxy. After rejecting, for instance, some of the prominent proof texts usually quoted in support of the doctrine from the Old Testament, South tells us—'the discovery of this mystery was a privilege reserved to bless the times of Christianity withal, and the Jews had either none, or but a very weak and confused knowledge of it.' This is a remarkable concession, at least for that time. The following declaration bespeaks sufficiently the frankness of the man, and the embarrassing nature of the subject :—'The trinity is a fundamental article of the Christian Religion ; and as he that denies it may lose his soul, so he that too much strives to understand it may lose his wits. Knowledge is nice, intricate, and tedious ; but faith is easy, and what is more, it is safe.' This reminds us of the famous controversy with Sherlock, which royal power interposed to silence, and in which the amount of South's doctrine on the subject was, that there are three respects, relations, or *somewhats*, in the divine essence.

The very striking sermon on 'Man's being created in the Image of God,' which may be considered perhaps the most distinguished of South's sermons for power and felicity of expression, contains, together with some fine thoughts, not a little extravagance. It has been the favorite romance of mankind, in every part of the world, to look back to the primitive age of the human race, as an age of peculiar purity and excellence ; to imagine that it was a golden period of spotless innocence and unmingled felicity ; that the first ancestors of our kind were perfectly good without effort, and lived in the tranquil bosom of nature without exertion or suffering. In this spirit the sermon to which we just alluded is written. We know not what ground there is, except in the fictions of theologians, for supposing that the excellence of man's intellectual and moral constitution has sustained a fundamental overthrow ; that human nature is in ruins, or that the first man was in any degree more exalted in his mental or moral faculties, than the race of man has been ever since. Yet South assures us, with perfect confidence, that Adam 'came into the world a philosopher ; that he could see consequences yet dormant in their principles ; that till his fall he was ignorant of nothing but sin,' and many other wonderful things equally sound and edifying. The same idea he pursues in the following passage, in which there is, we think, very great beauty, but unhappily very little truth :—

> 'All those arts, rarities, and inventions, which vulgar minds gaze at, the ingenious pursue, and all admire, are but the reliques of an intellect defaced with sin and time. We admire it now only as antiquaries do a piece of old coin, for the stamp it once bore, and not for those vanishing lineaments and disappearing draughts that remain upon it at present. And certainly, that must needs have been very glorious, the decays of which are so admirable. He that was comely when old and decrepit, surely was very beautiful when he was young. An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise.'—p. 8.

On the whole, South is certainly one of the most distinguished writers of his own or of any age. It is well said of him by Richard Cecil, that 'he tells truth with the tongue of a viper, for he was most bitterly set against the Puritans. But there is a spirit and life about him. He must and will be heard. And, now and then, he darts upon us with an unexpected and incomparable stroke.' He who reads his sermons without a constant reference to the character of the times and of the man, will of course fail to perceive much of their value. If he has not the splendid imagination or overflowing fulness of Taylor, his course is more equable and better sustained. If he has not the condensation of thought and logical cast of mind, which distinguish Barrow, he has more vivacity, directness, and animation. We think the editor of the volume before us has rendered a very useful and acceptable service to the theological public, and to the reading public in general. He has performed the task of selection with good taste and judgment. It seems to have been his aim to make the volume, as it ought to be, a fair representation of the peculiarities of South, both of his excellencies and his faults; and we think he has succeeded. The biographical notice is drawn up in an interesting and able manner, evidently after much and careful investigation. We think, however, that a little more severe castigation should have been bestowed upon the ill nature and bad passions of a man, who renounced entirely that part of politeness, which consists in tolerating the opinions of others. The editor's notes are sparingly, perhaps too sparingly, inserted; but where they do occur are well timed and judicious. We hope that valuable republications, like this volume and the recent edition of

Milton's Prose Works, will be received with such favor as to give encouragement to other similar selections. The mines of the old writers should be diligently explored, and the treasures they contain should be brought forth, as much as possible, into common use.

Art. VIII.—1. *A 'Bunker Hill' Contest, A. D.* 1826, *between the 'Holy Alliance' for the Establishment of Heirarchy, and ecclesiastical Domination over the human Mind, on the one Side; and the Asserters of free Inquiry, Bible Religion, christian Freedom, and civil Liberty on the other. The Rev. Charles Finney, 'Home Missionary,' and High Priest of the Expeditions of the Alliance in the Interior of New York; Head Quarters, County of Oneida.* By Ephraim Perkins, a Layman of Trenton. Utica, 1826. 12mo. pp. 104.

2. *A Narrative of the Revival of Religion, in the County of Oneida, particularly in the Bounds of the Presbytery of Oneida, in the Year* 1826. Utica. Hastings & Tracy, 1826. 8vo. pp. 88.

3. *A Calm Review, of the Spirit, Means, and Incidents of the late 'Oneida Revival,' as exhibited in various Presbyterian Societies.* Utica. Dauby and Maynard. 1827. 12mo. pp. 4.

4. *Letter to the Presbytery of Oneida County, New York, and their 'Committee, the Rev. John Frost, Rev. Moses Gillet, and Rev. Noah Coe,' 'appointed to receive Communications from Ministers and others respecting the late Revival, in this County.'* By Ephraim Perkins, 'a Plain Farmer' of Trenton. Utica. Dauby & Maynard, 1827. 12mo. pp. 24.

5. *A Brief Account of the Origin and Progress of the Divisions in the First Presbyterian Church in the City of Troy; containing, also, Strictures upon the new Doctrines broached by the Rev. C. G. Finney and N. S. S. Beman, with a Summary Relation of the Trial of the Latter before the Troy Presbytery.* By a Number of the late Church and Congregation. Troy, N. Y. Tuttle & Richards, 1827. 8vo. pp. 48.

We feel compelled at last, though it is with extreme reluctance, to call the attention of our readers to the extravagances committed of late, in various parts of our country, under the abused name of Revivals of Religion. These disclosures, it is true, verify the predictions we have frequently made, and strengthen and confirm every position we have taken on this subject, by incontestible facts; and for this reason it might be thought, that we should be eager to lay them before the public. But when we consider the use that is likely to be made of them by unbelievers and scoffers, and their tendency to create even in well disposed minds a distrust of religion itself, it becomes a melancholy office from which we could gladly refrain, were we not convinced, that any longer silence would be treason. The pamphlets before us show that these excitements are no longer to be regarded merely as ebullitions of overheated zeal in a few misguided individuals, whose excesses the great body of the Christians with whom they act, would take care to frown upon and repress. The Narrative published by the Oneida Presbytery, says of Finney, the principal instigator of these disturbances, that they 'think it due to him and to the cause of Christ, which they believe he loves, to state, that his christian character, since he made profession of religion,t has been *irreproachable ;*' and that, 'on the whole, he is as well calculated to be extensively useful in promoting revivals of religion, as any man of whom they have any knowledge.'* The Troy Presbytery also, before whom Beman, another of these incendiaries, was brought for trial, not only acquitted him of all blame, but, as if to add insult to injustice, 'transgressed their authority by passing a vote of censure upon those members of the church who had signed the petition for the trial, and outraged common sense by a vote of thanks to Beman himself for his *ministerial zeal and fidelity.*'† Though, therefore, many individuals of the party think precisely as we do of the revolting scenes in question, and are not responsible for the violent measures that have led to them, still it would seem that the character of the party itself is deeply implicated, as they have by their public acts, and in a most solemn manner, approved and sanctioned what has been done. It would seem, that the measures adopted by Finney and Beman are but part of a system deliberately formed, which a powerful party are determined to introduce into every city and village, as they may have opportunity ; until they shall have the satisfaction of beholding the fires of religious frenzy which have flashed up in particular places, spread through the land, to use their own expression, ‘as fires spread and roar through the parched forests.’

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* p. 44. † Brief Account, p, 47.

It should be observed, that in the statements about to be made, we are not under the necessity of depending on *ex parte* testimony, always to be suspected, and never more so than in religious misunderstandings. The Narrative is from the friends of the revival, and in a long Appendix they undertake an examination of the Bunker Hill Contest, and we may presume the last mentioned pamphlet contains no error, misrepresentations, or false coloring, which they have not detected and exposed. It is remarkable, however, that they have not so much as attempted to disprove a single material allegation in regard to the disturbances in question. Mr Wetmore, the minister of Trenton, says, indeed, in his letter to the committee on this subject, ‘Now what I have to state is, that Mr Perkins has given *in general* a false statement of the proceedings in the revival, so far as I am concerned, and so far as relates to the manner and means made use of in promoting the revival in my congregation. I am ready to say, *and to prove if it were necessary*, that the statements which he has made are a gross perversion of the truth.’* To prove this, if it were necessary?—It was the *only* thing necessary; and, supposing him to be an honest man, his only object in writing; and as he has not done this in a single instance, nor attempted it in regard to any of the material and express charges brought against himself and his coadjutors, nor even ventured so much as to deny them, except in a general way as above, the conclusion is irresistible, that he could not do it; that the facts were notorious. The Appendix, however, has called out Mr Perkins again in his Letter to the Presbytery, in which by a series of affidavits he has abundantly established every important position taken by him previously, leaving us nothing to regret on his part, but a disposition in both his pamphlets to encumber the narrative with much irrelevant matter, and a want, in some instances, of seriousness and dignity, and particularly in his titlepages.

With respect to the difficulties at Troy, it is true the Brief Account is from the aggrieved party; but it contains a summary report of Beman’s trial, giving us a full view of the grounds taken by that gentleman and his friends in his defence. The Calm

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* Narrative, p. 63.

Review has not made us acquainted with many new facts, but is nevertheless of great value, as it confirms the statements derived from other sources, and presents us with the reflections of a person residing on the spot, who has evidently contemplated the commotions about him with the eye of a Christian and a philosopher. Seldom has a case occurred of violent religious dissensions and excesses, respecting which our materials for making up a just opinion are more ample and satisfactory.

It appears that towards the close of the summer of 1825, many of the Presbyterian ministers in the interior of New York, and particularly in Oneida County, began to be uneasy about the state of religion in their congregations, and still more so at the progress which other sects were making amongst them. To arouse the slumberers, and still more, it would seem, to reestablish themselves in that ascendancy which they were in danger of losing, they appear very generally to have come into a plan for getting up, as the phrase is, an awakening, or revival; a common resort of the Orthodox, when they find themselves in difficulty. For this purpose they lost no time in availing themselves of the means and instruments, which experience has shown to be most efficacious in such cases; and three or four 'home missionaries,' as they are called, and several young men from the theological seminary at Auburn, came to their aid, and rendered essential services. These measures began to take effect in the course of the autumn; but the contagion spread slowly, and does not appear to have reached its height till the following spring and summer. Speaking of the accounts communicated to the committee of the Oneida Presbytery, respecting the rise and progress of the revival in different places, the writer of the Calm Review observes:

> 'In many of them there appears to be a studied effort to create a belief, that some time before any open indications of religious excitement appeared in their several societies, and before any special means were taken to promote it, a silent but obvious movement upon the minds of the people was apparent and is now well recollected. Far be it from us to impute to these gentlemen a design to impose knowingly upon the public mind, an untrue statement of the case; but it is not uncommon for those who would wish to remember a favorite matter, unwittingly to themselves to substitute an *after thought* for a recollection. Certain however it is, that in no instance, so far as we have information, was "the work" a subject of public knowledge or general observation, before the appearance and operation of the principal agent or

agents, who have all along attended it and given to it life and activity.'—*Calm Review*, pp. 9—11.

The origin of the revival in Troy was less respectable. About four years ago the Rev. Nathan S. S. Beman, then residing in the state of Georgia, was called to the charge of the First Presbyterian Church in that city. While measures were in progress for his settlement, rumors began to be circulated in the neighbourhood respecting differences between himself and his wife of a scandalous nature, and a committee was raised to inquire into the truth of these reports.

'They applied to Mr Beman himself for information, who assured them that there never had been any variance between them, except upon one occasion, when he found it necessary to interfere and disapprove of the excessive correction, which she was administering to a female servant. He further informed them, that she was a woman whom it would afford him pleasure to introduce to the ladies of Troy, and he did not doubt the pleasure would be reciprocal upon their acquaintance with her; that she was a professor of religion, and a pious woman, and would be an ornament to the society. It has since been found that very violent and angry dissensions existed between them, long before their departure from Georgia. The church had inflicted the sentence of suspension upon her, and it was still hanging over her when she came here, and she has never communed [communicated] with the church in this place. The cause of her suspension will place in still stronger light the duplicity of Mr Beman. About five months after their marriage, there was some difficulty between them, when Mr Beman locked her in a room, and kept her confined from morning until afternoon, at which time she was released by a servant. She then went to another room, and threw herself upon a bed. Mr Beman entered the room, while she was in that posture, and as soon as she discovered him, she looked up at him and smiled. He abruptly turned his heel upon her, went away, but soon returned, saying that "if locks would not hold her, he would see if nails would." He then fastened the door with the "nails," and she, alarmed and agitated, raised the window and made an outcry for help. All blame for this transaction, probably without much inquiry, was thrown upon her, and the sentence of suspension was passed upon her by the church session. When Mr Beman left Georgia, he applied to the session for a certificate of her good conduct, which was denied, with an assurance, however, that if he would, six months after that time, write to them a satisfactory account of her amendment, they would restore her to the church. He has repeatedly said, since the time he passed his encomium upon her to the committee, that she was *always* a woman of a refractory temper, and that her first husband fell a sacrifice to it, or to use his own words, " she wore his life out, and her father said that no man could live with her."'—*Brief Account*, pp. 32, 33.

A connexion begun in duplicity and prevarication, it could hardly be expected, would be long or happy. The continuance of his domestic difficulties, and the consequent exposure of his unfair dealing with the committee, the open and disgraceful scenes to which his frequent and violent altercations with his wife gave rise, the unfavorable aspect which these occurrences wore in regard to his own temper, even supposing his wife to have been the first aggressor, and the failure in an attempt on his part to obtain a legal separation from her ; all conspired to bring a dark cloud over his character and prospects.

'In this state of the case, with these unfavorable suspicions hanging over him, he determined, by assuming an unusual degree of zeal in the cause of religion, to create such an impression of his sanctity, as would entirely retrieve his falling reputation. He even declared to a respectable member of his church, who was warning him of his dangerous situation, that if a successful revival could be matured under his auspices, it would place him beyond the reach of censure ; that either himself or his wife must be sacrificed, and that if the lot fell to him, it might be of disservice to the cause of religion. He appeared to conceive that in the choice of the victim, the guilt or innocence of the parties were not to be taken into consideration, but policy and expediency were only to be regarded. As his fall would be followed by worse consequences than hers, he thought that she ought to suffer; and it was with this strange logic in his mouth, that he appealed to his friends for assistance in effecting his object. A revival must be commenced, and he must be its author.'—*Brief Account*, p. 15.

Having adverted to the origin of these revivals, we shall next mention some of the *means* employed in getting them up.

The leading and principal agent in this work, has been the Rev. Charles G. Finney, a remarkable man in many respects. He was converted to Calvinism a few years since, and immediately left the study of the law for divinity, and is now a member of the Oneida Presbytery. In a letter published in the Bunker Hill Contest there is a description of this gentleman as a preacher, which, the authors of the Narrative admit, may assist the reader in forming a tolerably correct opinion of his manner.

'Now, as a shrewd and bold calculator in effecting your design, you avail yourself of Calvinism on the one hand, and of the flexible passions of men on the other. You breast yourself to the work like a giant. You open the attack with Jupiter's thunderbolt. You take the doctrine for a damning fact—declare you know it—raise your voice, lift high your hand, bend forward your trunk, fasten your staring eyes upon the auditors, declare that they know it to be God's truth, that they stand upon the brink of hell's gaping pit of fire and brimstone, and bending over your body and bringing your clenched fist half way from the pulpit to the broad aisle, denounce *instant and eternal damnation* upon them, unless they repent forthwith.

'This frightens the feebleminded, and there is no difficulty after this in moulding them according to your pleasure and purpose. But there is a set of men capable of high passionate excitement, upon whom this mode of management has no other effect than to produce contempt and ridicule. You are aware of this, and you resort to another method to rouse *their* passions, well knowing, that if you can only get their feelings wrought up to a high pitch in any manner, they then lose their sober sense and self command, and may be managed like an Elephant in his chains. To accomplish this, you call them out by *name*, or designate them in public prayer before all the people, revile them, multiply opprobrious and galling epithets, and whether present or absent, you of course make them mad with passion, which they vent most freely and fiercely, with indignant ravings and curses on your person. This is just what you want. This makes you laugh inside, however sober you may look without. You remain unmoved like the arch spider in the centre of his web, drawing the cords closer and tighter, well knowing that the more the fly flounces and struggles, the more he entangles himself in the snare, and overcome at length by self action, he falls a panting and exhausted prey to his all devouring adversary. This, sir, is hitting the nail on the head. In this way you have made converts, not to be converted by any other management.

'You have boasted of it, and said, if you could only make them mad, you were sure of them, the victory was easy, the easiest thing in the world. Here then we have the exposition of the character of your talents, and your acquaintance with human nature in this peculiar department of it.

'If there were any reason in the world for the hypothesis, that you may possibly be a *sincere deluded man*, I might have treated the subject in a very different manner. But I know too much of you and your performances, both from personal observation and the actual history of your proceedings, to be led into any such mis-

> take. To represent you a sincere deluded enthusiast or misguided fanatic, would be to misrepresent you.'—*Bunker Hill Contest*, pp. 99, 100.

We doubt whether the writer of this letter is aware of the full extent to which cunning and fraud are compatible with a sincere fanaticism. At the same time, we believe that the inflammatory, or we should rather say, ferocious style of preaching, for which Mr Finney appears to be distinguished, might easily be practised by a man possessing his peculiar turn of mind, though every thing were feigned, and his preaching might become as effective in disturbing the community, without supposing him to have extraordinary powers. The coarse passions, and those especially which are expressed in strong and boisterous tones and gestures, are easily affected; and there is something in the violent action of the speaker in such cases, that has the effect to excite him, and make him appear as if he were in earnest. However this may be, the preaching above described is what the 'revival ministers' term *pungent preaching;* and as this is one of the principal means on which they rely for success, it may be proper for us to give a few more specimens.

The following is the closing sentence of one of Mr Finney's sermons to the people of Utica.

> '"You sinners of Utica, and some of you who now hear me, will go to hell, and the saints and angels will look down from heaven, and when they see the sinners of Utica, in the lowest, deepest, darkest pit of hell, they will shout and clap their hands for joy." This is said to be the spirit, if not the exact letter of your sentence. Neither is this the only place where you inculcate similar sentiments, and as an earnest, or foretaste of the extatic joy and blissful enjoyment you anticipate, you clapped your hands as you uttered the chant.'—*Bunker Hill Contest*, p. 95.

This gentleman preached several times at Troy, and his language on two of these occasions, as given in the Brief Account, was highly characteristic.

> 'On a sabbath evening last fall, a sermon was delivered in the church by Mr Finney, in which, after describing the language of the redeemed in heaven as being "not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory," he said, "we should see these restorationists come smoking and fuming out of hell to the gate

of heaven; which being opened, they will say, stand away you old saints of God, we have paid our own debt, we have a better right here than you; and you, too, Jesus Christ, stand aside, get out of our way, no thanks to you our being here; we come here on our own merits."

'In a sermon delivered last fall by Finney, after representing the extreme depravity of the sinner's heart, and how hostile it was to God, he said, "why, sinner, I tell you if you could climb to heaven, you would hurl God from his throne; yes, hurl God from his throne; O yes, if you could but get there, you would cut God's throat; yes, you would cut God's throat."

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'On the eighth of October last, in the afternoon, Mr Finney preached from these words: "Now, therefore, be ye not mockers lest your bands be made strong." After reproaching the members of the church for their cold prayers, which he described as hypocritical and a mockery to God, he said, "now, servants and children, do you go home to night, and watch your parents and masters, and see if they don't pray the same old cold hypocritical prayer over again which they have been praying many years."'
Brief Account, pp. 35, 36.

Mr Beman was not likely to be outdone in his own pulpit, in a kind of preaching so exactly suited to his genius and temper. Accordingly we find, that,

'On the evening of the thirteenth of September last, in a sermon delivered at the upper end of Fourth Street, Mr Beman declared that "he should follow his cold professors in the pulpit, and in preaching from house to house, until he had ferreted them out, and driven them from their lurking places, and stripped them of their sheep skins, and exposed the teeth of the wolf."'
Brief Account, p. 29.

And again;

'In another discourse, he said, "the clerks along River Street were laughing and scoffing at God's eternal truth; they were without brains, and scarcely ever read a chapter in the bible, and he had no doubt if they could get to heaven, they would pull God from his throne, and burn it to ashes." Then addressing convicted sinners, he said "your prayers are rebellion against God, and an abomination in his sight;" and in addressing sinners generally, he said, "if you dare do it, you would club God Almighty out of Troy."'—*Brief Account*, p. 30.

The following passages are still more offensive, as they indicate not only the manner, but the spirit, in which this minister thought to perform the office of one, who should beseech men by the meekness and gentleness of Christ. It should be observed that deacon Heartt, of whom mention is here made, had given no other occasion of resentment to Mr Beman, but by opposing his violent measures.

'In a conversation held by a gentleman of this city with Mr Beman, he said that "it was not strange that deacon Heartt's children conducted improperly; for, says he, their mother is an old hypocrite, and their father is not much better." He further said that "Deacon Heartt was reporting and circulating lies about him, as base and as black as were ever forged on the anvil of hell." He continued; "if he does not desist, I will rip him up root and branch; I will expose him; and if I am not permitted to do it elsewhere, I will do it from the pulpit. The public shall know and understand what he is about. I will pursue him until he is expelled from God's church." The gentleman then respectfully recommended to him the expediency of mitigating his ardor, as he was apprehensive it might ultimately destroy the society. He said that "he should not alter in the least; he should not retrace a single step, although he should see fire and faggots coming into his face and eyes. He should go on as God directed him to preach, although there should be but one left in the house."

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'In one of his sermons he said, "complaints have been made of my manner of preaching, and it is said such kind of preaching will not last long. But you need not flatter yourselves with that; for I have but just commenced. I shall go all round these pews, and shall follow you, until I bring you all upon your marrowbones."'—*Brief Account*, pp. 34, 35.

Pungent preaching, however, does not appear to have been in so much favor with the instigators of these disturbances, as another expedient termed by them 'agonizing prayer,' or 'the prayer of faith,' particularly when made 'for a definite object.' The reflections on this subject in the Calm Review, are temperate, judicious, and edifying.

'A sermon must in ordinary hands always be more or less of a preceptive and didactic nature, and cannot be struck out as it were at a single heat. Brief ejaculatory exhortations are a species of address more within the compass of every man who feels himself moved to instruct his fellow men in their religious course, and can be made to bear more directly upon the feelings and passions either of individuals or of multitudes. But it is through the medium of prayer that the devotional mind catches its highest inspirations, and "kindling as it goes" soon becomes with an enthusiastic, a designing, or an unregulated mind, both the cause and the effect of that effervescence of the soul, which consumes in its fires every vestige of reason and reflection, and prostrates like a whirlwind the fairest monuments which fall within its sweep. And it has accordingly been through the use, or rather the *misuse*, of this high and solemn exercise of the mind, that the character of this work and of its indiscreet agents, has been most strikingly, and in many instances lamentably displayed. Credulity itself would scarcely credit many of the well known instances, both in matter and manner, of extravagant, and even profane and ludicrous perversion of this sacred exercise, which have occurred in the public and private ministrations of this sublimated school. "The prayer of faith" is the favorite term by which it has been characterised and distinguished, and to be able to attain to it, seems at once to have been the object of the highest aspirations, and a sure warrant for expecting the attainment of its every petition. From this unauthorised, strange, and novel doctrine, has naturally grown both the excessive vehemence, and *the individuality* by which these exercises have been peculiarly distinguished in the course of this work, which are frequently alluded to with so much commendation in the history of it lately given, and which is called "praying for a definite object." It need hardly be remarked how delicate an attempt, even in skilful and well disciplined hands, is such a personal application of an address to the Majesty of heaven and earth in behalf of our fellow mortals, whose characters, whose frailties and whose religious affections are best known and only known to an all-seeing Judge. What a perilous and hazardous attempt must it then be in the hands of a clumsy novice, or a designing agitator, heated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or soured with the obstacles of opposition, which at times question his infallibility or obstruct his progress. And it is from aspirants like these—

"From skulls that cannot teach and will not learn,"

that we have habitually been accustomed to hear villages, streets, houses, and individuals singled out by name and held up to the surrounding audience as a spectacle to be operated upon by the rough cleaver of a coarse operator, until the unhappy subject of it was either driven by resentment into a passionate opposition to the whole system, or by fear and perplexity driven into the system itself, by a blind surrender of all the reasoning faculties of his mind.'—*Calm Review*, pp. 14, 15.

In a note subjoined the writer observes further:

'The exploded and irrational notion of the miraculous interposition of the Deity in answer to prayers "for a definite object," appears also to be meeting with considerable countenance with the high Calvinists in some other parts of our country, in relation even to temporal blessings. Thus in a late Boston Recorder, in a narrative of the life and religious experience of a Miss Colman lately deceased, it is stated without any question of the fact, that "at the age of twelve years she was afflicted with a distressing disease in her throat, which nearly caused her death. At this time she was the subject of extreme and distressing temptation. She, however, gave herself steadily to prayer, and her tending physicians declared, that the complaint left her suddenly, and apparently in answer to prayer." We have heard it stated upon what in any other case would be deemed credible authority, that such was the faith of certain good women in the north part of the county, in the prayers of the Rev. Mr N. when "agonizingly" brought to bear upon "a definite object," that they "had no doubt of the conversion of any particular individual whom he should select and pray for with his utmost earnestness lying" (as he is wont to do in a recumbent posture) "upon his belly!" Is there any thing more irrational than these suppositions, in the so much ridiculed statements, which were circulated a year or two since of the miraculous cures said to have been performed, both in Europe and this country, through the ministrations, masses, and prayers of * * Prince Hohenloe? And yet there is probably not a single believer in the first mentioned special interpositions, who would not reject at once with utter incredulity, and even with horror, the belief in the bare possibility of the latter, though certainly sustained by much more plausible and imposing evidence of their reality.'—*Calm Review*, p. 16.

On this topic we hardly know how to proceed. Even the abuses of prayer, the most affecting and sublime act of man, are not to be treated with levity, or spoken of contemptuously. It must have a bad effect to connect ludicrous associations with this service; and we are sure it cannot give more pain to any of our readers, than it does to us, to dwell on the errors and excesses by which it has been degraded and profaned. On the other hand, were we to pass over in silence the disgusting and shocking details that follow, we should be unfaithful to the opportunity afforded of demonstrating the legitimate results of that system, which would make a revival of religion to depend on exciting the passions, and not on enlightening the understanding.

'After Mr Finney had got a "revival" well a going in Governieur, in St Lawrence county, in 1825, he had a call and went to De Kalb, staid a few weeks, and returned to Governieur. On being asked by his friends how the "Revival" went on in De Kalb, he said "they were very cold. When the old church members attempted to pray, they appeared as if they were thinking about swapping horses." He said "our young converts in Governieur will pray down a kingdom, sooner than the old church members will pray an old hen off her nest." Are these, too, some of the "pointed arguments and strong language which solemnly and powerfully impress the higher as well as the lower classes" in Utica? Rev. Mr Nash (then with Mr Finney in the work,) could often be heard half a mile when alone in secret prayer; and so conducted his prayers, that some of their converts believed and contended, that he could and had prayed his horse from one pasture into another.'—*Bunker Hill Contest*, p. 65.

The same superstition prevailed also at Troy.

'Among other novel doctrines which were added to their creed, was a notion that the *prayer of faith* would be heard and infallibly answered; or that every thing asked for in a prayer made in a certain frame of mind, would immediately be granted. We will not insult the understandings of our readers by attempting to prove the absurdity of such a belief, but we will give them an opportunity of seeing to what improprieties it drove, at least one of its advocates. He called at the store of a gentleman, and asked him if he ever prayed, if he ever made the prayer of faith? The reply was, if we have been correctly informed, that he never had, and indeed that he did not know the nature of such a prayer. His ghostly friend then explained it to him, and told him that if he would retire to some secret room with him, he would give him a specimen of it, and that he would then soon become himself a witness of its efficacy. This proposal was assented to and they both withdrew to another apartment, where a prayer of an hour and a half's duration was offered up, and very patiently heard by the attentive auditor, whose conviction and conversion were the principal objects of the petition. The result, however, was never such as to induce him to have that confidence in the prayer of faith which had been anticipated.'
Brief Account, p. 18.

It appears, indeed, to have been a common practice at their conference and prayer meetings to mention individuals by name in their prayers, and call down fire from heaven on them and their families, if they continued their opposition to the 'great work.' We shall give but one case of this description, the prayer respecting Col. A. G. Mappa, though this is one which speaks volumes; premising only that affidavits of persons present on the occasion are published in the Letter to the Presbytery, which prove, 'that Mr Perkins has not, in his Bunker Hill Contest, exaggerated this prayer, but has come short in their opinion.'* In a letter to the Rev. Nathaniel S. Smith, who made the prayer now under consideration, the writer says:

> 'Sir, I shall state facts that you will not deny—1st, that on the 23d ult. in the town of Trenton, at the house of the Rev. Oliver Wetmore, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place, in public conference and prayer meeting, you exhorted a large assembly to name and distinguish individuals, "as they do in Utica," and wrestle with God for their conviction, and afterwards named an individual whose hoary head had been whitened with three-score and ten years, and who has long been a professor of the christian religion, constant and regular in his attendance at the house of public worship, and the ordinances of Christ, and *that* with apparent devotion; of whom, and his house, the virtuous poor, the widow, and fatherless cannot speak without tears of gratitude; whose moral example and precept have contributed more than that of any other man to preserve the town and village in which he resides, from those excesses of tavern haunting, profanity, and licentiousness of many descriptions, which disgrace many towns and villages. Against such a man you have lifted up your voice to God in public prayer, named, and distinguished him, and called "on God to smite that wicked man, that hardened sinner, who never prays, that stubborn rebel, that self righteous Pharisee, who stands on an eminence and has embraced a lie, and is leading multitudes that entrench themselves behind him, down to hell. O God, send trouble, anguish, and affliction into his bed chamber this night, shake his house over him, and cause him to tremble; God Almighty shake him over hell!" '—*Bunker Hill Contest*, pp. 80, 81.

The horror which one feels for such language in prayer to God, is changed, however, into unmingled indignation, when we learn that all this is regarded, at least by the leaders, merely as a cunning device, to impose on the ignorant and inexperienced. When Mr Beman first began to inculcate the 'revival views' of 'the prayer of faith,' we are told, that,

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* p. 17.

'The avowal of this doctrine occasioned much perplexity and uneasiness among that portion of the church members, who still remained rational and orthodox. One of them, Mrs Brower, sent a request to Wm. M. Bliss, Esquire, an elder of the church, to call upon her, and explain the novelty. He complied, and after she had remarked how unscriptural and how contrary to reason it was, he assented to the propriety of her observations; but said that it was supported simply for the purpose of creating a revival; and for that reason solicited her to manifest no opposition to it.'
Brief Account, p. 28.

As another means of effecting their object, the fomenters of these excitements rely much on what are called 'inquiry meetings' and 'anxious meetings.' Speaking of Finney, Mr Perkins says;

'When he enters a place to get up a "revival" his first step is to institute meetings, styled "meetings of inquiry," nocturnal, and in various parts of the towns. These are the foundations on which he builds the superstructure of his "revivals." They are free for all of every age, sect, and denomination.

'The thunders of Sinai, the flaming curses of a broken law, the horrors of the pit, and all the epithets of lamentation and despair, are put in requisition by the most consummate skill, to produce consternation and dismay in the minds of those who attend the meetings. Those whose minds are under the dominion of credulity and implicit faith, and who expect religion to come upon them in horrible feelings and great convictions, are soon brought down. In the latter part of these meetings, the question is put generally, "Who wishes to be prayed for to night, or who is willing to give up his soul to God?"

'Many will be found ready to answer in the affirmative, few will be found to negative such a question at such a time. Those who wish to be prayed for, or express a willingness to give up their souls to God, must then kneel. In one of these meetings, after getting several small girls on their knees to be prayed for, Mr Finney told them, "that if they got up without giving up their hearts to God, their doom would be sealed for ever," and some of them did get up, and he then looked up and said "that he then beheld the angels of God sealing their eternal doom, and that they had sealed it with a great broad seal, and it was laid up not to be opened till the last judgment, and would then be opened and they be doomed to endless wo."'—*Bunker Hill Contest*, p. 57.

After this description we were not a little surprised to learn, that Mr Finney is not generally as hard and outrageous in these meetings as some of the young theological students, who have become his followers, and endeavor to ape his style and manner.'

'The next step in course, in *these* "revivals," is to establish what are termed "anxious meetings." Their name would seem to denote them to be meetings for those, who are anxious for their souls' salvation. The object of these meetings is, to ascertain who are anxious about their spiritual and eternal welfare, to know who have obtained hopes, and to bring hope to the convicted and distressed.

'The prayers and exhortations are somewhat similar to those of the meetings of inquiry. In most cases, in anxious meetings, the saints and sinners are separated and occupy different rooms, when they can be had.

'They are generally, if not always held in the night. The room is darkened, so that persons can only see to walk and discover each other, and the reign of universal silence is interrupted only by now and then a dolorous groan from different parts of the room. The leader or leaders tread softly about as they proceed, whispering to each individual some question or questions, such as "do you love God?" "do you love the Lord Jesus Christ?" "have you made your peace with God?" "or do you wish to do so?" "have you got a hope?" or some other question of this nature, with now and then an interrogation, "don't you think this is a solemn place?" "don't you think God is here?" "don't you feel awful?" One was asked, "well Mr P., what do you think?" God knows my thoughts, said Mr P.—"I know that; so do I." No, sir, said Mr P., you cannot know my thoughts. "It will not do, Mr P., to tell a minister of the Gospel that he does not know your thoughts."

'Questions are generally put in a low whisper, and, if any one answers aloud, he is requested to speak low.

'In some of these meetings a lad was interrogated, but being intimidated, and fearing he should not answer properly or to satisfaction, was silent. He was forthwith named, and the saints were called upon to pray for Joseph Pride, and prayers were offered for Joseph Pride, that he might be delivered of a dumb devil.'—*Bunker Hill Contest*, pp. 58, 59.

The authors of the Narrative are not entirely satisfied with these accounts; though, as usual, they dare not deny any of the material and express statements, but content themselves with remarking, that one 'would suppose from this description of these meetings, that going into them was like going into the sepulchres of the dead.'* It seems to have escaped the attention of these gentlemen, that the communications of their own friends, published in the Narrative, corroborate and establish every thing which Mr Perkins has advanced on this view of the subject. In commenting on what they consider the happy effect of these meetings, they say, 'a death-like stillness' reigned, a 'solemn awe, such as I never before witnessed;' 'sometimes there would be a burst of feeling in groans and loud weeping;' 'a number fell, and some were unable to go from the place till morning;' 'compelled to remain in some instances agonizing in prayer, till almost the breaking of day.'*

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* p. 73.

If all these efforts fail, they have still another, which, as it has often been resorted to in other places, claims special notice. They 'creep into houses,' and by availing themselves of seasons of sickness, or affliction, or of the absence of those members of the family who would be most likely to detect their arts, and chastise their impertinence, they are able not unfrequently to act with considerable success on the minds of the rest. The committee say in their Narrative; 'Now what have Mr Wetmore and Mr Smith done? They have gone into none of the meetings of the Unitarians, to enter the lists of controversy with them. They have not entered their private dwellings, to proselyte them.'† We are sorry to be under the necessity of pointing out so glaring an inaccuracy in a statement so material to their justification; and for this purpose must introduce the substance of two depositions furnished by Mr Perkins in his Letter to the Presbytery. The first is of

> 'Nancy Post, who, being duly sworn, saith that she belongs to the Unitarian Church in Trenton, and that she was visited by the Rev. Messrs Smith, Clarry, and Goodel; and in the course of half an hour's conversation, they told me repeatedly that I denied the Bible, and that I denied Jesus Christ; that I trembled and quaked every time I looked into the Bible; and said "you do not love God—unless you repent you will go to hell." Mr Smith observed, that he knew the heart of a person in the house better than he did himself. The person told him he had no right to make such observations; to which he replied, he had a commission from God.'—*Letter to the Presbytery*, p. 18.

In another deposition Elizabeth Parker testifies,

> 'that in the month of May, 1826, while attending her daughter, Mrs Johnson (now deceased) in her last sickness, in a very low

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* pp. 10, 14, 31. † p. 76.

stage of consumption, a Mr Goodell, said to be under the support of the Western Education Society, and was then said to be itinerating, and assisting the Rev. Mr Wetmore in the height of the "revival," followed Mrs Johnson's father-in-law into the house, and pressed himself into the room where she lay, and awoke Mrs Johnson by some alarming representations of the condition of one just leaving the world. Mrs Johnson having previously heard of Mr Smith's prayer for Col. Mappa, and many other attacks on other individuals, had requested that none of the young ministers or itinerants should be permitted to approach her.—I asked Mr Goodell repeatedly to leave the room. He said to me, I shall not be hurried out of the room by you, I shall take my own time for it—I am concerned about her soul; and soon stepped out of the room and said, come out, old woman, I am concerned about your soul too. Mr and Mrs Thomson were both Unitarians.'—*Ibid.* p. 19.

A scene given in the Brief Account of the difficulties at Troy, with much minuteness, and apparently on the best authority, may serve to set this part of the policy of these ministers, and its unhappy tendencies, in still stronger light. Mr Beman appears to have fixed his eyes on Mrs Weatherby, a member of his church, with a determination to make her, if possible, a subject of the prevailing enthusiasm; and for this purpose had held at least one conversation with her, in which he had treated her with his accustomed harshness and severity.

'Upon the subsequent day, the 3d of October, 1826, Mrs Weatherby was at the house of her sister-in-law, Mrs Mosier, when Mr Beman entered, supported by Mr Finney, a powerful assistant in the work of fanaticism and vulgarity which he was meditating. This scene cannot be more properly represented than in the form of a dialogue, attributing to each speaker the words actually uttered, or at all events retaining the precise and intended meaning. The *dramatis personæ* are Mr Beman, Mr Finney, Mrs Mosier, and Mrs Weatherby.

'*Mr Beman* (to Mrs Mosier.)—Were you ever under conviction?

'*Mrs Mosier.*—I cannot say whether I ever have been or not. My mind has been deeply impressed with the importance of religion at different times.

'*Mr B.*—What is the state of your mind now?

'*Mrs M.*—It is not as much impressed as it has been heretofore?

'*Mr B.*—Men wear off their convictions by running into dissipation and frequenting tippling houses, and women wear off theirs by going into gay company.

'*Mrs M.*—I was never fond of gay company; I am of a domestic turn.

'*Mr B.*—You are worse, then, than other women; for you can stay at home and wear off your convictions.

'*Mr Finney.*—Do you love God?

'*Mrs M.*—I think I do.

'*Mr F. (shaking his fist in her face)*—You lie! What reason have you to think you love God?

'*Mrs M.*—When I look upon the works of creation, I feel to praise and adore him.

'*Mr F.*—You ought to go to hell, and you must repent.

'*Mrs M.*—I cannot.

'*Mr F. (again putting his fist in her face)*—You lie! You can repent and be converted immediately.

'*Mrs M.*—I cannot.

'*Mr F. (again putting his fist in her face)*—You lie!

'*Mrs M.*—How can I get the new birth unless God gives it to me?

'*Mr F.*—You ought to be damned.

'*Mrs Weatherby.*—Mr Finney, you have told Mrs Moiser that she could regenerate herself, and give herself the new birth; now, if you will inform her it will edify me.

'*Mr F.*—Are you a Christian, and ask such a question?

'*Mrs W.*—I trust I am, and would like to have it answered.

'*Mr F.*—How can you love your husband?

'*Mrs W.*—Love is a passion I have never heard described.

'*Mr Beman.*—Mrs Weatherby, you have said you were a Christian, and dare you ask two of God's ministers such a question?

'*Mrs W.*—Yes, I dare ask it, and I have asked it once before, and it appears that it cannot be answered.'—*Brief Account*, pp. 31—33.

Here closed this very unedifying interview. The husband of Mrs Weatherby, who is master of one of the North River vessels, was extremely indignant at the treatment which his wife had received, as might be expected; and determined to come to some explanation on the subject with Mr Beman, whenever they should meet.

'Two days after he saw him in front of his own house, when he spoke to him, and requested him to enter it with him. The invitation was accepted, and both went in, each taking a seat at the opposite ends of a table, when the ensuing dialogue passed between them:

'*Mr B.*—I suppose you want to talk on religion, for I talk on nothing else.

'*Mr W.*—Not on that in particular. I want to talk with you concerning the conversation you had with my wife and sister at Mosier's.

'*Mr B. (clenching his fist and shaking it within a few inches of Mr W.'s face.)*—Capt. Weatherby, you will go to hell; God will send you to hell.—(This was repeated several times.)

'*Mr W.*—Mr. Beman, you must not say that again, for I cannot bear it.

'*Mr B. (in a louder tone of voice.)*—You will go to hell.

'Mr Weatherby's patience was now completely exhausted, and seizing Mr Beman, he threw him upon the floor. While he was held in this attitude, he looked Mr Weatherby in the face, and repeated his favorite expression, "you are going to hell," several times. Mr Weatherby then explained to him his readiness to release him, whenever his nonsense should cease, and he finally executed his promise without exacting the condition. Mr Beman then arose, walked up to the lookingglass, and, after taking a view of his physiognomy, again began to reiterate his old song, "You will go to hell." At this time Mrs Weatherby came into the apartment, when Mr Weatherby again laid hold of him in the same manner as before; Mr Beman, when down, still uttering the same offensive declaration. Mrs Weatherby requested her husband to relinquish his hold of Mr Beman, which he flatly refused to do, until he should stop his maledictions. She then implored Mr Beman to desist, for her husband would not endure it. Upon rising, although the imprudence of such obstinacy must have been very manifest to him, he again said, "God will send you hell." To this Mr Weatherby replied, "God may, but you cannot." Mr Beman then went into the hall, and from thence to the door that leads out of the house into the street, where he said, "If this door is not immediately opened I will halloo murder." Mrs Weatherby had before said that she would open the door with all convenient speed, when Mr Beman raised both hands and yelled "murder."' *Brief Account*, pp. 23, 24.

But enough, and some may think, too much, of this disgusting recital. With respect to the immediate *effects* of these awakenings, we hope and believe, that some of them have been salutary and good. Persons before wholly indifferent to religion have been induced to attend to the subject; the profane and the scoffer have in many cases been reformed, at least for a time; for the moment more regard has been paid to some of the outward means of religion, and some of its outward acts, and an air of greater solemnity and thoughtfulness has spread itself over the community. We do not find in these accounts, nor in the accounts we have read of other similar excitements, many well attested instances even of a temporary reformation in persons addicted to any of the open and gross vices, excepting profanity, and indifference to religion. We have often been in the midst of these revivals, and have directed our inquiries to this point; and yet we are hardly able to refer to a single instance of a real and permanent reformation, at such seasons, of a man habitually guilty of avarice, intemperance, or sensuality. The truth is, that the general statements asserting the frequency of such reformations, which are often made by the friends of this mode of propagating religion, are without foundation; and are adapted to leave an impression that is deceptive and false. Excitements like those which we have described, may have some good results, but reformations of the kind just mentioned are not of this number. Besides, as to the permanency of what is really good in these religious commotions, much cannot be said, much must not be expected. Mr Beman himself asserted, that in a revival, which took place in Troy in 1816, 'there were but about eighty received into the church, and of that number forty were now under church censure.'* It is proper, however, to observe that his accusers maintain, that on this subject, as on almost every other which he touched, he has been guilty of misrepresentation. Be this as it may, it is perfectly well understood, that these excitements in all cases die away; and that the coldness and deadness of feeling which ensue even in the best men, bear a very exact proportion to the previous fervor and elevation.

After the foregoing details, it cannot be necessary for us to dwell for a moment on the bad effects, immediate and remote, of these excesses, remarking only, as we pass, that time as yet has unfolded but a small part of them; division and estrangement of families, a neglect and contempt of the social duties, the ascendency of men of coarse and vulgar minds, a presumptuous reliance on supposed divine impulses, impertinent interference in the affairs of others, and outrages on decency and order disgracing religion, leading to violent altercations, and provoking mutual injury. The following passage from the Brief Account states the consequences of Mr Finney's first visit to Troy; and though the description may be perhaps a little overwrought, we have no reason to doubt its general correctness. At any rate it should be considered, that this is not the testimony of Unitarians, or 'Socinians,' as some still have the meanness to miscall them, but of a part of Mr Beman's church and congregation, who are as Orthodox as he is; nay, who make it one of their principal charges against him, that he has swerved not a little from the Westminster Confession of Faith.

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* Brief Account, p. 33.

'Mr Finney's appearance here, where his reputation had preceded him, instantly aroused the public curiosity, and great numbers flocked to hear him. The enemies of revelation rejoiced that an opportunity was offered them to throw their reproaches upon it with some color of propriety, as represented through so falsifying a medium, and listened to him with sincere delight. Those who possessed either taste or information, felt themselves insulted by the supposition, that their minds could either be gratified by the oratory, or their understandings influenced by the reasonings, of this ignorant ranter. Real piety was afflicted to witness the destruction he was dealing upon its cause. The growing discontent of the church and congregation was manifested by numbers forsaking their usual place of worship, and frequenting those of other denominations. Infidelity and profanity no longer sought their secret dens, but stalked openly and without disguise through the streets; and even children, learning the blasphemous language of Mr Finney, would repeat and emblazon it at the public corners.'—*Brief Account*, p. 20.

The 'plain farmer' gives his views of the character and moral influence of these revivals in his own peculiar manner, though, we fear, some may think that he has forgotten the gravity and seriousness of the subject.

'The monstrous impositions and unaccountable chimeras that have been palmed upon mankind in their secular, as well as spiritual concerns, should be a standing admonition "to try the spirits," and contend for the free exercise of reason in all the concerns of life. How often have the credulous been egregiously imposed upon in their worldly concerns by those who pretend to have wonderful discoveries and illuminations, and who deal in mysteries. How many otherwise sensible and discreet men have, by artful and designing impostors, carrying in their hand the mysterious and wonderful divining rod, been led to expend their substance and time in searching for golden treasures, or Kidd's money, in the bowels of the earth, to the neglect of the slow but sure method which consists in a diligent cultivation of its surface.—Every "plain farmer," especially if he "dealt much in horses," will recollect that not many years since a mysterious skill was said to be discovered, called the "colt skill," and a new era was proclaimed in the manner of taming and subduing wild and refractory colts and horses. It was declared that the wildest and most ungovernable could be brought, from *a state of nature and opposition,* to a state of complete subjection, in one hour by that skill; and if universal "faith" could be inspired, not a single refractory horse would remain in the land. Pedestrians and equestrians were multiplied astonishingly, and were on the alert in every direction, to accomplish the good work. Some may have the curiosity to inquire what was the *process* that produced such a wonderful change? It will be remembered, that, the halter being on, the poor animal must be blindfolded, his ears stopped, and something given him to nauseate his stomach; he must then be turned rapidly on a circle till he has lost all sense and instinct, and become completely bewildered, amazed, and astounded, and, if able to stand or walk at all, would only grope about for a while in the most wretched and abject condition.—Some farmers had *faith,* and some had not; and those who had, found that when the physical effects of the operation were over, and the poor animal gradually became fit for any useful employment, he would, by degrees, sink back into his *original state of nature,* and this great discovery, which promised to effect such a mysterious change, instantly as it were, was, after a sufficient trial, laid aside—and the good old way of *preserving* the animal's senses, and "training him up in the way he should go," and inducing him, by kind arts, to yield a cheerful obedience, has come into general use again with all practical farmers.'—*Letter to the Presbytery*, pp. 9—11.

We have purposely confined ourselves to a consideration of what has been done in Troy and Oneida County, reserving for a future number a discussion of the whole subject of REVIVALS, a subject which is growing every day more and more important and interesting. Referring to the Bunker Hill Contest, the Orthodox committee say in the Appendix to their Narrative:

'We may from this pamphlet see what is soon to be the dividing line between the friends and the enemies of the cross of Christ. Those who possess some measure of the spirit of Him, who, though *rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might become rich,* by whatever name they may be called, will become united in promoting revivals of religion, and in diffusing the blessings of the gospel among all nations, by casting their silver and their gold into the treasury of the Lord. All who are not actuated by this spirit, whether called Christian or

Pagan, Papist or Protestant, Jew or Mahomedan, will unite in opposing these benevolent designs. Between these unnumbered hosts a mighty battle is yet to be fought. God, in his providence, is hastening the hour of decision. All the noise of the enemy now heard, compared with what will ere long be heard, is no more than the murmurs of the gentle rill, compared with the *roar* of the mighty cataract.—*Narrative*, p. 87.

We are no alarmists. We are not apt to see a tempest brewing in every speck of vapor that discolors the atmosphere. But we do believe that the revolting scenes, which it has been our painful duty to disclose in this review, will be acted over in many other places, before the community are thoroughly awake to the pernicious tendency of the principles and policy of men high in favor. Meanwhile, the opposition which has been made to this 'work of God,' as it has been profanely called, by many Calvinists on the spot, and the alarm that has been expressed by many leading Calvinists at a distance, particularly in the letters of Dr Nettleton and Dr Beecher, augur well. They show that the more wary and discerning of that party are beginning to open their eyes. Probably, when we have laid open our views on this subject, it will be found, that we do not agree in many respects with the last mentioned gentleman; but there is one admonition contained in his letter, which we can adopt, though it is expressed too strongly, and betrays something too much like panic. 'We are on the confines of universal misrule and moral desolation, and no time is to be lost in forestalling and holding public sentiment correctly, before the mass shall be put in motion by fierce winds, before which nothing can stand, and behind which, when they have swept over the land, nothing will remain.'

Notices of Recent Publications.

13. The Christian Guide, Part Second; being a select Commentary on the Four Evangelists; harmonized and chronologically arranged, in a new Translation. By the Rev. John Samuel Thompson. New York.

This is the production of a Universalist; and, though several other works, by the same hand, upon the most important subjects of theology, are advertised upon the cover, this is the only one which has fallen under our observation. It is a pamphlet of less than a hundred pages, and makes part of a series, 'designed,' as the author tells us, 'in connexion with his Systematical Theology, to supply the student, and the intelligent christian inquirer, with the outlines of a more regular and systematical course of studies, in the theory of the christian religion, than has *hitherto* been published.' We feel no disinclination to have a better acquaintance with this author; though our opinion of his critical abilities, or his qualifications for executing a new translation of the scriptures, and expounding the subjects of 'Systematical Theology,' we must acknowledge, is not the most favorable. We cordially welcome, however, the result of any well-meant endeavour to give a more faithful version of the scriptures than the one commonly received. Every attempt at a new translation has at least one beneficial tendency. It by degrees removes from the public mind that superstitious reverence for the mere language of scripture, which is so apt to conceal its meaning, and which perhaps more than any other cause, prevents the application of correct principles to its interpretation.

The pamphlet before us commences the translation and commentary, and extends so far as to include the 'ordination of the twelve disciples.' It is divided into sections, according to the subjects treated, without any reference whatever to our present division into gospels, chapters, and verses. Consequently, as the four gospels are 'harmonized and chronologically arranged,' the matter of them all is thrown in promiscuously, so that we have no means of determining, at any time, which gospel we are reading. Instead, therefore, of calling this work 'The Four Evangelists, harmonized and chronologically arranged,' it seems to us more proper to consider it as 'a History of Jesus Christ, compiled from the Four Evangelists, and chronologically arranged in a new Translation.'

Whatever may be the advantages attending a full and connected account of our Saviour's life drawn up in this manner, there are in our view strong objections against blending the substance of all the four gospels together in one narrative, without the least mark by which they can be severally distinguished. The matter of each gospel should be kept distinct. If harmonized and chronologically arranged, let all four be printed in parallel columns, that we may know which we are reading, upon whose authority the account rests, and, when there is any diversity in the relation, choose for ourselves, instead of being obliged, in every instance, to adopt the author's decision.

We are not disposed, however, to deal very severely with this work; for we are exceedingly pleased with the liberal spirit, which every where pervades it. The exposition of many of the most interesting and difficult portions of the New Testament, such as the account of our Saviour's temptation, his conversation with Nicodemus, his language in reference to demoniacal possession, &c. appears to us, with very little exception, to be rational and just. We think there is much too great variety introduced into the notes. We have criticism, exposition, dissertation, and exhortation. The harmony is founded upon that arrangement of events, which is the most natural and consistent, on the supposition that our Saviour's ministry was of but little more than one year's duration. The translation may be called liberal in the most extended sense of the term. Indeed, we think the author has often allowed himself to take too great liberties with the text. A reading is sometimes adopted upon mere conjecture, in opposition to the concurrent testimony of all the critical authorities. An instance of this occurs in the following passage,—'And the Logos was *God's*;' a reading which originated in the conjecture of Crellius, and which Griesbach, and Wetstein, who, it should be recollected, was the most celebrated advocate for the right of critical conjecture, have both discarded, as being opposed by all the MSS., versions, and Greek and Latin fathers. There is surely no necessity of altering the text to disprove the doctrine of the personal divinity of Christ.

There are other things in this work, which appear to us as very objectionable. In speaking of the introduction to John's Gospel, the writer allows himself to use such language as this;—'the meanness of the composition is one of the greatest pleas for the genuineness of the passage; for undoubtedly John is the poorest writer in the New Testament.' To those accustomed to read the New Testament with feelings of respect, such language must be highly offensive.

In fine, from the attention we have bestowed upon this commencement of the author's work, we are not much encouraged to believe he will be able to furnish us with what we have long regarded as the greatest desideratum,—a faithful translation of the writings of the New Testament, upon just views of their character and interpretation.

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14. The History of Dedham, from the beginning of its settlement in September, 1635, to May, 1827. By Erastus Worthington. Boston, Dutton and Wentworth. 1827. 8vo. pp. 146.

This is a curious, and in many respects a valuable work. We prize it, not only for the light it throws upon our early history, and its illustrations of the manners and spirit of the first settlers of New England, but also for the encouraging hopes it teaches us to entertain for our country, by tracing the progress by which a tract of land originally settled by a dozen men, has, in less than two centuries, been made to constitute nearly as many towns, and support more than as many thousands, and that too in a district which has depended for its prosperity almost wholly upon the productions of its own soil.

The records of the town of Dedham, it seems, are uncommonly full and perfect; and as this volume professes to have been principally compiled from them, it is of unquestionable authority. As the author approaches later times however, he does not hesitate to declare for his party; and perhaps his book would have been improved could he have kept his party feelings a little more out of view. He seems too to have a very great contempt for accuracy of composition; and the literary are consequently far below the historical merits of his work. But abounding as it does with curious matters like the following, it cannot but be read with interest. 'Until this time, [1700] the people voted by wheat and beans on the question of admitting townsmen, wheat denoting the affirmative, and beans the negative.'—'In these early days, the records show that *Sir* was the schoolmaster's title; Sir Metcalf, Sir Woodward, and Sir Dwight.'—'1702, Voted to repair the meetinghouse, and that short pews be made by the pulpit stairs, where the boys shall be seated.'—'1724. Voted to give Jarvis Pyke twenty shillings for keeping the boys in order at the pulpit stairs.'—For one year 'the congregation was collected by beat of drum.'—'Every man who *hitched* his horse's bridle to the meetinghouse ladder forfeited six pence to Robert Onion,'—&c. &c.

In the annals of every New England settlement a large space must of course be given to the affairs of the church. The ecclesiastical history of Dedham appears to have been, on the whole, exceedingly happy. Its ministers have been able, useful, and longlived; and down to the times in which the famous Dedham case was decided, there has been hardly an interruption to the harmony and prosperity of the town on religious or ecclesiastical grounds. But we forget we have room only for a short notice of the work before us, and must refer our readers to the work itself.

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15. The Foundation of our Confidence in the Saviour. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Charles C. Sewall, as Minister of the First Unitarian Church in Danvers, April 11, 1827. By Alvan Lamson, Minister of the First Church in Dedham. Second Edition. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. 12mo. pp. 20.

It is a very common charge against Unitarianism, that by denying the divinity of Christ's nature and the popular doctrine of satisfaction or atonement, and teaching the sinner to rely wholly on the unpurchased mercy of his God, it leaves us without a Saviour; gives to the sinner a support that is but little better than a broken reed; shows itself utterly regardless of his wants, and takes from the teaching and the cross of Christ all their efficacy and value. This charge the discourse before us meets and repels. It shows conclusively, that, as the Saviour was appointed and his religion given by the Deity, the foundation of our trust in him is the same, whatever theory we adopt respecting his physical nature and attributes; that we confide in him as a teacher, joy in him as a deliverer, not because of the dignity of his rank on the scale of beings, but because he spoke and acted by divine impulse and authority; because the Father sanctified and sent him into the world; because he pledged God's word for the conditions of pardon, deliverance and eternal life. With a view to confirm this position, Mr Lamson considers Christ's instructions, death, and present agency.

As to his instructions, there is as good reason for confidence in them on the assurance that he was from God, commissioned, taught, and directed by him, as there would be if he were God himself. God is the author of them as truly in the one case as the other. So with the miracles of Christ; they were wrought, not to prove the dignity of his person, but the origin of his mission. We reverence his words, then, because of the commission he received of the Father to instruct the world.

The efficacy of Christ's sufferings and death is next explained. 'That his death was highly subservient to the object he came into the world to accomplish is doubted by none. It tended in itself, and especially as followed by his resurrection, to add weight to his instructions, to overcome indifference, to touch the sensibility, and send a healing and quickening influence to the heart. It has, in the opinion of all Christians, an important moral efficacy. It is one of the numerous means which Christianity employs for bringing the sinner to repentance, forming in him the character God approves, and thus procuring for him pardon and felicity.' p. 12.

In the discussion of this topic, which occupies the largest portion of the discourse, the preacher is led to speak of the various forms assumed by the popular doctrine of atonement. He shows how dishonorable it is to the Deity, robbing him of his most endearing attribute, and transferring to the Son the gratitude and love which is in reality due only to the Father. We would gladly quote some of the fine passages of this part of the discourse, but our limits will not allow of it. It is maintained that a finite being can as well, if God so pleases, make atonement for sin, as an infinite; and we know not how this reply to a favorite argument with the Orthodox for Christ's divinity can be met.

The last point is, that whatever may be the nature of the agency our Saviour now exercises, it owes its whole interest and importance to the Divine will and appointment. 'His inherent Divinity is not made the basis of any of those benefits he confers on us, or of any act he performs, in his present state of exaltation, any more than of the benefits derived from his ministry and sufferings on earth. All the glories of that state, all the honors, privileges, and offices it implies, are expressly referred to the Father, "who made him both Lord and Christ,"—"who exalted him and gave him a name,"—"raised him from the dead, and gave him glory,"—"appointed him heir of all things,"—"committed all judgment to him," having "appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath chosen, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead."'

The call for a second edition of this excellent sermon sufficiently testifies the public estimation of its merits, and we hope it will continue to be more and more widely circulated, because we think it sheds much light upon a subject, which, we are convinced, wants only to be clearly and distinctly presented, to be viewed in the light in which it is regarded by Unitarians.

16. Hymns for Children. New York, David Felt, 1827. 18mo. pp. 52.

We have read this little book with care, and find in it almost every thing to praise. The hymns are all excellent. There is not in one of them, an offence against good sentiment or good taste. Such a work, so executed, was much wanted, and we think it will be found a valuable accession to our books for Sunday schools and for families.

17. Ecclesiastical Peace recommended. A Discourse, delivered before the Annual Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, in Boston, May 31, 1827. By Abiel Abbot, D.D. Pastor of the First Church in Beverly. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. 12mo. pp. 20.

Though we differ from the author of this Discourse as to the best mode of combating error, we cannot but highly approve the eminently christian spirit in which it is written. It is an attempt to pour oil upon the troubled waters of theological strife, and recommend the peaceful temper of the gospel to those by whom, we admit, it is too apt to be forgotten. But in this imperfect world of ours, in which there is such a difference of dispositions and mental endowments, such an endless variety of circumstances that distract and determine men to this or that view of a subject, controversy seems the only means God has given us by which falsehood is to be assailed and truth to get her victory. But it is expedient, says Dr Abbot, to 'state and defend truth, rather than to assail error, to build up, rather than to overthrow.' But grant, as he continues, that 'if truth be established, it is the subversion of error;' still, if the ground on which we mean to build is preoccupied, if error is deep settled and of long standing, it must be first cleared away, or the new structure will be encumbered or overwhelmed. The bitterness of controversy none can condemn more heartily than we do. But the improved spirit of the age has already done much to diminish it, and as it is wider diffused will do more. The manner of theological warfare which prevailed a century ago, would not be tolerated now, and in a century to come we hope that a peaceful controversy will be no anomaly.

The remarks on fundamentals are admirable. 'I am fully persuaded,' says Chillingworth, 'that God does not, and therefore that man ought not, to require any more of any man than this; to believe the scripture to be God's word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it.' In harmony with this is the sentiment quoted by the preacher also, from Richard Cecil; 'All who know any thing of real religion are agreed that the substance of the matter is contained in repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.' These positions are very happily defended, and we should be pleased to quote from this part of the discourse but that there is in another part of it a passage, which we wish to recommend to the serious consideration of our Orthodox brethren. It is this:

> 'Religious peace is *social* as well as personal; and is that sacred harmony, which subsists among the members of a church and congregation. Little religious communities, denominated churches or congregations, were formed in the first age of Christianity; and from the Acts and Epistles we learn how solicitous the apostles were to preserve peace in them. We should not be less so. As many motives and obligations urge us as the first Christians, *to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.* It is easily lost; it is with difficulty recovered. So imperfect is the sanctification of real Christians in the present state, such the diversity of their views, their tempers, and attainments, that it is often in danger. When it is preserved in a church on just principles; when its peace is not the stagnant calm, produced by indifference to divine things, to the honor of the Head, and the purity of the members; when peace is the fruit of personal religion and of affectionate watchfulness and fidelity, such peace in a church is an antepast of heaven itself.
>
> 'Scarcely less important is peace in that interesting and sacred community, which we denominate a parish; an association for the support and enjoyment of the gospel. Amidst the shocks, which occasionally agitate the elements of a parish, especially in a day like this, much of the *wisdom which is from*

above is needed to prevent the utter wreck of peace. There must be mutual condescension; *the strong must bear the infirmities of the weak;* the language of irritation must be suppressed; and minor sacrifices on different sides must be cheerfully made to secure the inestimable blessings of union, strength, and peace. The noiseless influence of a few may often dissipate a gathering storm, and even of *one,* if he be a minister of Christ, blessed of God with wisdom and gentleness, and moving among his people in the spirit of his Master. Peace so preserved is *as the dew of Hermon;* and such a parish is a scene grateful to God himself; *for there he commands the blessing, even life for evermore.*

'To have a just sense of the worth of peace, need we look at the reverse of these pictures, and observe the mischiefs of division and discord? Observe a divided and alienated family—the parents bickering with each other, and violent with their children—correcting without judgment or mercy, or yielding them to their humors with a fatal negligence. The children also rebellious to abused authority, *hateful and hating one another!* And yet it is a sadder sight to behold a divided church, *a family of Christ;* holy brethren by profession, but alienated from one another; listening to designing strangers; taking counsels apart; disputing with bitterness on trifles, or on subjects inscrutable; the voice of clamor and wrath heard within the precincts of the sanctuary—confidence lost, and love extinguished—*receiving one another* only to *doubtful disputations.* But I turn from the unfinished sketch, devoutly praying that spectacles like these may not be multiplied among the churches of the pilgrims.

'Under this branch of the subject, I will only remark once more, that we shall have a very erroneous notion of religious peace, should we think that it may be limited to our own sect, or to persons symbolizing with us in faith and forms. The relations of peace, as the gospel fixes them, look far and wide. They extend from church to church, from one denomination to another; and from the catholic church of Christendom to the whole brotherhood of mankind. For, like love, the principle and soul of peace, it has no limit within the circle, which comprehends the human family. The most revolting errors of paganism, while they excite unmingled horror in a christian bosom, cannot justify hostility to those who sincerely embrace them.' pp. 8—10.

These are noble sentiments, and should find an echo in the breast of every Christian.

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18. The Young Child's Prayer Book. Second edition. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. 18mo. pp. 28.

This is another book for children, which like the Hymns we just noticed, is admirably adapted to its purposes. The language is perfectly simple and may be comprehended by any child old enough to read it. We have some very good things two or three times over, however; but this, if the work had been larger would have been no objection. Parents, and teachers who use such books, will find this to contain all they want; a sufficient number of prayers breathing the purest devotion, in language not above the capacities for which they are intended, and without a single objectionable sentiment or expression.

Intelligence.

American Unitarian Association. The second anniversary of this Association was celebrated on Tuesday evening, May 29th. The spirit and interest of the occasion were precisely such as its best friends could wish. The meeting, of which a large portion, we were pleased to see, consisted of ladies, was opened with prayer, by Dr Thayer of Lancaster. The proceedings of the last celebration were then read, and the treasurer made his report, which was accepted. The annual report of the Executive Committee was read and accepted. The thanks of the Association were voted to the Committee for the faithful manner in which they had discharged their duties the last year, and their report directed to be printed and circulated as a tract. It is now in the press, and in our next number we shall speak of it more fully.

Rev. Mr Gannett, of Boston, offered the following resolution :

'*Resolved*,—That the opportunities for the spread of Unitarian truth, which are daily presenting themselves, call for new exertions on the part of its friends, and a great increase of the number of its teachers.'

Mr G. explained his views of this subject, and glanced at the state of things, particularly at the West, which pressingly demand, not merely the passage of the resolution, but prompt and unwearied exertions to carry it into effect. But before this demand can be answered, we must have more funds and more laborers. Tracts too are wanted, and complaint was made that writers could not be found to produce them, though the motives for exertion in this way are most powerful. The speaker then referred to Mr Thomas, the gentleman who some time ago travelled in the Western States under the directing of the Executive Committee, to collect information respecting the religious state of that part of our country. He was asked for the results of his inquiries. He seconded Mr Gannett's resolution, and gave an interesting account of the field there opening for the spread of Unitarian sentiments, in the course of which he bore most honorable testimony to the character of that rapidly increasing sect of Unitarians, known by the name of Christians.

Rev. Mr Colman, of Salem, next made some remarks on the mode of supplying the wants of the West, which were not fully understood at the time, but which, as explained on the replies of Mr Saltonstall of Salem, and Mr Tappan of Boston, recommended that where preachers were wanting and could not be supplied by educated men from this or other sections of the country, intelligent laymen should be encouraged to preach and administer the ordinances for themselves. After an animated discussion of these and other points made by Mr Colman, the resolution was adopted.

Rev. H. Ware, jr. of Boston, proposed a resolution in the following words:

'*Resolved*,—That this Association regard with peculiar interest, the establishment, by the Executive Committee, of a domestic mission in the city of Boston, and the encouragement which it has received.'

After noticing the origin and progress of this establishment, Mr W. referred for a more full account of it, to Rev. Dr Tuckerman, the present missionary. Dr T. testified to the good it had done and was still doing, and especially to the adaptation which his experience every day proved there was of Unitarianism to the capacities and wants of the poor. The resolve was adopted.

Rev. Mr Palfrey of Boston, next offered a resolution as follows:

'*Resolved*,—That this Association reciprocate the expressions of sympathy and regard they have received from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and rejoice in the exertions of the friends of truth in England and on the continent of Europe.'

We intended to have given a report of Mr Palfrey's address on this motion, but must, for the present, defer it. Mr George Bond spoke to the high character of the English Unitarians, and seconded the resolution, which was passed.

Judge Story, of Salem, proposed the following resolution:

'*Resolved*,—That the present time particularly demands the faithful services of the friends of religious liberty.'

We will not attempt to do justice to the eloquent speech with which the offering of this resolution was followed. The question of religious liberty, as was justly observed, swallows up all others; and when there is fit occasion of alarm on this subject, it becomes every friend of his country, every faithful servant of his God, to be up and doing. What the learned judge especially referred to, was the late attempt at usurpation over the consciences of their brethren made by certain reverend counsellors at Groton, and exposed in our last number. We were proud to find the stand we then took, also maintained by one of the highest legal authorities of the nation.

At an adjourned meeting on Wednesday, after the choice of officers and a vote of thanks to the late treasurer, it was on the motion of Rev. H. Ware, jr. voted, that two messengers be appointed by the Executive Committee, to meet the Christian Conference at West Bloomfield, N. Y. which is to be held in September next.

On motion of Mr Thayer, it was proposed that the Constitution be so far amended as to add to the Executive Committee a Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

This last measure we regard as particularly important. The relations of the Association are every day extending themselves at home, as well as abroad, and the duties of the present Secretary have become very arduous. We rejoice in the necessity of the appointment proposed, as it is another indication of the blessing of God upon the labors of this most interesting society.

Evangelical Missionary Society.—The anniversary of this Society, which is one of the most important of our charities, was celebrated on Wednesday evening, May 30th, at the Federal Street church, where Rev. Mr Ritchie of Needham delivered an appropriate discourse and a collection was taken for the Society's funds. We again earnestly call upon the charitably disposed of our congregations to have this institution in remembrance.

Berry Street Conference. This is a Conference of the liberal clergy of Massachusetts. Its meeting was held in the Vestry of the Church in Federal Street, on Wednesday morning, May 30th. After prayers by Dr Kendall of Plymouth, and the choice of officers, Dr Bancroft of Worcester delivered an interesting address upon the nature, manner of producing and conducting, the subjects and effects of the prevalent excitements, known by the name of revivals of religion. The usual call for communications respecting the state of religion in different parts of the country, was then made and answered. Much interesting information was elicited, and cheering accounts given of the state and progress of Unitarianism, especially in the county of Worcester and along the banks of the Connecticut.

Orthodox revivals, it seemed, were numerous, and Mr Sullivan of Keene, N. H. asked for advice as to the best course to be pursued in relation to them. He was particularly replied to by Dr Abbot of Beverly, whose experience at such junctures has been especially instructive. His remarks on the occasion, were full of wisdom, and delivered with spirit and eloquence. No man who heard them, will soon forget or cease to profit by them.

Another most important subject which received the attention of the Conference, was that of the establishment in our societies of Juvenile Libraries. A large and respectable committee from various parts of the State, was appointed to prepare a catalogue of suitable books for the young.

The revival in Boston next occupied the attention of the Conference. Those who were nearest to it were grieved to find that such false and exaggerated accounts of it had been sent abroad, and embraced this opportunity for contradicting them.

We cannot close this notice, without reminding the members of the Conference, of the remarks of a gentleman upon the importance of diffusing religious knowledge, as one of the best means of checking a fanatical spirit, and promoting rational and genuine religion. Our own work, the gentleman was pleased to think, was not ill adapted to this end, and we do hope that the interest in its success which then appeared to be awakened, will not again be permitted to slumber.

Massachusetts Convention of Ministers. This body met on Wednesday, May 30th, and after prayers by Dr Abbot of Beverly, and the choice of officers, heard the petition of the Marlborough Association against the use of wine and spirituous liquors at the Convention dinner. It was voted that while the Convention appreciate the motives of the petitioners, the subject itself, as no spirituous liquors were to be presented, should 'subside.' Dr Griffin was then elected first preacher for the ensuing year. A gentlemen next moved, that the Convention request the churches in this city not to provide them a dinner hereafter. This was the only question on which there was a serious division of opinion. The motion was opposed for a variety of reasons, but principally on the ground of indecorum. It was for the present permitted to 'subside,' that it might be again brought up with more maturity of preparation.

Dr Beecher was chosen second preacher, and at the adjourned meeting on Thursday, the committee to whom the day before was referred an address of the American Colonization Society, made a report, which, after various amendments, was adopted. It closed with the following resolution:

'That this Convention, approving the objects of the American Colonization Society, and being earnestly desirous of seeing its efforts prospered of God and favored of man, do recommend it to the several members of this body who are disposed actively to cooperate with the Society, to lay its claims before their respective congregations, at such time and in such manner as, in their judgment, may best conduce to the interests of personal freedom, national security, and that righteousness and peace which belong to the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

It was then moved, that the thanks of the Convention be presented to the churches in Boston for preparing a dinner in times past, but that it was inexpedient to provide one in future. This certainly had the advantage of the first motion in point of civility, but equally failed of its object. After some explanations, an extraordinary adjournment was agreed to, and the Convention proceeded to Brattle Street Church, and there listened to a discourse from Dr Abbot, recommending ecclesiastical peace. We have already noticed this excellent performance.

After divine services, the discussion of the dinner was renewed. The origin and history of the dinner itself were minutely detailed, and Mr Wisner, who certainly knew, assured the

Convention, that the Orthodox, who were, as a party, opposed to this prodigal hospitality, did not support the motion because they could not eat with Unitarians; a pretty singular assurance to be given uncalled for. Professor Stuart attempted, not only to repel the charge of indecorum from his own party, who refused, but to fix it upon those who accepted the churches' invitation. He thought it unbecoming to beg of Boston for their widows, the principal part of all the funds they received, and then to consume a larger sum at a meal. The whole subject was finally committed to Messrs Stuart, Storrs, and Pierpont, to report next year, and the Convention adjourned.

The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance. The anniversary of this Association was celebrated on Thursday, May 31st. The public services were in the Federal Street Church, where Mr Charles Sprague delivered to a thronged audience an eloquent address, to which, in connexion with the sermons upon intemperance lately published, we hope hereafter to invite the attention of our readers. The public are becoming more and more awake upon this subject, and there seems a prospect of good success for the labors of those philanthropists whom it has actively engaged.

Boston Sunday School Society. This Society consists of the several teachers of the sunday schools in Boston and other persons friendly to such institutions. There is a Standing Committee of the Society, whose duty it is to attend to the state and mode of management of the sabbath schools to which they are attached, and make a report of the same at each quarterly meeting of the Directors; to examine and select books, tracts, hymns, &c. for the schools, and submit such as they may approve to the Board of Directors for further examination, and to aid in the establishment of new schools. At the annual meeting, the Directors are to make a report, and an opportunity is to be afforded for communications and addresses from members or friends of the institution Three quarterly meetings, also, are to be held, for considering the state of the schools, and for communicating useful information. These are the leading features of the Constitution. The Society had its origin in a desire to increase and diffuse the advantages of certain preparatory meetings, which had been held by the teachers, and, in their Circular, sympathy and cooperation are earnestly hoped for, and efforts invited to establish sabbath schools in all parishes where they do not exist. Societies of teachers and annual reports of the state of their schools are proposed. Accounts of them, and reports of the schools are solicited in season for the first annual meeting of the Society. Such information as can be immediately had of the present state of sabbath schools already established, either under pastors, or other teachers, is called for. The Corresponding Secretary is J. F. Flagg, M. D. of Boston.

The Liberal Preacher. This is a 'Monthly Publication of Sermons by living' Unitarian 'Ministers.' The project is a very popular one and promises much usefulness. It is conducted by a gentleman of acknowledged abilities, and, as we perceive by the list of contributors, will be supported by the best talent of the Unitarian denomination. The first number is now before us. It contains two sermons; one by Rev. Mr Dewey of New Bedford, the other by Rev. Dr Bancroft of Worcester; gentlemen already well known to the public. We extend to Mr Sullivan the right hand of editorial fellowship, and wish him, what he has every promise of receiving, the cordial support of the friends of pure Christianity and of religious liberty throughout our land.

Obituary.

THE excellent and interesting character of the late Mrs ELIZABETH PARSONS, claims a respectful notice in our Miscellany. She was distinguished by her readiness to all the offices and expressions of benevolence. The law of love appeared to be written in her heart, and shone out in her actions. Who was ever more careful to abstain from injuring others, not merely in their graver interests, but in minuter concerns? She regarded, not their claims merely, but their wants and wishes. It was not enough, however, that she did no harm or injustice, and inflicted no unnecessary pain; her good will was active and useful, prompt to find and use occasions of promoting the wellbeing, comfort, and improvement, and removing the uneasinesses, soothing the pains, and relieving the necessities of those within her influence. None of us can do all the good that is to be done. We must first attend to our own and that of those in near relations, and from other objects of benevolent solicitude make a selection with sound discretion. It is rightly observed that there are more gradations in the exercise of benevolence than any other virtue. 'Those acts of benevolence in which the selfish principle is most suppressed, in which compassion triumphs over apprehensions for personal safety, and mercy over the claims of rigid justice or a spirit of resentment,' are the most admired. In choosing the kinds and occasions of beneficence, Mrs Parsons evinced the justness of her discernment; and by the labor, sacrifice, and self-denial she practised for the sake of others, showed the reality and power of her kind affections.

The fountain of benevolence in her heart flowed out in little kindnesses and substantial services; in endeavours to give pleasure in the daily intercourse of life; in attention to the claims of the afflicted and distressed; in counsel and expostulations when the openings for them occurred; in equity and candor in speaking of character and conduct; and in all the natural demonstrations of a participating heart and a beneficent spirit, rendering her a friend to the happiness, an assistant of the virtue of those who stood in near connexion, and of others, as opportunity invited or allowed.

Humility has been justly pointed out as a striking feature in the character of this excellent person. She had no egotism, nor vanity, nor ostentation. She did not speak of herself, made no pretensions, and thought nothing of her good deeds, judging of herself rather by what she desired, or thought she ought to attain and do, than by what she accomplished, however much. Contentment, gratitude, patience, resignation, followed in the train of humility.

A quality by which this esteemed person was distinguished, was a singular purity of heart, life, and conversation. 'She always appeared as one who might have unveiled her heart, and safely submitted it to the inspection of the world. There was a simplicity and sincerity in her deportment which corresponded to and evinced her inward integrity. The stranger instantly recognised her moral purity and worth; while the man of commanding intellect and large acquirements delighted in her society, and by his silent veneration and esteem paid a willing homage to the supremacy of simple goodness.'*

The faith and piety of this lady were manifested by all proper and natural signs; by a christian profession, by the observance of worship and ordinances, by the tone of her mind and feelings, and above all by the tenor of her life. If she conversed less than some upon her religious experience, or upon religious subjects, she conversed upon all subjects as becomes a religious person. The following citation from bishop Taylor, illustrating this topic, was aptly applied in the just and interesting view given of her character, in the sermon preached by her pastor the Lord's day after her interment. 'I have seen a female religion, that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue; that like a wanton and an undressed tree, spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leaves and gum; and after all such goodly outsides, you should never eat an apple, or be delighted with the beauties or the perfumes of a hopeful blossom.

'But the religion of this excellent lady was of another constitution. It took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in the substantial graces of a Christian; in charity, and goodness, in benevolence and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetness of society.'—'It dwelt upon her spirit, and was incorporated with the periodical work of every day. She did not believe that religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls.'—'She had not very much of the forms and outsides of godliness, but she was hugely careful for the power of it, for the moral, essential and useful parts; such which would make her be, not seem to be, religious.'

Dedications and Ordinations.

A new meetinghouse in Amesbury was dedicated to the service of Almighty God, on Wednesday, May 17th. Rev. Mr Sawyer of Amesbury offered the Introductory Prayer, and read a portion of the Scriptures; Rev. Dr Andrews of Newburyport, made the Dedicatory Prayer; Rev. Dr Parker of Portsmouth, N. H. delivered a Sermon from 1 Peter, ii. 15, and Rev. Mr Upham of Salem, offered the Concluding Prayer.

On Wednesday, June 6th, Mr John Goldsbury was ordained as the pastor of the Second Congregational Church and Society in North Bridgewater. The Introductory Prayer was offered, and selections from the Scriptures read by Rev. Mr Storer of Walpole. Rev. Mr Hamilton of Taunton, delivered a Sermon from John xviii. 37. The Ordaining Prayer was by Rev. Dr Reed of West Bridgewater; the Charge by Rev. Dr Porter of Roxbury; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr Gannett, the Address to the People by Rev.

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* MS. Sermon of Rev. A. Young.

Mr Pierpont, of Boston; and the Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr Edes of Providence, R.I.

On Wednesday, June 27th, the Church of the First Unitarian Congregational Society in Dunstable, N. H. was dedicated, and Mr Nathaniel Gage ordained their pastor. Introductory Prayer and reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. Mr Pierpont of Boston; Dedicatory Prayer by Rev. Mr Allen of Chelmsford; Sermon by Rev. Mr Gannett of Boston, from 1 Timothy, i. 15; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Mr Allen of Bolton; Charge by Rev. Dr Parker of Portsmouth, N. H.; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr Young of Boston; Address to the Society by Rev. Mr Francis of Watertown; and the Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr Robinson of Groton.

On Wednesday, June 27th, the Rev. Abiel Abbot was installed as pastor over the Congregational Unitarian Church and Society in Peterborough, N. H. Introductory Prayer by Rev. Mr Beede of Wilton, N. H.; Reading of the Scriptures by Rev. Jacob Abbot; Sermon by Rev. Dr Abbot of Beverly, from Acts vi. 2-4; Prayer of Installation by Rev. Dr Bancroft of Worcester; Charge by Rev. Dr Thayer of Lancaster; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr Crosby; Address to the People by Rev. Mr Lincoln of Fitchburg; and Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr Sullivan of Keene, N. H. Mr Abbot, the pastor installed, is the gentleman who some years ago was driven from his parish in Coventry, Connecticut, by the persecution of the Consociations of that State. The exercises at Peterborough, are said to have been of a high order, and the Sermon by Dr Abbot, of Beverly, entitled 'The Example of the first Preachers of the Gospel considered,' we are happy to announce, is in the press.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We should be happy to confer with P. respecting one of the communications enclosed to us under that signature.

On page 127 of our last number, it was asserted that Dr Morse made his report upon Consociations to the Convention of Ministers, and that the Convention referred it to the people. This is a mistake. The fact is, that the Report was made in 1815 to the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, and by that body referred to the several Associations in their connexion; but no church, it is believed, ever accepted it. The case is therefore stronger than we stated it. The cause of the error probably was, that some years before, a plan, similar in substance, had been laid before the Convention of Ministers, but was thought so inconsistent with the usages and liberties of the Congregational churches, that it was opposed by gentlemen of different opinions, and particularly, as we have heard, by Dr Spring, of Newburyport, Dr Emmons, of Franklin, and Dr Osgood, of Medford, and *rejected* by the Convention. It will be perceived, therefore, that the error is against our interest and diminishes the force of our argument. The Convention rejected the plan, instead of referring it to the people. The Report first mentioned was made by Drs Morse, Woods, and Codman. Dr Lyman was only Moderator of the General Association when the Report was made.

Page 168, line 22, dele 'their,' and page 199, line 1, for 'University,' read 'ministry.'

We hope to insert the article 'On Devotion at Church,' in our next.

THE

Christian Examiner.

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Miscellany.

ON DEVOTION AT CHURCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

Sir,—In a late number of the Examiner, I offered some remarks on the duty of a regular attendance at church. I wish now to say something of a duty consequent upon this; and that is, *the duty of a sincere and earnest devotion when we are assembled in the sanctuary.*

On this subject, Sir, I will not conceal my impression that there is a prevailing and great deficiency of just ideas and feelings among us. I say, my impression, but I feel more than this. I feel a deep and painful conviction that it is so. I believe there is remaining among us, much of that old error, old as the world and certain as its history, the error that substitutes the form for the substance, the semblance for the reality, the goodly show of ceremonies for the unfeigned offering of the heart. I have heard powerful preaching, and I have sought for the fruit; I have seen the congregation when it rose at the invitation to prayer, and have looked around me for the marks of true and solemn devotion; I have listened to the songs of Zion, and have asked if there was a consenting and corresponding 'melody with the heart' in the assembly of worshippers; and every such inquiry has terminated with me in sad misgivings. Assembly of worshippers! I said; public worship, we call it. But can our assemblies, and our service at church be justly so denominated? Is our service, worship? And is this man, and that man in the congregation; is every man, in very deed, a worshipper? Or is he only a spectator of the solemnities of the house of God? And if he is only a spectator, if most of the attendants at church are of the same description, why is not this conclusion absolutely fearful? Is it that God is invisible, and we cannot meet the eye of his displeasure? Is it that he is invisible, and does not break forth upon us, in manifest abhorrence of these vain oblations? Is it for this reason, that we venture to present in his temple an offering so careless and indifferent, that we should not dare to present it in the court and to the eye of an earthly sovereign? 'Offer now' such a service 'unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts.'

'If,' says a late writer* on the eloquence of the pulpit,—'if any one were, for the first time, informed what preaching is; if, for example, one of the ancient critics had been told that the time would come when vast multitudes of persons should assemble, regularly, to be addressed in the midst of their devotions, upon the most sacred truths of a religion, sublime beyond all the speculations of philosophers, yet in all its most important points simple and of the easiest apprehension; that with those truths were to be mingled discussions of the whole circle of human duties, according to a system of morality singularly pure and attractive; that the more dignified, and the more interesting parts of national affairs were not to be excluded from the discourse; that, in short, the most elevating, the most touching, and the most interesting of all topics were to be the subject matter of the address, directed to persons sufficiently versed in them, and assembled only from the desire they felt to see them handled; surely, the conclusion would have been drawn, that such occasions would train up a race of the most consummate orators, and that the effusions to which they gave birth, must needs cast all other rhetorical compositions into the shade.'

I am very willing to admit that the claims of the pulpit have been but feebly answered. But let me ask if the claims of such an institution as public worship, have not equally failed of their due impression? If some ancient and solitary philosopher, like Socrates, had, amidst a nation of idolaters, risen to the apprehension of one sole and supreme

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* Edinburgh Review, No. LXXXIX.

Divinity; if he had been told that the time would come when this sublime truth should be unfolded to the whole body of any people; if he had been told that they should assemble weekly to worship this ineffable and all glorious Being; that they had been taught, what the ancient idolater never knew, to worship him as their Father and Friend, the only living spring of all their blessings, and joys, and hopes; surely he would have said this will be a people devout beyond all former example; surely, they will rejoice in their sublime knowledge and glorious privileges! He might almost have anticipated the fervent exhortation of the psalmist, 'O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our maker; for he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.'

Now, the question is, why is not public worship regarded in this light, and why does it not produce these effects? And I believe the grand error from which the failure and deficiency proceed, so far as they proceed from any mere mistake, is this; *we go to church to be passive, rather than to be active; to be acted upon, rather than to act.* I do not deny that we are to be acted upon; but it is in order that we may act; that we may act, I mean, at the time; that is to say, that our minds may be active, that our affections may be quickened, and enlisted in the actual exercises of holy meditation and prayer. We should go to church to be impressed and moved indeed, but not to be impressed and moved without our own diligent cooperation; not as if we were stocks and stones; not moved, either, as men are at the theatre, or in hearing an oration about a thing that concerns them not. We should go to think, to meditate, and to resolve as we would where our real interests were involved; as we would at a municipal meeting, or in a legislative assembly. The subjects which engage our attention at church, are just as truly matters of personal concern to us, and far more deeply. They are matters of transcendent, eternal interest.

If I may take the liberty, Sir, to use such an epithet, the great evil in our public religious services, is, that they are too *dramatic;* too little deliberative; they possess too little of the character of a real and earnest meditation. I am repeating the same thing, I know; but I would draw attention to this as the great point, the point in which our deficiency originates, and from which our amendment must proceed. It is not enough to tell men that they are not devout, as the reason why they do not take the proper and practical interest in public worship. Rather, it is telling them nothing. That they are not devout, is the very deficiency complained of. To allege that they are not devout, is the same thing as to say that they have not the proper and practical interest. The useful question is, Why are they not devout? Is it because they have not the capacity? or because they do not use the capacity which God has given them? If they have not the capacity, they have no business at church, certainly. If they have it, then their business in the sanctuary, is to use that capacity. To use it, I say. This is the very point, to which I solicit attention. We go to church, we appear there in person; but where are our minds? We see, we hear, we are entertained; but do we act? We feel; but how do we feel? Men feel at the theatre, at the recitations of the orator, at the display of some moving tale. But their feeling, in these cases, is passive feeling. They are wrought upon, but they do not work out any thing within themselves. They *do* nothing. They feel; but they do not feel, that they have any thing to do about that, or in consequence of that, which they feel. They are like the people of old, described in the divine message to the prophet, who 'spake one to another, saying, Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord;'—or, as it would be in the language of this day, 'Let us go to church.'—'And they come unto thee,' said the word of the Lord to the prophet, 'as the people cometh, and they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words, but they will not do them; for with their mouth they show much love, but their heart goeth after their covetousness. And lo! thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument; for they hear thy words, but they do them not.'

And so it is at the present day. The people are ready enough to say, 'Come, let us go up to the house of the Lord.' At least, it must be admitted that the habits of the people of this country, are, in this respect, and thus far, much in their favor; I wish it may be found to be so, in the next generation. There is a readiness, and in many, an eágerness to hear. There is much ado, even, about preaching and preachers; much anxiety about who will preach, and whether the preacher will be interesting; so much indeed, that some will not attend upon public worship, till they can be satisfied on these points. And when this part of the service is satisfactory, there is enough of admiration; and quite too much, sometimes, for the hearer's profit. Nay, this sentiment is not confined to this part of the service; we hear of 'admirable prayers,' too. The music, also, comes in for a share of notice and comment. All this has a fair show. But what, in the mean time, becomes of the great and ultimate object for which all this is ordained, and for which, indeed, it ought to be so solicitously cared for? Is there by any means, an equal anxiety in the mass of minds, whether they shall be able, in simplicity and without distraction, to present an humble and fervent offering to their Maker? Are they half as anxious to please God, as they are to be themselves pleased? half as anxious about their devotion, as they are about their entertainment? Are not the minds of multitudes fatally distracted from the true object and end, by the zeal they entertain about the means?

I might easily go on with questions of this sort, but I must proceed with my design in this letter. I have said, the great error is, that we visit the sanctuary to be passive, rather than active; to be the passive recipients of impressions, rather than to do a work in ourselves. This error goes through the whole subject, and I shall keep it in mind, while I pass in brief review the different parts of our church service.

And, to begin with that which is least, I shall first speak of *sacred music.*

In regard to this part of the service but few words are necessary to point out the error in question. It is that part especially, in which the congregation is most of all passive; in which most persons consider themselves as having nothing to do, but to hear,—and admire or censure. The singing seems to be generally regarded as a kind of interlude between the parts of the service, designed only to relieve the attention. And I do not deny that in this respect it has its use. But surely I need not formally maintain, that it is designed for much more than this. It is well devised as a more easy and impassioned, and a less intense part of devotion and meditation, than prayer or preaching; but still it is a part, and not a mere prelude to such services. It relieves and refreshes, while it quickens and elevates the mind. It pleases the ear, while at the same time the soul may rise to the high praises of God. And this is our defence against those who altogether object to music in our churches; who complain of it as light and trifling, or useless and unmeaning.

And yet, I must confess that the usual manner in which this service is performed and attended to, in our christian assemblies, furnishes but too much ground for the objection. If but few sing, and those who do sing are chiefly concerned about the mere mechanical performance of their part; if the body of the congregation are only listeners; if there is no devotion, no 'making melody with the heart' among the people, then, or, at least, in such measure as all this is true, is this service robbed of all that either dignifies or consecrates it. Is it necessary for me to say that this result takes place without any sufficient cause or reason? And yet I suspect that many, because they do not sing, consider themselves as having nothing to do but to hear. But, neither do they pray audibly, nor preach. Do they not, therefore, think or meditate? Do they not, or can they not, pray in spirit? As well can they sing in spirit. They can give their minds and hearts to the devout sentiments that are expressed in psalmody. And those, even, who have the most indifferent ear for music, may, by this intellectual process and spiritual enjoyment, find it to be full of interest. We currently denominate this part of the service, 'the singing of praises to God.' But, without this application of mind to the hymns that are sung, we describe a form, and not a reality.

There have been great and laudable attempts in some of our churches, to improve the psalmody. And yet, under the influence of the great and prevailing error which I have undertaken to illustrate, I have sometimes thought it was all for the worse, and not for the better. The effect has generally been only to draw more attention to the music as a performance. I have sometimes witnessed so painful an exhibition of this sort,—the congregation rising up to lift, not their devout thoughts to heaven, but their admiring gaze to the orchestra; the choir, laying itself out to perform in the highest style, some apparently laboring to attract attention by the extraordinary loudness or singular management of their voices, others rolling up their eyes as if rapt into the most seraphic devotion,—that I have been tempted to wish I could dismiss all this fine performance to the theatre or the opera, the only places where it would be tolerable. Seriously, I had rather, at church, hear the plainest psalmody of a country congregation, with the cracked clarinet, and the braying bassoon, with the harsh and dissonant tones of the precentor and the screaming treble, than this ambitious and affected display of skill and talent. If there is not enough devotion among us, there ought to be enough sense to frown such exhibitions from our churches. I cannot help adding, though I intend presently to enlarge on this remark, that the proper degree of devotion, in our congregations, would cure this evil entirely. The choir could never conduct in this way, if there were none to admire *them*, when they ought to be worshipping their Maker.

The next in order of our public devotional offices, is *prayer*. This is the most important part of the service, and that which gives tone to all the rest. How a man's mind shall be engaged when the praises of God are sung, how he shall hear and meditate and profit when the word of exhortation is delivered, depends very much on the sincerity and earnestness and fixedness of devotion with which he prays. There is in the nature of things this connexion, so that he who does not ask the blessing, does not receive it. Such an one might hear, no doubt, with interest and pleasure, and with great feeling, even; but I should not expect him to hear with self-application, with a serious and conscientious purpose to improve, unless he were one who, at the same time, fervently implored the blessing of God.

But not to wander from the point; do the most of those who attend upon our churches, really pray? Do they look upon this as a leading and a most interesting part of the service, and do they engage in it with humble, earnest, and devoted minds?

This, surely, is a serious question. I hardly dare say how serious it seems to me, lest I should be thought to use the language of extravagance. But what, let me ask, is the end for which we assemble in the sanctuary? Is it not that we may fulfil the noblest purpose of our being, and enjoy its noblest privilege? that we may draw nigh to God, and grow into the likeness of his benevolence, his goodness, his purity, his blessed perfection? his perfection, blessed and blessing all that share it? When shall the negligent world cease to regard this as an object more carelessly to be pursued, than the most trifling acquisitions of human life! When shall we come to think our devotions worthy of a more intense desire and endeavour, than all the objects in the world beside! Is it not the design of public worship, I ask again, to approve ourselves unto God, and gain his favor and blessing? We all admit that it is. But can we expect to gain them with such negligent devotions as are commonly offered in our churches? with minds distracted, wandering, weary of the service; with the mere form and posture of supplication; with prayers, in short, in which so far from engaging, we scarcely ask or care whether or not we shall gain the favor and blessing of God?

There are solemn voices in our sanctuaries. I mean not such as fanaticism accounts solemn, not mechanical sounds, not affected tones of woe or rapture; there are things more solemn than these; the voices of simple prayer, the utterance of solemn petitions and praises to Almighty God. How solemn would they be, how deeply would they be felt as such, if we entered into their profound and sacred import! And yet, if we do not, if all this is but a grave formality, an unreal mockery; if these most solemn of all the actions of human life, are really the least felt, the least expressive of our real feelings, then they seem to me infinitely more solemn. They strike me with awe and horror. I tremble lest our prayers should be imprecations; lest our formal petitions for good should be real causes of evil; lest the hand that is stretched out for Heaven's blessing, as it were in mockery, should bring down the lightning of its displeasure.

Am I checked in this thought, and reminded that no visible curse descends? And is there, then, no curse but what is visible? Are there not multitudes standing in our solemn assemblies, living beings indeed, in regard to the physical part of existence, but as to the spirit of devotion, lifeless statues? as lifeless as if they had been stricken with some withering curse? Is it no evil, that many have regularly attended in the sanctuary, twenty, forty, or fifty years, and have become no more devout for all these opportunities; have become dead to all the calls of piety; dead to all its joys and hopes? I know that a worldly mind will not perceive this; I expect to be charged with extravagance by such an one; but still it is none the less true, that he who has neglected all these means of devotion, who has attended upon prayers all his life long only to find prayer increasingly irksome, is more to be lamented, than if he had failed in every other pursuit that the world pronounces honorable or wise. It requires no mystical ideas of devotion to support this assertion. It is a loss of happiness which is here incurred, and of the truest and most exalted happiness. It is a spiritual loss, indeed; but shall it, on that account, be indifferent to a being whose spirit is his highest nature and distinction?

I cannot help exhorting every one, therefore, who visits the sanctuary to pray, distinctly to embrace this among the objects for which he goes up to the house of God. Weak, erring, tempted as you are, weary, heavy laden, sinful,—pray! Poor in the resources of your own mind, feeble in your better purposes, liable to fail in the keeping and guidance of the soul,—pray! Overwhelmed with the cares of business, or crossed with disappointments, or bowed down with afflictions, or lifted up to the more dangerous trial of prosperity,—pray! God will help thee, frail, erring, tempted creature!—'He waiteth to be gracious.' Proud man! more frail, more erring, more tempted for all thy pride—proud man! who standest in thine own strength—God help *thee* indeed! for thy security is thy danger, thy strength is thy weakness, thy confidence is thy ruin.

But I find it necessary to leave this topic, which, from its importance, has insensibly grown in my hands, and to say a few words, in fine, on the third part of our service, the duty of *meditation*. To aid in this duty, preaching is ordained.

I represent this part of our service as meditation, and preaching as auxiliary to it, not from any affectation of using a new language, but because I think this is the light in which it ought to be regarded.

Nay more, the grand mistake is, that preaching is looked upon as the end, and not as the means. The question is not, as of old, 'Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word of the Lord,'—but, Will you go and hear such an one preach? Now, I say, that this is putting the matter in a light altogether wrong, and extremely injurious. I do not say, that it is a matter of no consequence who preaches; but I say, it is not the principal matter. It ought not to be the decisive reason, with the exception of extreme cases, whether we shall go to church or not. If we go, not to be entertained merely, but to be made better, more devout and pure in heart, we shall not be governed by such a consideration. If public worship is a useful institution, if it is therefore our duty to support it, we shall not graduate our neglect or our attendance, by the talents of the preacher. It is certain, if we do, that in many places the institution must suffer. For it cannot be expected that the mass of preachers will possess extraordinary talents; or that they will be very interesting, unless the aid they offer to our meditations is devoutly used by us, and then, I apprehend, the principal difficulty is removed. With this exertion on our part, the most ordinary preaching might be more useful, and thus more interesting, than any other could be without it.

I am quite aware, that in making these observations I demand of many a new set of views in order to the reception of them. It has long been remarked of our Congregational mode of worship, that it gives an undue importance to preaching. Preaching occupies a larger space in the service than any other part of it. It formerly occupied a still larger space than it now does. The English Dissenters, and their descendents have been educated in the notion, that preaching in our churches is the principal thing. And in one view, I allow that it is. It is the most powerful instrument of moral impression. It was so represented, and ordained to be such, by the earliest teachers of Christianity. It is such in the nature of things. And our fault is, not that we so regard it, but that we regard it as the ultimate and main point in our religious solemnities. We suffer the instrument to take place of the effect that it should produce. We suffer our indolent thoughts to be occupied by the creature, when they ought to be raised to the Creator. For there is, as I must believe, an unholy indolence, a spiritual slothfulness, in this state of mind. Let any one be earnestly bent, with his whole heart, upon religious improvement; let him be anxious to make progress in devotion and virtue; let the whole community, penetrated with reverence and gratitude towards God, go up to the sanctuary to pay their homage to Him, to adore his perfections, to acknowledge his mercies, and the grand inquiry would not be, what man should minister to their faith and piety. Alas! the preacher who can do no more than draw attention to himself, though it were the most admiring attention, has reason to sink into the dust for shame.

I would urge, then, in fine, the importance of an active mind, and a quickened conscience, to cooperate with the instructions and exhortations of the sanctuary. This is what is chiefly wanting to cause the word preached to profit us. And we most of all, perhaps, need to guard ourselves against a passive indolence in attending upon those ministrations which are deemed the most powerful and eloquent. It is certain that no man can do the work of our religion for us. Though an angel from heaven preached unto us, yet if we resigned ourselves only the more passively to his teachings, he would labor for us in vain, and spend his strength for naught.

A true spirit of devotion would cure all the evils and remedy all the deficiencies that attend our public worship. We are looking here and looking there, but the remedy is within. A real and zealous participation in the public services of religion, would communicate a new charm to the most ordinary psalmody, a new spirit to prayer, and new power to the word of instruction.

I have endeavoured to point out one grand fault and error in our views of public worship, and I repeat it in closing. *We suffer our minds to be passive in these services. We do not actively engage in them.* And we experience, as we should expect to do in every other department of life,—we experience the fruits of indolence; we lose the benefits of application.

D.

REASONS FOR SYMPATHY AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITARIANS OF ENGLAND.

[The following imperfect sketch represents something like the Rev. Mr Palfrey's course of remark at the late anniversary meeting of the American Unitarian Association. In our last number we promised our readers an account of it, but at this distance of time it is impossible to report it with any precision. We publish it, however, in the earnest hope that it will contribute much and widely to the ends proposed in the Resolution which the speaker was recommending, and which the Association cordially and unanimously adopted.]

Mr President—I would not claim the attention of the meeting at this late hour, were it not that the subject which I wish to present, appears to me of that importance that I should regret to have it lie over to another anniversary. It appears from the report which has been read, that communications have been made during the past year between the government of this society and of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. I, for one, am highly gratified to be informed of that fact. I am desirous that we should cultivate a good understanding and a greater intimacy than has yet subsisted with our English brethren; especially that the expressions which it seems have been given by them of interest in our concerns, should be cordially reciprocated.

There has been in time past a degree of reluctance on the part of American Unitarians to express sympathy with those of England, which I think we should all along have been at a loss to justify; at any rate, I am persuaded that there has now extensively grown up among us a conviction that it ought no longer to be indulged. It arose principally from two circumstances. In the first place, when the Unitarian controversy broke out in this country twelve years ago, the Orthodox writers, among their various expedients to bring odium on their opponents, had the address to glean the most obnoxious passages which could any where be found among the works of English Unitarians, and present them to the American public as expressing essential points of Unitarian belief.—To some extent the plan succeeded. Unitarians here found themselves laboring under a degree of discredit, as the supposed advocates of extravagant opinions which they had not only never avowed, but were conscious to themselves of having been always as far as possible from entertaining; and if it was not right, it was not surprising, that they should be led to look with some coldness on a foreign sect, of which they knew almost nothing, except that its writings had thus been quoted to their injury. Of which I say, Sir, they knew almost nothing. Generally they knew not even enough of that sect to be aware that the quotations in question often related to points not considered by it as characterizing its belief, and that they were the most offensive which could be collected with much pains from a variety of writers, and these not always of high standing with their brethren. The Unitarian belief was not imported into America. It grew up among the descendents of the Pilgrims in consequence of that habit of diligent and reverential study of the scriptures, which had been taught them by their fathers, aided by the better lights of recent times. Accordingly, many of us had no other information concerning the belief of English Unitarians, than what we obtained from the misrepresentations of adversaries. Is it wonderful then, that under these circumstances, there should be manifested some backwardness to be in any way identified with them?

I am free to say, that I have no indiscriminate favor for all the opinions which English Unitarian authors have really and deliberately expressed. Not a few have been maintained by one or another of them, within the last half century, which, to my view, appear altogether unscriptural. I am at no loss to account for this. The state of theological science has been, for a long period, low in England. It is now low in those denominations from whose ranks some of the leading Unitarians have come. Besides, the English, much credit as they give themselves for cool good sense, are in reality, by temperament, a fanatical people, as the incipient history of all their parties, political and religious, abundantly shows; and to say that English Unitarians, when they first came into notice as a sect, did not always avoid reasoning ill, and advancing extravagances, would be no more than to include them in a remark, which, by common consent, might be made of all sects, since England has known them. The time for such writers, as for instance, Wakefield and Evanson,—writers too, who, we ought to remember, were themselves more powerfully refuted by their Unitarian brethren than from any other quarter,—has now gone by, and more wary habits of reasoning prevail.

But suppose the diversity of opinions between us and others on incidental and subordinate points, to be as great as apprehended; shall it be permitted to estrange us, as long as we agree in relation to that great essential point, the unity of God? Differences of opinion cannot but exist where there is freedom of opinion. Men's powers of vision are never perfectly alike except in total darkness. There are not a few points of religious opinion, and points, to my view, important, respecting which I am so unhappy as not to agree with one or another of my friends, whom I see around me. But this cannot prevent me from connecting myself with them in this Association, for labors which we unite in thinking to be due to the glory of God, the cause of the Redeemer, and the good of mankind. No, Sir; if before we can sympathize and cooperate in relation to any subject, we will wait for similarity of sentiment in all who may connect themselves with it, men who prize their freedom of thought can never feel and act together. As far as there is agreement, let there be cordial fellow feeling, and joint action. As far as there is honest disagreement, let there be mutual forbearance and respect. Let us take a lesson of those who unite in opposing the great doctrine which we maintain, while they dissent from one another respecting almost all things else. Are the questions at issue between Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Friends; nay, are the differences of opinion on the single point of the trinity, among its advocates, less important than those which have been allowed to divide Unitarians from one another? Let us take a lesson of prudence from the success of such dissentients in acting strenuously together. As to the scruples which are felt on this subject, it does seem to me, that our sensibility of conscience should take another character. I greatly fear, that it is not because our consciences are too scrupulous, but because they need awakening, that we hesitate about uniting our hearts and voices with all who are ready to bear witness with us to the cardinal truth of religion.

Again, Sir; there has prevailed extensively among us, an idea that the English Unitarians are to be regarded in the light, chiefly, of a political party. I will not disguise my full conviction that this opinion has been taken up on a very partial view of the subject. The fact is, that there are found among them members of both ways of thinking on those great political questions which divide the civilized world, and no inconsiderable number of leading persons among them, look with an Englishman's fondness on the existing state of things. But, if the case were very different from what it is, I am at a loss to imagine why this should alienate our good will from them. I should not think that this was the place where it would be brought against them that they were too much attached to civil liberty. To citizens of a free community like this, I should suppose that there was in such names as those of Price and Priestley, something conciliating, rather than unfavorable to the religious denomination to which they belong. We might at least, it seems to me, see reason to excuse the English Unitarians, if not to sympathize with them, if we should find them taking a side in politics. It is very well for us, Sir, who have never felt the hard gripe of church and state when they join hand in hand, to think unkindly of those who wince under it. If our experience were different, our feelings might become so too. The heavy tax, which, after doing his part towards the support of his own religious teacher, the English Unitarian must pay to some ecclesiastic whom he honestly believes to be maintained for the teaching of false doctrine, is the smallest and most tolerable part of the burden he must bear. He sees himself shut out by provisions of law, from the paths the most inviting to a generous ambition. The prizes which his country offers to merit are great; but the highest are not for him. There are responsible stations in which, from a patriotic impulse, he would serve his country; but he must buy the privilege of doing it by the prostitution of his conscience. He has to see the associates of his youth, distinguished from him by no advantage except that of the prescribed religious profession, placing many ranks in society between himself and them, by the end of their career. If there is any situation in life more likely than all others to be coveted by a young person of reflection and sentiment, it is a residence at one of the English Universities; those splendid palaces of learning, whose least attraction to such a mind, is the circumstance of their being the points from which the paths of preferment diverge; those 'studious cloisters,' invested with all awful and exciting associations, such as even Milton's verses could only embody, not increase. But the immoveable fence of the thirtynine articles, bars the way to them for him who is not flexible enough to creep under, or overleap it. Such sacrifices made for conscience' sake by men of feeling, men conscious to themselves of a power to win the prizes and execute the responsible tasks of society, I own I cannot hesitate to admire, nor can I wonder that they should be made with some feeling of the oppression which compels them.

But the laws do not so part with the Unitarian. He cannot satisfy the first demands of the heart,—he cannot have his share of the blessings intended for him by that Being who has set the solitary in families, without first hearing the faith he venerates denied; nay, without being made a party to its denial. He cannot marry, Sir, except by the agency of a magistrate after whom he must repeat what in the bottom of his heart, and before God, he believes to be a mischievous untruth. He justifies his conscience in protesting against what he must perforce utter; but this is no relief which the laws afford him, and, in resorting to this expedient, he subjects himself to insult, if the minister be as oppressive as the law which he must execute. The government, I repeat it, Sir, calls on the English Unitarian to do that, which in him, with his convictions, is to blaspheme, before he shall have a right to enter into the tenderest and most sacred of earthly relations, and that, in the very act of solemnizing it. May he not pardonably take this amiss? or at least may he not wish it altered? I greatly mistake the character of those who hear me, if under such disabilities, they would be found more loyal subjects than the English Unitarians. If I know any thing about our Nonconformist fathers, they would have done something more than subject themselves to the reproach of being called a political party, if such a trial of allegiance had been imposed on them. I mistake if they would not have given a somewhat earlier date to certain events in our history. For my own part, I hope I shall never be harsh in my judgment of a man, who is not enthusiastic in his attachment to a government that treats him thus. God forbid that I should speak otherwise than respectfully of England; but I cannot but believe that over against the record of its services to mankind, there is something written on the book of retribution for its treatment of its East Indian, Irish, and Unitarian subjects.

Taking this view of the grounds on which a degree of reserve has hitherto been manifested on our part towards the Unitarians of England, there are reasons, on the other hand, why I think it to be greatly desirable that henceforward it should be banished. It must be our fault or misfortune, if we do not know them to be in important respects a class of persons most worthy of our esteem. We have only to look into the annual reports of their benevolent associations, to see with what striking liberality, though not abounding in wealth, they contribute towards the promotion of public objects. In a late report into which I was looking today, I find that the receipts during one year, for the single object of maintaining the Theological College at York, were from private subscriptions £970, from collections in churches £210, from what are called fellowship funds £30, and from benefactions £480; in the whole nearly £1700, or about $8000; a liberality which it would gratify me to see rivalled by the patrons of our own Divinity School. Nor are their labors or their bounty restricted to objects appropriate to their sect. It is well known that in their ranks are to be found some of the most distinguished philanthropists of that philanthropic nation. We are indebted to them, too, for a large portion of the unexceptionable and exalting literature which we receive from that country; and considering how dependent we are on England for the sustenance of our minds, there is no estimating the extent of this benefit. Not to particularize any of the able and excellent spirited writers among their divines of the present day, I have only to name such individuals of literary note as Dr Aikin, Mrs Barbauld, the Roscoes, Emily Taylor, and Bowring, whom I heard pronounced by a literary authority second to none, and opposed to him in politics and religion, to be as accomplished a man as the three kingdoms could furnish,—I have only to name these, to show that this is not a class of persons from whom we ought to be willing to stand apart, as far as the option is with us. Nor can we be indifferent to the favorable feeling which is entertained by them towards their brethren on this side of the Atlantic. One is equally surprised and gratified to find what an interest is felt by them in leading Unitarians of our country, and how eagerly their writings are sought; and there are numbers without any such pretensions, who can bear grateful witness to the hearty welcome which has been received from them.

I will rely upon your patience, Sir, for a moment longer, to say that I think we should take some means to acquaint ourselves better with the progress of just views of religion in other parts of Europe. In France, it is well known that there is a most respectable Protestant population. It is perhaps not so well known that liberal views of Christianity prevail among them, to a great extent. The pressure upon them by the Catholics, has hitherto been so severe, that it has been necessary for them, for the common security, not to urge the points of difference among themselves, and Calvinism, in all parts of the continent, wears a much milder aspect than in Great Britain. But it is probable that among the Protestant clergy of France, a majority is not favorable to the Calvinistic scheme. They are furnished chiefly from the schools of Montauban and Geneva, the former of which is served by at least some liberal teachers, and at the latter all bear that character. In Transylvania, one of the seven or eight kingdoms of the Emperor of Austria, Unitarianism was not long ago one of the religions established by law; but little acquaintance is possessed with its present condition. At the establishment of the existing state of things in Holland, at the reorganization of Europe, the ecclesiastical assembly convoked by the government, established liberal terms of admission to the ministry, and in that country, so illustrious for its past services to religion and learning, it is understood, in general, that something important has already been done towards a correction of the popular belief. In Switzerland, it is well known that just views of Christianity are gaining ground in different quarters, notwithstanding the labors of emissaries of the English Continental Missionary Society, and the influence of the Missionary School at Basle, supported chiefly by English funds. The gradual, but thorough revolution of sentiment among the enlightened and exemplary clergy and people of Geneva, is an event of signal importance. A year and a half ago, the Unitarian successor to the chair of Calvin, walked with me to a rising ground in full view from the walls of Geneva, at about half a mile's distance, to point out to me the spot where the Unitarian Servetus was burned at Calvin's instance; burned by a slow fire of green wood, that his torments might be the more and the longer. As I went on such an errand in such company, I had abundant food for meditation on the little efficacy of establishments, creeds, and faggots to keep down the truth as it is in Jesus.

Such demonstrations in various quarters, it seems to me, Mr President, are not to be accounted for on local and occasional grounds. They are symptoms of that same spontaneous general movement of mind, which is impelling the civilized nations of the earth towards the assertion of political liberty. Light is breaking in. There is a well developed determination of the universal mind towards truth. That progress towards the recovery of the genuine christian faith, of which we have in disconnected quarters such gratifying evidence, as it is produced by a permanent, and, as I believe, day by day more and more efficient cause, I am persuaded we are henceforward to witness more and more extensively and distinctly. As it cannot fail to rejoice us, wherever it appears, I am desirous that we should take measures to be acquainted with it. This Association affords facilities for the attainment of that object, and if any addition to the cares of the Secretary would be too much even for the ability and diligence of the present incumbent of that office, I for one, should be gratified if the government would take measures for the establishment, in due time, of a foreign department. Meanwhile I submit the following resolution:

Resolved,—That this Association reciprocate the expressions of sympathy and regard they have received from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and rejoice in the exertions of the friends of truth in England and on the continent of Europe.

Poetry.

'LOOKING UNTO JESUS.'

Thou, who didst stoop below,
To drain the cup of woe,
Wearing the form of frail mortality,—
Thy blessed labors done,
Thy crown of victory won,
Hast passed from earth—passed to thy home on high.

Man may no longer trace,
In thy celestial face,
The image of the bright, the viewless One;
Nor may thy servants hear,
Save with faith's raptured ear,
Thy voice of tenderness, God's holy Son!

Our eyes behold thee not,
Yet hast thou not forgot
Those who have placed their hope, their trust in thee;
Before thy Father's face,
Thou hast prepared a place,
That where thou art, there they may also be.

It was no path of flowers,
Through this dark world of ours,
Beloved of the Father! thou didst tread;
And shall we in dismay,
Shrink from the narrow way,
When clouds and darkness are around it spread?

O thou, who art our life!
Be with us through the strife!
Was not thy head by earth's fierce tempests bowed?
Raise thou our eyes above,
To see a Father's love
Beam, like the bow of promise, through the cloud.

Even through the awful gloom,
Which hovers o'er the tomb,
That light of love our guiding star shall be;
Our spirits shall not dread
The shadowy way to tread,
Friend! Guardian! Saviour! which doth lead to thee!

A.

Review.

Art. IX.—*Address on Church Music; delivered by Request in the Vestry of Hanover Church, and in the Third Baptist Church, Boston.* By Lowell Mason. Boston, Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1826. pp. 42.

[Concluded from page 77.]

Although we have already extended our remarks on Church Music through two numbers, there are still several points brought forward in Mr Mason's Address in which it is necessary to follow him, in order to a complete view of the subject. These we shall briefly discuss in the present number, asking the indulgence of those readers who take no interest in the matter for occupying so much room, and of those who do take an interest in it for occupying no more.

We have discussed the general purposes of sacred music, and how they are to be answered in the character of the hymns and of the tunes, and in their adaptation to each other. The next topic which arises, regards the *manner of performance*, concerning which several things are to be considered. We hardly need say, first, that the style of performance should be entirely serious and solemn, without any mixture of levity, even in the most cheerful tunes. It should also be most severely simple. Simplicity, as we before insisted, is one feature of a good psalm tune, and to perform it in any other than a most simple style, is to be guilty of inconsistency. The graces and ornaments with which a plain old tune is sometimes decked out, are as stupidly misplaced, as gilding upon marble pillars, or as rouge and fur robes upon a statue. Ostentatious flourishes of voice are rather hindrances than aids in the most frivolous and light songs. A severely good taste rejects them, as poor substitutes for nature and feeling, and suited only to display the power of artificial cultivation. In sacred music they are insufferable. There is no good psalmody which is not simple in the performance; and this is perfectly consistent with all that variety of expression which the sentiment may demand; a variety which ought to be carefully observed, and respecting which we would add one word to what we have already said. There is no reason why every verse of a hymn should be sung in precisely the same succession of sounds as every other. When the sentiment changes, the movement and the emphasis should change. The performance should be smooth or abrupt, rapid or slow, soft or loud, animated, pensive, cheerful, triumphant, or plaintive, according to the impression to be produced. We have already expressed our conviction that a skilful performance may breathe into almost any tune any of these various expressions. And we may add, that it may be sometimes still better to change the tune for another, when there is a great change in the sentiment. We have known this to be done with admirable effect. An example occurred very recently in singing the hymn of Watts, which begins,

'Awake, our souls, away our fears,
Let every trembling thought be gone.'

The performance commenced with Truro, which was exchanged in the fourth verse for Rothwell, and came back to Truro in the fifth. There are many compositions, which not only admit, but may be said to require, an accommodation of this nature. We recollect at this moment the 103d Psalm, 2d part, S. M., and the 308th Hymn of Belknap's Collection. It would be very difficult to suit all the verses of either to any one tune; and by changing the tune, many of the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory adaptation, might be obviated.

One other thing is to be mentioned as essential to right performance, and that is, a distinct articulation. After all the pains taken to create the greatest effect by uniting together the charms of poetry and music, how often is the whole design defeated by such a pronunciation as renders the words undistinguishable. The singer, whose articulation is indistinct, becomes little better than a poor musical instrument, and hinders the object he ought to promote. So certain is it that the sound without the sense fails of accomplishing the end of psalmody, that we are quite ready to assert, that he who does not know how to articulate, does not know how to sing.

Another question respecting the mode of performance, and which is treated at some length by Mr Mason, regards the singing by a choir or by the congregation. Mr Mason is very decided in his preference for a choir, and his dislike of congregational singing.

> 'If the devotional effect of music depends upon the mere circumstance of a person's engaging audibly in singing; or, if it depend upon the quantity of noise produced; the congregational mode is undoubtedly to be preferred. But if, as has been suggested, there is an analogy between the art of rhetoric and music —if the effects of each are to be produced by means somewhat similar, all will agree that from such a jargon of sound as will be produced by a large assembly of all ages and descriptions engaged each one singing as seems good in his own eyes, but little benefit can be expected. Wherever congregational singing has prevailed, there has been neither good tone, correct intonation, distinct articulation, nor proper emphasis or expression.' pp. 15, 16.

It is not worth while to go largely into this question, as a full discussion of it would lead us to a great extent without any valuable result. There are difficulties and objections on every side. Each mode has its advantages and its imperfections, and we are very much inclined to apply to the subject what has been said of forms of government, 'Whate'er is best administered is best.' When we have been attending worship in a church where the whole congregation joins with loud voice in the psalmody, we have been sometimes affected and elevated by the strong chorus, and have been ready to wonder that Christians could ever tolerate any other mode. When the voices are in harmony, and the tune familiar, it is difficult to fancy any thing in the way of music more grand and sublime. There is no instrument so powerful over the feelings as the human voice. The shout of a great multitude is always sublime; and the harmonious chorus of a large assembly is unspeakably so. What public singing is so effective as the performance of Old Hundred as we sometimes hear it in a crowded meeting, where every voice joins, and the soul is carried away as it were upon a flood of sound. Of the same sort is the music of the Jewish Synagogue, where certain portions of the service are chanted by the whole assembly. When we have heard their clear and strong voices from every part of the house, voices of men, women, and children, uniting strenuously in their ancient and solemn melodies, now breathing gently, and now swelling to an almost tumultuous shout, rising and falling and dying away as if driven on the bosom of some changing wind, we have felt ourselves transported back to the music of the glorious Temple, and have felt that this is the most perfect specimen of worship by the human voice; the only thing, alas! that seems like worship in that degenerate people.

If we could be sure of singing like this, we should be advocates at once for the congregational mode. But we fear that even an approach to it is to be despaired of. In order to be attempted with success, all the worshippers must have been drilled to their duty from very childhood, and even then could be prepared to join in but very few tunes. In the Presbyterian churches of Scotland this is done. The whole population is trained to church music by parochial instruction and by the singing of hymns in family worship. Yet there is reason to believe, that their church music is far from being more edifying or satisfactory than that of other churches which are supplied with choirs. It would be vain, therefore, to hope, that we could engraft upon our customs any such universal teaching and practice, as should secure to us what might be called good music. It would necessarily be mingled with so many harsh sounds from the uninstructed and undisciplined, as to render it disagreeable to the ears and destructive to the devotion of all persons of musical sensibility.

But then, on the other hand, a choir is attended with difficulties equally great. It is so difficult to find those who will unite heartily and perseveringly for practice, that the sounds from the orchestra are oftentimes no more harmonious than those from the promiscuous congregation. Then, too, the changes, and rivalries, and emulations, and strife which rise up amongst the *irritabile genus* of singers, next to the duellists in their punctilio and nice sense of personal honor, have not seldom rendered it more embarrassing to maintain this department of the public service than to manage all the other affairs of the parish. Being thus very liable to be unsuccessful, it of course fails to help, it rather disturbs, the devotions of the people. And then, if it be successful, it gets to be listened to for the gratification of the ear and taste, instead of being entered into as a part of divine service. The performers are set apart, distinct from the body of the worshippers, and listened to as performers. If they sing in a style much above that of the majority of the congregation, they will be listened to as doing a beautiful work, which others must not join lest they interrupt and spoil it. If they sing in an ordinary style, so that the body of the worshippers may join, then it becomes at once no better than congregational singing, possessing all its disadvantages.

We have merely hinted at a few of the imperfections attendant upon any scheme for public psalmody which may be devised, in the hope that when all sides are fairly viewed, others will feel as we do, that it is hardly worth while to contend very earnestly for one rather than another. If we should decide from theory only, we should most strenuously advocate the congregational mode, as altogether and beyond all question the most proper and effective. But under the actual circumstances of society, its expediency is doubtful, to say the least; and we do not see but it must be left to every congregation to determine from its own situation and circumstances, what may be most advisable in its own case. There are, after all, no evils attendant upon either mode, which a man of devout mind may not surmount, by resolutely keeping in view the object to be attained and resisting influences from without. A hard task, it will be said; but let him make a virtue of necessity and set himself earnestly about it. There will be imperfections and annoyances, and he only increases their torment by allowing himself to attend to them. Let him learn to regard them less. Let him shut his ear to the discord of sounds, and the blunders or the affectations of performance, and close his eye against improprieties of deportment, and absorb himself in mental worship and the act of his own soul. Thus he may become in a manner independent of the external sense. If it do not help, he will not allow it to irritate him, or to render the exercise unprofitable;

but whether the sounds be borne to him from the sweet voices of a few select performers, or from the miscellaneous chorus of the congregation, he will still pursue his own thoughts and make 'melody in his heart' to the Lord.

But it is a sad thing, we acknowledge, when that which was designed to help the infirmities of our earthward and sluggish spirits, becomes itself a means of confirming them; when the influences of musical sounds, which are expected to compose and elevate the mind, only tend to distract it. But then we are sure that this seldom happens where there has not been indulged a fastidious and critical taste. It can rarely be the case with those who have accustomed themselves to regard psalmody as an act of worship, rather than a musical entertainment. They who are very sensitive to little faults of harmony and execution, or who think of the music rather than the end for which it is performed, will often be dissatisfied with what in itself is sufficiently good. This is an evil attending the high cultivation of musical talent in a city, where music gets to be regarded as one of the fine arts, and every public performance as a display of professional skill. Concerts and oratorios hold rank among the amusements of the people; and they who attend them, carry the spirit of criticism, and the thought of entertainment and talent, and a thousand Italian words, into the sanctuary, and profess disgust at the homely doings of the native and simple singers there. This feeling spreads; and by and by none but professional singers are tolerated. The orchestra is deserted by the social company of our brothers and sisters, who used to sit there and be as a bond of sympathy to unite the performers with the worshippers. That bond is broken; and the professional voices, which have been heard at the concert, perhaps at the opera,—for we understand that the celebrated Italian at New York, comes from the theatre of Saturday night to chant the anthems of a church on Sunday morning,—serve of course to call back the feelings associated with the opera and concert, and to pervert the devotional tendency of the psalmody. So far as this is the case, it is an injury to religion for which no excellence of musical attainment can compensate. In what mode a public remedy is to be applied, we do not pretend to say. But so long as the custom any where exists, we say that the remedy for each individual is perfectly in his own hands. Let him accustom himself resolutely to regard the singing as worship, and engage his thoughts in it as such.

In connexion with the question we have been considering, Mr Mason insists on the importance of a pious and well qualified leader; of sober singing schools, which shall be free from certain follies and abuses, which, he says, have usually appertained to those parochial seminaries; of children being early taught the principles and practice of music; of sacred music forming part of an education for the ministry; and of the organ being introduced, to the exclusion of every other instrument, to accompany and aid the voice. Upon these topics his remarks are pertinent and just, and we had prepared ourselves to follow him at some length. But our articles have already extended themselves so far, that we feel the necessity of bringing them to a close. We would still ask the indulgence of our readers, however, for one or two extracts on the topics just now mentioned. The first relates to singing schools.

'As singing schools, in many instances, have been heretofore conducted, it may be doubted whether any benefit has been derived from them. A number of young persons, desirous of spending their evenings together, with quite other objects in view than a religious cultivation of music, have recourse to a singing school. A teacher is employed who is perhaps destitute of almost every important qualification, and who is as fit to teach his pupils to pray or to preach as to sing.* He supports neither order nor dignity in the school. A few indifferent tunes, perhaps, are, parrot-like, committed to memory, and executed without just time, correct intonation, or the least attention to the nature of the song, or the import of the words. The sentiment, indeed, is wholly disregarded; and the most solemn and affecting words are used as a matter of mere convenience to the music, aud are sung amidst unrestrained levity and folly. After a few weeks' practice of this kind the pupils go into the church, not to assist in the worship of God, but to make an exhibition of their musical acquirements and to draw forth the applause of the people. They introduce their new tunes—drive away from the choir those who have preceded them in a similar course of instruction and practice, and by their light and inappropriate performances banish even the appearance of devotion from this exercise. To all this the church have submitted, and have called it the *cultivation of sacred music.*

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* 'There are indeed exceptions. Here and there we find a teacher qualified for his station; and in some instances in our country, piety and talent have been devoted to this subject. Wherever there is such a teacher, let him be encouraged; and let every church make exertions to obtain the services of such a man.'

'The want of time to teach children music, cannot with propriety be offered as an excuse. A very small proportion of their time for two or three years, at the age of from ten to fifteen, would be sufficient; and the practice of music may be pursued at this age in such a manner as to afford relief from other studies, and be a pleasant and agreeable employment. When the church shall take this subject into its own hands, when children shall be taught music, when choirs shall be composed of serious and proper persons who shall cultivate music as a religious duty, when singing shall be considered as much a devotional exercise as prayer, the evils now existing will speedily be removed; and church music will be performed in some measure as it should. Christians on earth will imitate the redeemed in heaven; and the praises of God in the church below, will be a faint shadow [?] of the triumphant strains which animate the heavenly choir. The abuses of which we now complain are wholly to be attributed to the apathy of the church on this subject. The difficulties and disputes that so frequently occur in choirs—the gross violations of the sabbath which grow out of the existing state of things—the whistling and talking and levity so often observable in the singers' seats—the thoughtless and even blasphemous manner in which the name of God is often used—all the solemn mockery of singing as it now exists, is chargeable to the church. The guilt lies at her door, and the remedy is in her hands; and yet, alas! christians and ministers suffer this thing to go on, without lifting a finger to stay its progress or to direct it into a proper channel, and without seeming to know or desiring to know what their duty is in relation to it, or that they have any responsibility in the case whatever.' pp. 27—29.

The following remarks relative to the organ are perfectly just, and ought to be universally considered.

'The organ is certainly the most valuable instrument for accompanying church music. Its fixed intonation, its facilities for harmonic combinations, its lofty and solemn tones, its adaptation to the performance of soft and loud, and the circumstance of its always being in order and ready for use, give it a decided advantage over every other instrument. The organ also has the benefit of strong favorable associations; as it belongs almost exclusively to the church, and is seldom employed in any other than sacred music; whereas the violin is apt to transport us to the ball room or the theatre—the flute to the parlour, and the clarinet and bassoon to the field. When under the hand of a man who understands his art, and feels his subject, the organ possesses a charm that is irresistible, and, at the same time, subordinate to sentiment. It even renders enunciation more distinct, and the interest and expression of the subject more exalted and refined.

* * *

'The abuse of the organ may in almost all cases be traced to the character and qualifications of the organist. Mere *musical talents* will no more enable a man to *play*, than *sing* church music appropriately—and probably Handel, or Bach, (two of the greatest organists that ever lived,) were as unfit to *accompany*, as Braham or Madam Catalani would be to *lead* a choir of singers in public worship. Execution, or a mere ability to play expertly upon his instrument, is probably not more important to the organist, than eloquence is to the preacher. And yet this is the only qualification generally required—a trial of skill often determines the choice—and the man who excels in executing the most difficult passages upon his instrument, is appointed to the office.

'It would be strange indeed, if when mere eloquence was required in a minister of the gospel, the cause of the church should not suffer. It is no less strange that when an ability to play well upon his instrument is the only qualification looked for in an organist, the cause of church music should suffer. A minister must, indeed, be able to speak acceptably in the pulpit; and if eloquent, and at the same time possessing the other qualifications, so much the better. So with the organist: he must be able to play in a plain and appropriate style, (which is not difficult to acquire;) and if he be a finished performer, so much the better, provided he possess the other more important qualifications. What these qualifications are, must occur to the mind of every person who considers the important station the organist occupies in the public worship of God, and the influence he is enabled to exert, through the medium of his instrument, upon the feelings of the audience. He should be a pious man, or at least one who has a deep sense of the solemnity of public worship. He should be a man of quick sensibility, or he will neither enter into the spirit of the words sung, nor of the other exercises of the day. He must be a man of good judgment, or he will make the most fatal mistakes in accompanying such hymns as call forth, in different stanzas, emotions of a different character. He should understand the nature of his instrument and the object of its introduction into the church, as an accompaniment to the voices—subservient to vocal effect, or rather designed to promote it; and while he acknowledges his *instrument* to be subordinate to *vocal music*, he should acknowledge *himself* to be subordinate to the *leader* of the choir, on whom the responsibility of the whole performance depends. Were such organists employed, there would be fewer complaints of loud and unmeaning playing—of long, flourishing, and fanciful interludes, foreign to the subject and unfit for the church—of difficulties between organists and singers and trustees and committees, and a thousand other ills that church music now is heir to.' pp. 32—35.

ART. X.—*An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly Explanatory.* By GEORGE R. NOYES. Cambridge, Hilliard and Brown. 1827. pp. 116.

WE have not seen any translation of the Book of Job, with which the public ought to be satisfied, unless it be that which is the subject of the present review. The common version, while it possesses general excellences of language and style, which give it a just claim to be the model, in these respects, of any new attempt to exhibit the original in another dress, is certainly marked by faults, which no lover of the sacred scriptures should willingly allow to remain longer uncorrected. It does not appear in the poetic form. It is broken up into chapters and verses without regard to the sense. Its punctuation is extremely faulty, and its orthography is far from being correct and uniform. It is encumbered with a multitude of Italics, which are seldom useful, and often detrimental to the text. It is in many places so literal as to be unintelligible, or as to contain modes of expression which are abhorrent from the English idiom. It abounds in words and phrases which are obsolete, or which, though still current, have assumed new significations since the time of king James's translators. The construction, too, is often ungrammatical, and the arrangement of sentences frequently such as produces obscurity or ambiguity. On almost every page may be found verbs in wrong modes and tenses, and relatives improperly omitted or inserted. The emphatic particles, and the little connecting words upon which the clearness of a sentence so essentially depends, are often rendered in the worst possible manner. Wrong names are sometimes given to natural objects, and, in several instances, technical terms are employed in senses unknown to the Hebrew writers. Many fine images of the original are lost in the translation, and modern figures of speech not unfrequently introduced, which are foreign from the oriental usage. It contains, moreover, not a few instances of misapprehension of the sense, owing, among other causes, to the want of those critical assistances, which translators of so early an age could not command.

But we hasten to relieve our readers from the fear that we are about to discuss a topic which has long since become threadbare. The necessity of an amended version of the Book of Job, to say nothing of other parts of the scriptures, has been admitted by the best scholars and divines of the last two hundred years. Nor have there been wanting those who were willing to undertake this difficult work. We have now before us at least six versions of this poem, besides that of Mr Noyes, which have appeared in our own language, since the common translation was published; and another has lately appeared in England,* and still another, we understand, is in the course of publication, from the pen of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. Not one of the six, however, is of such a character as to preclude the necessity of further attempts at improvement.

It must, indeed, be confessed that Heath's Job, the first, we believe, that was given to the public, after the date of our popular bible, possesses great merit for a translation undertaken three fourths of a century ago. But it has faults. It departs unnecessarily from the common version. It contains several inaccuracies, and not a few violations of good taste. Many unauthorised meanings are forced upon the Hebrew by an extravagant use of Arabic etymologies. Besides, its form and arrangement are prosaic, and it fails, in general, to exhibit the manner and spirit of the original.

Scott's 'Book of Job in English Verse,' the next to Heath's, in order of time, made its appearance in 1773; but it does not deserve the praise of being an improvement upon its predecessor. It is true, that, from the singular excellence of its notes, it possesses uncommon value as a commentary; but, as a translation, its worth is greatly lessened by its being in rhyme. It has the merit of giving the sense, for the most part, correctly, but we look into it in vain for the energy, grandeur, and beauty of Job. What better was to be expected of a translator, however well qualified in other respects, who chose to restrict himself by the metrical rules of modern poetry? No one who attempts to render the Hebrew poets into English verse, may hope to preserve their native genius and character with any degree of exactness.

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* We refer to that of Fry, a copy of which has not, to our knowledge, been received in this country.

We have next, in 1796, a translation of Job by Charles Garden D. D., a work which came before the public with great pretensions, but which proved to be a failure. With extreme egotism and ostentation, it discovers little originality, and not much felicity in the use of the labors of others. Garden had access to a great variety of authorities, but he selected his information without discrimination, and applied it without judgment. He relied too much upon Parkhurst, and drew but sparingly from the oriental treasures amassed by the German scholars. Ambitious of novel expressions, he is often ridiculous, and aiming to be too literal, he frequently becomes unintelligible. The work attracted but little attention, and was soon followed by another.

In 1805, appeared 'The Book of Job, metrically arranged according to the Massora, and newly translated into English Verse, by Joseph Stock, D. D.' Notwithstanding the commendations bestowed upon this performance by some of the critics, it in truth is not a work of much merit. It was, as the author informs us, 'a business of six weeks,' and, we may add, a business in which a man so slightly acquainted with oriental literature, and so prone to violate the idiom of his own language, had little reason to hope for success.

Of the version of Job, by the celebrated Elizabeth Smith, published, after her decease, by Dr Randolph, in 1810, and extolled by him and his friend, Dean M'cGee, as the perfection of biblical translation, we can speak in no higher terms of commendation, than that it is a remarkable specimen of what could be accomplished by a female in a little time and with few means. Considered by itself, and estimated solely according to its intrinsic merits, this version must be pronounced to be one of a very ordinary character. It would have been strange had it been otherwise, since, as the excellent author declares, she had access to few books, and, in following the fanciful Parkhurst, thought she had a guide who could not mislead her.

We come now to the version of Job by Dr Good, which appeared in 1812. It may be expected by some that we shall bestow upon this work unmeasured praise. We are free to declare, however, that it is far from being, on the whole, such a translation as we should wish. We do not deny that it has points of rare excellence. But they are not sufficient to redeem its faults. We allow to Dr Good the credit of talents and various learning. But he did not possess all the qualities of a sound philologist. He lacked judgment and discrimination; was too precipitate in his decisions, and too prone to prefer an ingenious interpretation to the true and obvious one. He did not bestow time enough upon his translation of Job. His excessive regard, too, for Arabic and Aramean derivations caused him to depart frequently from the natural and true import of the Hebrew. His version does not bear a sufficiently near resemblance, in point of diction and style, to the common version. He has given his author too modern an air and dress. We do not find in him the simple beauty and unaffected majesty of the Hebrew writings. His composition is too artificial throughout. He is full of fanciful conceits, learned and fashionable words, and highsounding sentences, which the oriental muse would not own. Nor has he been perfectly happy in his Introduction and notes. He is too confident in his theories, and fancies that he discovers in Job points of philosophy and divinity, which there is reason to believe Job never thought of. Many of his positions are supported more by ingenious conjectures than by ascertained facts. He is, indeed, very learned, but very indiscriminate; intelligent, but prolix. After filling nearly six hundred pages with an incredible quantity of incidental criticism, perpetual quotation from every known language, and endless dissertation upon every possible variety of subject, he has contrived to add comparatively little to the stock of valuable biblical literature.

We have thus briefly noticed all the English versions of Job we have seen in a separate form, and all, we believe, that have been published, since the date of the common translation, except that of Fry, and the one whose title is at the head of this article. If the opinion we have expressed concerning them be correct, it was not without good reason deemed expedient to make another attempt to exhibit this portion of the Hebrew scriptures in an improved dress. Illiberal as our criticisms may appear to some, we could easily prove them to be just by citations from the works upon which we have remarked. But it is time to recur to Mr Noyes's Version, which, as we have already intimated, is, in our opinion, by far the best translation of Job we have seen in the English language. Mr Noyes appears to have brought to his work talents well adapted to ensure success in such an undertaking. Almost every page bears testimony to his acuteness and patient industry, to his habitual caution and accuracy, to his fine powers of discrimination, and to his excellent skill and good taste. Nor has he shown himself deficient in the requisite learning. We are aware of what this remark implies. He errs egregiously, who thinks that the natural character belonging to the Hebrew language, the simplicity of its idioms, its close analogy in some respects to the English tongue, and its little dependence, in its formation, upon the changing scenes of artificial life, render a large amount of subsidiary knowledge unnecessary in translating such a book as Job. The language is the oldest with which we are acquainted. It has long since ceased to be vernacular in any part of the world. It is comprised in a few compositions. The manners and customs by which it was shaped and modified, exist no longer among any portion of mankind. The paucity of its terms made it necessary to give to each a variety of significations. Besides, the Book of Job contains a number of words which occur only once, or, at most, but two or three times, in the whole range of the Hebrew writings. Add to this, it is a poem, and one of a very singular character, differing in many respects from every other composition in the sacred volume. Now every one at all acquainted with the subject, must perceive that the obscurity and doubt arising from these sources, in the course of translation, cannot be removed without the aid of a great variety of information, such as can be derived only from extensive historical research, the records of travellers, and the study of ancient versions and the kindred dialects. In these respects, however, Mr Noyes has not shown himself deficient. He has had access to the works of the best biblical scholars, and it is but justice to him to say, that he has availed himself of their labors, with a just apprehension of their true value, and applied them to his purpose with singular judgment and success. He has concentrated upon the sacred page the most approved lights of ancient and modern learning; yet he has done it, not, as has been the case with many, to add new brightness to the original, but to illustrate what had been made obscure, and to present to view, in its true proportions, what had become distorted through the fault of imperfect versions. If he has excelled his predecessors in any one respect more than in others, it is in the manner in which he has discharged this high but difficult duty of the translator. Few, very few, conscious of possessing genius, and having at command choice stores of erudition, can easily resist the temptation to adorn their author with the ornaments of their own fancy, or to enrich him with the treasures of their own learning. Accordingly, we find that a large proportion of biblical translators, who prided themselves upon their talents and knowledge, have been more or less guilty of obtruding upon the sacred specimens of antiquity, supposed beauties of style, or modes of conception, which properly belong only to compositions of a later date. From this fault, however, Mr Noyes is remarkably free. We have discovered in his performance nothing of that affected adaptation of ancient expressions to modern usages; nothing of that smart dressing out of an ancient statue in the modern costume, which so much disfigures Good's Job, and, it must be confessed, though in a less degree, the translation of Isaiah by Lowth. For the better satisfaction of our readers, on this point, we will give a few brief specimens, taken, almost at random, from the works of Mr Noyes and Dr Good.

CHAP. XV. vs 2.

G. And swell his bosom with a levanter.
N. And fill his bosom with the east wind.

XXXI. 24.

G. And have said to the ingot, 'Thou art my trust.'
N. Or said to the fine gold, 'Thou art my confidence.'

XXXI. 34.

G. And let the reproach of its families quash me.
N. Let the contempt of families cover me with shame.

XXVII. 12.

G. Why then should ye thus babble babblings?
N. Why then do ye cherish such vain thoughts?

VIII. 10.

G. And well forth the sayings of their wisdom.
N. And utter words from the understanding.

XXIV. 1.

G. Wherefore are not doomsdays kept by the Almighty,
So that his offenders may eye his periods?

N. Why is not the condition of men hidden from the Almighty,
Or his judgments seen by them that serve him?

XXXVII. 11.

G. He also loadeth the cloudy-woof with redundance;
His effulgence disperseth the gloom.

N. He causeth the clouds to descend in rain,
And his lightning scattereth the mists.

IX. 26.

G. As ships, with spread sail, sweep they on;
As an eagle swooping upon ravin.

N. They have gone by like the swift ships;
Like the eagle, darting upon his prey.

Our readers must have discovered, even in these few examples, a characteristic excellence of the Amended Version, which is of great importance and cannot fail to make it popular; we mean its similarity to the common version. Mr Noyes has well remarked, in his Introduction, that 'no new translation can, or ought to succeed, which does not essentially resemble it in language and style;' and he has kept this principle in view throughout his book. We have been able to find but very few cases, in which he has unnecessarily departed from the version in popular use. Almost every change approves itself to us as truly an amendment. Let it not, however, be inferred from our remarks, that Mr Noyes has not made many alterations. There are not a hundred verses in the whole poem that have not undergone some correction. He had ill performed his duty, had it been otherwise. That we may give our readers some idea of the nature of these alterations, and, at the same time, corroborate some of the statements which we made at the commencement of this article, we will cite a few passages from the two translations, taking care to distinguish the faults of the common version by Italics.

CHAP. XLI. vs 26.

C. V. The sword of him that *layeth at* him.
A. V. The sword of him that assaileth him.

XXX. 27.

C. V. The days of affliction *prevented* me.
A. V. Days of anguish have come upon me.

XV. 27.

C. V. And maketh *collops* of fat on his *flanks.*
A. V. And gathereth fat upon his loins.

XLI. 18.

C. V. By his *neesings* a light doth shine.
A. V. When he sneezeth the light sparkleth.

XIX. 19.

C. V. All my *inward* friends abhorred me.
A. V. All my intimate friends abhor me.

XX. 20.

C. V. *Surely* he *shall* not feel *quietness in his belly.*
A. V. Because his avarice was insatiable.

VII. 19.

C. V. Let me alone, till I *swallow down my spittle.*
A. V. Let me alone, till I have time to breathe.

Such are a few of the instances in which Mr Noyes has rejected obsolete words, obscure expressions, vulgar idioms, and uncouth phrases, which disfigure the common version. We now give examples, in which he has avoided intricate constructions, harsh combinations of terms, unintelligible sentences, and misrepresentations of the sense.

CHAP. VI. vs 10.

C. V. *Then* should I yet have comfort; *yea* I *would harden myself* in sorrow; *let him* not spare; *for* I have not *concealed* the words of the Holy One.

A. V. Yet it shall be my consolation,
Although I am consumed with pain, and he doth not spare,
That I have not neglected the commands of the Holy One.

XXX. 2.

C. V. *Yea*, whereto might the strength of their hands profit me, in whom *old age* was perished?

A. V. For of what use to me were their hands,
When their strength was wasted away?

XXXI. 35.

C. V. *Behold my desire is*, that the Almighty would answer me, *and* that mine adversary *had written a book.*

A. V. Here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me,
Yea, let mine adversary write down his charge.

XLI. 25.

C. V. *By reason of breakings they purify themselves.*
A. V. Yea, they are distracted with terror.

XL. 23.

C. V. *Behold*, he *drinketh up* a river, and hasteth not; he *trusteth that he can draw up* Jordan into his mouth.

A. V. The stream overfloweth, but he fleeth not;
He is unmoved though the Jordan rush against his mouth.

In numberless cases, Mr Noyes has employed words more expressive of the true import of the original, than those which are used in the common version; as molten mirror, for molten *lookingglass;* upright, righteous, right, and innocent, for *perfect;* justice and punishment, for *judgment;* guilt, for *justice;* providence, for *visitation;* ungodly, unrighteous, wicked, and impious, for *hypocrite;* Vindicator for *Redeemer;* affliction, misery, vain supplication, and vapor, for *vanity;* riverhorse for *Behemoth;* buffalo for *unicorn.*

We have, too, in the Amended Version an improved rendering of many Hebrew idioms, which, by being too literally translated in our popular bible, occasion perplexity to the English reader. Thus, *consolations of God*, is rendered, precious consolations; *children of fools*, worthless; and *children of base men*, despicable. Many beautiful images, also, are presented us by Mr Noyes, which adorn the original, but which we look for in vain in the common version. Take, for example, the ninth verse of the third chapter. What is there rendered, *dawning of the day*, Mr Noyes, preserving the fine image of the Hebrew, translates, eyelids of the morning. Instances of this kind of improvement are not rare. On many a spot new flowers now appear, where before none were seen. But we cannot cull them one by one for our readers. We have room only for the following extracts, from a comparison of which with the corresponding passages of the received text, which we also quote, it may be seen that the Amended Version possesses other advantages over the common one, than those which we have already noticed.

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. VI.

14 To the afflicted kindness should be shown by a friend,
Else he casteth off the fear of the Almighty.
15 But my brethren are faithless like a brook;
They pass away like streams of the valley,
16 Which are turbid by reason of the melted ice,
And the snow, which hides itself in them.

17 As soon as they become warm they vanish;
When the heat cometh, they are dried up from their place.
18 The caravans turn aside to them on their way,
They go up into the desert, and perish.
19 The companies of Tema look for them,
The caravans of Sheba expect to see them;
20 They are ashamed that they have relied on them;
They come to the place, and are confounded.

COMMON VERSION.

14 To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his friend; *but* he forsaketh the fear of the Almighty.

15 My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of *brooks* they pass away;

16 Which are *blackish* by reason of the ice, and wherein the snow is hid;

17 *What time* they wax warm, they vanish; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place.

18 The *paths of* their way are turned aside; they go to *nothing*, and perish.

19 The *troops* of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them.

20 They were confounded because they had hoped; they came thither, and were ashamed.

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. XIII.

12 Your maxims are lighter than dust;
Your arguments are fortresses of clay.
13 Hold your peace, and let me speak,
And then come upon me what will!
14 Come what will—I will carry my flesh in my teeth,
And put my life in my hand.
15 Lo, he slayeth me, and I have no hope!
Yet will I justify my ways before him.
16 This also shall be my defence;
For an unrighteous man will not come before him.
17 Hear attentively my words,
And give ear to my declaration.
18 Behold, I have now ordered my cause;
I know that I shall be found innocent.
19 Who is he that can justly accuse me?
For then would I hold my peace, and die!

COMMON VERSION.

12 Your *remembrances* are like unto ashes, your *bodies* to bodies of clay.

13 Hold your peace, let me alone, that I may speak, and let come on me what will.

14 *Wherefore do* I take my flesh in my teeth, and put my life in mine hand?

15 *Though* he slay me *yet will* I *trust in him;* but I will *maintain* mine own ways before him.

16 *He* also shall be my *salvation;* for an *hypocrite* shall not come before him.

17 Hear diligently my speech, and my declaration with your ears.

18 Behold now, I have ordered my cause; I know that I shall be justified.

19 Who is he that will *plead with me?* for *now, if* I hold my tongue, I shall give up the ghost.

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. XIV.

18 As the falling mountain disappears,
And the rock is removed from its place,
19 As the waters wear away stones,
And the floods wash away the dust of the earth,
So thou destroyest the hope of man.
20 Thou prevailest against him continually, and he perisheth;
Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away.
21 His sons come to honor, but he knoweth it not;
Or they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not.
22 But his flesh shall have pain for himself alone;
For himself alone shall his soul mourn.

COMMON VERSION.

18 *And surely* the mountain falling cometh to nought, and the rock is removed out of *his* place.

19 The waters wear the stones; *thou* washest away *the things which grow out of* the dust of the earth; *and* thou destroyest the hope of man.

20 Thou prevailest for ever against him, and he *passeth;* thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away.

21 His sons come to honor, and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not *of them.*

22 But his flesh *upon* him shall have pain, and his soul *within* him shall mourn.

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. XVII.

11 My days are at an end;
My projects are broken off,
Even the best hopes of my heart.
12 Night hath become day unto me;
My light bordereth on darkness.
13 Yea, I look to the grave as my home;
I have made my bed in darkness.

14 I say to corruption, Thou art my father!
And to the worm, My mother! and my sister!
15 Where then are my hopes?
Yea, my hopes, who shall see them?
16 They must go down to the bars of the grave;
Yea, we shall descend together into the dust!

COMMON VERSION.

11 My days are past, my purposes are broken off, even the *thoughts* of my heart.

12 *They* change the night into day; the light is *short because* of darkness.

13 *If* I *wait,* the grave is mine house; I have made my bed in the darkness.

14 I have said to corruption, Thou art my father; to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister.

15 And where is now my hope? as for my hope, who shall see it?

16 They shall go down to the bars of the *pit, when* our rest together is in the dust.

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. XXI.

27 Behold! I know your thoughts,
And the opinions, by which ye wrong me.
28 Ye will say, 'Where is the house of the oppressor,
'And where the dwellingplaces of the wicked?'
29 Have ye never inquired of travellers,
And do ye not know their testimony,
30 That the wicked is spared in the day of destruction,
And that he escapes in the day of wrath?
31 Who will charge him with his conduct to his face,
And who will requite him for the evil he hath done?
32 Even this man is borne with honor to the grave;
Yea, he still survives upon his tomb.
33 The sods of the valley are sweet unto him,
And he draweth all men after him,
As multitudes without number have gone before him.
34 Why then do ye offer your vain consolations?
Your answers continue false.

COMMON VERSION.

27 Behold, I know your thoughts, and the devices which ye wrongfully imagine against me.

28 For ye say, Where is the house of the *prince?* and where are the dwelling-places of the wicked?

29 Have ye not asked *them that go by the way?* and do ye not know their *tokens.*

30 That the wicked is *reserved to* the day of destruction? *they shall be brought forth to* the day of wrath.

31 Who shall *declare his way* to his face? and who shall repay him what he hath done?

32 Yet shall he be brought to the grave, and shall remain in the tomb.

33 The clods of the valley shall be sweet unto him, and every man shall draw after him, as there are innumerable before him.

34 How then comfort ye me in vain, seeing in your answers there remaineth falsehood?

AMENDED VERSION, CHAP. XXXVI.

26 Behold, God is great; we cannot know him,
Nor search out the number of his years.
27 Lo, he draweth up the drops of water,
Which form rain from his vapour;
28 The clouds pour it down,
And distil it upon man in abundance.
29 Who can understand the spreading of his clouds,
And the rattling of his pavilion.
30 Behold, he spreadeth around himself his light,
And he covereth the bottom of the sea.
31 By these he punisheth nations,
And by these he giveth food in abundance.
32 In both hands he holds the lightning;
He commissions it against an enemy;
33 He makes known his purpose against man,
And the herds and plants of the earth.

COMMON VERSION.

26 Behold, God is great, and we know him not; neither can the number of his years be searched out.

27 *For he maketh small* the drops of water; *they pour down* rain *according to* the vapour *thereof:*

28 Which the clouds do drop and distil upon man abundantly.

29 *Also* can any understand the spreadings of the clouds, or the noise of his tabernacle?

30 Behold, he spreadeth his light *upon it,* and covereth the bottom of the sea.

31 *For* by them judgeth he the people; he giveth meat in abundance:

32 *With clouds he covereth the light;* and commandeth it *not to shine by the cloud that cometh betwixt.*

33 *The noise thereof sheweth concerning it,* the cattle also *concerning the vapour.*

It is perceived that the form of the Amended Version is different from that of the common translation. It is, like the original, poetic, throughout, with the exception of the first two chapters, and the eleven concluding verses of the last chapter, which are in the form of prose. In making this distinction, Mr Noyes coincides with the most eminent critics. It is not easy to understand why it was not heeded by Stock and Good, since the exordium and conclusion of Job hardly differ less, in point of structure and style, from the rest of the book, than the annals of Moses differ, in these respects, from the poems of David.

The reader will find much satisfaction in the arrangement, which Mr Noyes has adopted, in respect both to the larger and the minuter divisions of the composition. Of the former, a synopsis is prefixed to the poem, which, though seemingly a small thing for us to notice, will be found convenient; and an *argument* of each larger division is also inserted in the Notes, which adds much to the value of this portion of the work. As to the minuter divisions, no regard is paid to the chapters and verses of the common translation, except that they are numbered in the margin. The whole book is arranged in paragraphs according to the sense. The advantages of this improvement are obvious.

The Introduction has the rare merit of being brief, and, at the same time, containing all that is known of the age of the poem, its character, scope, and design, the region where its scene is laid, its author, and those other topics, concerning which little can be satisfactorily determined, but which have so often given birth to dissertations, as useless as they are endless. In discussing the question as to the scene of the poem, we observe that Mr Noyes quotes Jahn as placing it in Idumea; whereas Jahn thinks it was in the valley of Damascus.* It is a trifling error, but it may be worth correcting in a future edition.

The Notes at the end of the volume have been examined by us with care, and we cannot withhold the tribute of our high commendation, not only for the evidence they give of extensive research, and great discrimination, but for their invariable pertinency, and the perfectly unostentatious manner in which they are composed. Indeed, we know not where we could find collected, in so narrow a compass, with so much judgment, and with so little parade, the results of the inquiries of so many distinguished biblical scholars. Some may be surprised that such writers as Chappelow and Parkhurst are not referred to in these notes. For our own parts, we think it time for lexicographers and commentators of this character to be regarded with less respect than it has been customary to pay them. Some may think that Mr Noyes might have submitted more implicitly to the guidance of the German critics. We approve the manner in which he has used the treasures of learning which these indefatigable scholars have amassed. He must have expended much time and labor upon their works, but, unlike many who pride themselves upon this sort of distinction, he has not shown himself to be the slave of any one of them. He has diligently sought and freely employed the light of oriental learning reflected from them, but we do not perceive that he has used it improperly. Reiske, to whom Good so often refers, and whom he too frequently follows, we do not find quoted in the Amended Version. His 'Conjectures on Job,' though learned and ingenious, is distinguished for unauthorised alterations of the text and false interpretations borrowed from the kindred dialects, which render it unworthy of much respect. Schultens and Michaelis, though liable in some measure to the latter charge, abound in valuable information, of which Mr Noyes has made frequent and judicious use. Eichhorn and Ilgen have been consulted, and used with discretion; but he seems to have been most indebted to Rosenmuller and Gessenius. We commend his preference. Perhaps no other philologists have given so good specimens of the true use of the Arabic and Aramean tongues in the elucidation of the Hebrew, as the former in his Commentary, and the latter in his Grammar and Lexicon. The excellent German translation of Job, by De Wette, has also contributed essentially to the perfection of the Amended Version. But we need not prolong the enumeration. Suffice it to say, that the number and character of the German writers, not to speak of others, whom Mr Noyes has consulted, and the happy manner in which he has avoided the extremes of their respective schools, while he has applied to his purpose the best fruits of their studies, give to this portion of his book a value of which few English works of the same magnitude, in this department of sacred learning, can boast.

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* Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis in Epitomen redacta, a Johanne Jahn. Edit. sec. emend. p. 409.

In looking back upon what we have written, we find that we have bestowed upon the subject of our review no slight commendation. But we cannot in conscience retract a single word. The more we have studied the unpretending little volume before us, the higher it has risen in our estimation. We have not said, nor do we say, that it is faultless. We are not prepared to commend all the changes which Mr Noyes has made in the common version, nor are we without the belief that others, which he has not attempted, might be made with advantage. Indeed, we had marked a few instances of each kind, which we intended to examine in this article, but which our limits forbid us to notice. As a whole, however, we doubt not, it will be found to merit all the praise we have conferred upon it, whether in the present review, or on a former occasion.* Its imperfections are few and of the less important kind, while its many and rare excellences recommend it to the favor of all classes of readers. It deserves a place in every scholar's library. The unlearned will find in it many passages full of meaning and interest, which before were unintelligible to them. The cultivated and refined may be taught by it that they will not hurt their taste by reading the holy scriptures. The sceptic will be led to suspect that the difficulties of which he complains, are to be attributed, less to the authors of the bible than to its translators. And most persons, unless we deceive ourselves, will find it not easy to suppress the wish, that they might be presented with an amended version of the remaining portions of the sacred volume.

ART. XI.—1. *Mental Discipline; or, Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual and Moral Habits; addressed particularly to Students in Theology and Young Preachers.* By HENRY FORSTER BURDER, M. A. Andover, Flagg & Gould, 1827. 12mo. pp. 126.

2. *Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits, addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J.* By SAMUEL MILLER, D. D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the said Seminary. New York, G. & C. Carvill, 1827. 12mo. pp. 476.

IT is hardly possible to estimate too highly the power of religion, and its importance to mankind. It exerts an immense influence upon individuals and upon whole communities. Both the character and condition of men are affected by it, beyond what can be expressed. Its power is felt by the intellectual and moral man, and the effects of it reach to the future as well as the present.

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* See Vol. III. p. 399.

Christianity exerts its great power in the world by means of its several institutions, especially that of the ministry, together with the christian sabbath and the offices of social worship. It is mainly by these, that our religion produces all its great effects; that it is upheld in the world; that it has come down to us; that it is propagated from country to country, and transmitted from generation to generation. Without these institutions Christianity would soon cease to exert its moral power in the world. It may even be doubted whether its existence would long continue. With what deep interest then should these institutions be regarded by the christian community! Hardly could any efforts be thought too great to secure a succession of men to be qualified for the execution of an office, upon which so much is depending, as upon the gospel ministry.

The primitive teachers of Christianity were qualified for the work in an extraordinary manner. Endowed with miraculous gifts and powers, they needed neither discipline to form them to the proper character for their high mission, nor instruction to give them the requisite knowledge. But both discipline and instruction were required for all those who were to succeed them in the sacred office. And in all ages and in all places the success of the ministry in accomplishing its purposes, has borne some proportion to the provision that has been made for the education of those, who were to be the ambassadors of Christ, and teachers of his religion.

At some periods learning and literary education have been almost exclusively confined to those, who were intended for this holy employment. In our own country, indeed, in its early history, this was the case. Less than a century ago, a liberal education was scarcely thought of, but as a requisite preparation for the sacred office; and one, who, having enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education, should enter upon any other profession, or engage in any secular pursuit, was hardly considered as answering the design of his education, if he was not even thought to have perverted it.

Yet it is only within a few years that public provision has been made for a properly theological education. Previously, no means scarcely were enjoyed for a preparation for the office of the ministry, beyond that course of liberal studies in our Colleges, which were equally suitable as preparatory for the study of any of the liberal professions; or for a merely literary life. The theological student was left to pursue his course unaided, or to seek such direction and such scanty assistance as could be obtained from the kindness of individual ministers, amidst the labors of their vocation. The consequence of this was a very inadequate preparation in general for the exercise of an office, than which none has duties annexed to it of deeper interest, or of more important influence.

For a few years past, the attention of the christian community has been turned to the subject. A commendable zeal has been manifested extensively to make provision for an enlightened and efficient ministry, by the establishment of seminaries for the express purpose of preparing men for the sacred office. The obvious and great benefits of such provisions needed only to be perceived, in order to their being multiplied, and spread from one denomination of Christians to another. The advantages, which any particular sect should derive, from having been the first to introduce them, could not fail to excite the zeal and emulation of other sects. There is accordingly no sect or denomination of Christians, of considerable extent, which has not already established or projected schools for the education of religious teachers.

The course of studies, to which the candidates for the sacred office in these seminaries are directed, will of course vary according to the theological views, the standard of taste, the learning, and the general cultivation of the denomination of Christians, to which it belongs. But the certain tendency of all, however narrow their views, and limited their means at first, will be to a general elevation of the character of the denomination. A more enlightened clergy, the natural consequence of a more thorough education, will not be long in raising the standard of knowledge and of taste in the denomination of Christians to whom they minister; and this, by creating a demand for still higher attainments and qualifications, will react upon the clergy and upon the institution, so as to produce that which is thus called for. And whilst by this laudable motive and healthful influence, there is a gradual advancement in knowledge and improvement of the religious character of the community, the same purposes will be promoted, and the progress accelerated by another motive, less entitled indeed to praise, but perhaps even more powerful; viz. the rivalry of sects. In this strife, among many evils to be deplored, some good may be produced. Accompanying the struggle for power and preeminence, will be the competition and higher efforts to excel in what is a real and just ground of preeminence. And in some proportion as all thus attain to a higher standard, they will have more enlarged views; and it must be owing to a strange intellectual perversion or moral defect, if there be not also more of the christian spirit and christian character.

But however this may be, there are some parts of the preparation for the ministry, and those not the least important, which must be common, in a considerable degree, to all sects and denominations; and the same books, and the same course of study, which is suitable for any one, will be equally so for all others. It can hardly fail to have a liberalizing effect to find themselves, even in one point, occupying common ground. Of this kind are in general those books, which relate immediately to the pastoral office, and which speak either of the qualifications for it, the nature of its duties, or the manner in which they should be performed. The best books which have been written upon these subjects are those, which are equally suitable for ministers of every denomination, and have been well received by all. Excellent instructions upon the purpose, nature, and exercise of the pastoral office, have been given by Catholics and Protestants, Lutherans and Calvinists, Episcopalians and Dissenters. The names of Erasmus, Baxter, Ostervald, Watts, Burnett, Doddridge, Mason, Gerard, and Smith, are well known to theological students in this connexion. Yet the subject was not exhausted by their labors; and any useful hints, or minute practical directions, drawn from experience, and given in detail, cannot fail to be acceptible to the student and young minister.

The two volumes, accordingly, the titles of which stand at the head of this article, though of quite unequal merit, are cordially welcomed; and the author of the one, and the editor of the other deserve the thanks of theological students and of the christian community for their valuable contributions to the great purposes of theological education.

The book first mentioned, a small volume by H. F. Burder, is a valuable present to those, for whose use it is designed. The topics are well chosen; the directions both for discipline and for conduct, generally correct; and the conciseness for which the author thinks an apology necessary, is in our estimation, on the contrary, one of its great excellences.

The work is distributed into three parts. The first gives directions for *the cultivation of those intellectual habits, which will facilitate the acquisition of knowledge.* These are designed particulariy for the use of students during the period occupied in the course of preparatory studies, by which young men are to be qualified for their entrance upon the work of the ministry.

The second part relates to *the cultivation of mental habits, with a view to the communication of knowledge in the christian ministry.* This accordingly has reference chiefly to a subsequent period, and is designed, after the previous course of discipline has been passed through, and the requisite acquisitions have been made, to regulate their use, and qualify the student to be an effective teacher of others. The discipline, begun in the former period, is to be continued. However faithfully the course of education has been pursued to this point, it will be to little good purpose, if it stops here. To be satisfied with being stationary, is a fatal symptom. He who ceases to add to his stores, will soon find them diminishing. He that discontinues the intellectual discipline by which his habits have been formed, and his faculties have been brought to their present state of improvement, in ceasing to rise will at once begin to sink; will fall in arrear of his cotemporaries, and will fail of attaining to the respectability, the usefulness, or the satisfaction, at which he ought to aim. Let him know, that when he first enters the ministry, however well prepared for the holy office he may think himself, so far is he from having finished his studies, that he is to regard them but as just begun, and that he has before him a field of improvement as well as a scene of duty, that will demand all the exertion and all the industry of which he is capable.

The third and last part, more extended than the others, and more copious in the directions it contains, consists of *hints on the cultivation of those moral habits, which will facilitate the honorable and successful discharge of pastoral duties.*

In this, as in each of the preceding parts, the student will find much excellent advice and direction. The author seems to us to be guided by good sense, and just views, in general, of the ministerial character, and of the demands of the pastoral office. We cannot, however, speak with unqualified commendation of all the directions contained in this part. There are some by which we think the young preacher is liable to be misled.

In the section which urges the duty of discriminating clearly, in public discourses, between the two great classes of which every congregation of hearers must necessarily consist, we think that a young preacher is liable to be misled into a mode of address that is unwarranted and of hurtful tendency. Let the great lines of demarkation between virtue and vice, holiness and sin, be drawn with all possible distinctness, so that no part of it can be mistaken. They admit of such delineation. But let not the preacher think himself authorised, as we fear he may by the passage in question, to fix these marks of distinction upon individuals, or upon bodies or classes of men; or to speak upon the subject, or address men, as if they were individually and personally of one unmingled character, either wholly saints or wholly sinners. We presume that neither the author, nor Dr Chalmers in the passage which he quotes with approbation, could intend this; or could mean any thing more, than would be readily assented to as soon as it was correctly understood. But we think that in their manner of expressing themselves, they should have guarded more carefully against what we suppose to be no very uncommon error, that of addressing saints and sinners in public discourses, as if the character of every auditor were one of unmingled sin, or unmingled holiness, and they were as easily distinguished from each other, as two regiments in a uniform of different colors, or as the wheat and the tares that appear together in the same field, or as the sheep and the goats in the same flock. It is the prerogative of Him only, who sees the heart, to draw the great line of distinction, and to separate the saints and sinners. Let the preacher address them as moral, accountable, and immortal beings; many of them probably sinners in such a sense, as to need to be renewed, all of them certainly in such a degree, as to require to be improved and made better.

In the section, again, which relates to *pastoral visits, and friendly intercourse*, we are far from being satisfied of the good tendency of a passage quoted from a discourse of Dr Mason. There is a levity and flippancy in the language of the quotation, for which the author, by his tacit approbation, has made himself answerable, not well suited, we think, to give so deep an impression of the importance of this part of pastoral duty, as should be felt by every one, when he enters upon the sacred office. The American editor has very justly done something in a note to give a more correct impression of duty; and to show that 'the views of the author and of the preacher whom he quotes on this subject, fall far below the true standard of pastoral duty.'

The Letters of Dr Miller we regard as a work of superior merit to the other in several respects. It is more original, and far more valuable as a clerical directory. It is written in a style of great ease, simplicity, and liveliness. It derives great interest from appearing throughout to be drawn wholly from the author's own observation, experience, and reflections.

The Letters, fourteen in number, are addresssed to a theological student. They embrace a great variety of subjects, all deeply interesting, and those upon which a young man, preparing for the ministry, most needs instruction, and is most desirous of advice. And there is scarcely a topic, we believe, upon which he would wish for a guide in forming his habits and manners, which he will not find discussed in such a manner, that it shall be his own fault, if he rises from the reading of it without being benefitted.

We have heard objections to some of the Letters, particularly the third, as descending to the notice of circumstances of conduct of too minute and trivial a nature, or of too low and offensive a character. We are of a different opinion, and are far from thinking the Letter mentioned to be the least useful in the book, or the least creditable to its author. We do not admit that an author can degrade himself, or lose any thing of true dignity by descending to give instruction, by which great interests are affected, although it were upon the most trivial subject, or for the humblest class of human beings. Is our respect for Watts, Paley, or Barbauld, lessened by their descending to the task of writing books adapted to the comprehension of infants of three years old? Do we not, on the contrary, think them entitled to peculiar praise, when they come down from the lofty themes of theology, philosophy, and poetry, to the performance of an office, so humble, yet useful, as that of giving instruction to the infant mind? We think it no less creditable to the author of these Letters, that he is not afraid to risk his reputation by descending to the notice of several particulars of habit and manners, which, offensive as they are, and hurtful to the character and usefulness of him by whom they are indulged, are usually thought too trifling to be mentioned, or too vulgar and loathsome to be touched without contamination. We think him entitled to our thanks, who will not shrink from performing the unpleasant task.

We take pleasure in recommending these Letters to theological students, as giving them directions for forming their habits and manners, more complete, more valuable, and less exceptionable, than they will any where else find. They should also be in the hands of every minister, who does not think himself too old to attempt any change of habits or manners, or too perfect to need any change. None, we trust, will think the book needless to them on the latter ground, and few, we suppose, will willingly admit its uselessness on the former. And why, indeed, should a man ever allow himself to think it too late to correct any defect of character, or fault of manners, of which he is made sensible? We are persuaded that a more false or pernicious opinion can scarcely be entertained, than the hopelessness of improvement at any period of life that can be fixed upon. Least of all should such an opinion be held by those, whose duty it is to call upon men, without any exception of age, to a change far more difficult to effect, than any alteration of mere manners; a great moral change, a change from sin to holiness. Let not him, who calls upon the aged sinner to a change of heart as well as of external conduct, think himself excused from the attempt to correct revolting habits and manners, which impair his power of being useful to others, because long indulgence has made their correction difficult, and age has increased his reluctance to make the effort necessary for the purpose. We would not so hold out the hope of recovery by late repentance and change of character and manners, as to weaken the motive for entering the right course at first; but neither would we, on the other hand, allow the plea of inveterate habit, as an excuse for its continuance; whether it be a habit properly sinful, or one which is known to be in any way hurtful. Let the christian minister at least give an example, in little things, of that virtuous resolution and power of self government, which he represents religion as demanding of others in great things.

In speaking in so high commendation of these Letters, we are not to be understood as expressing entire approbation of all that they contain. But this we cheerfully say, that the points in which we differ from the writer in opinion, are few and of minor importance, compared with those in which we wholly agree. We shall mention only one, *the exclusion of novels altogether from a minister's light reading.* We would have the student emphatically warned against the indulgence of a taste for this kind of reading, which might be hurtful to him. But we should think that he whose power of self restraint was so feeble, that he was not to be trusted with a novel, lest he should give himself up to an intemperate indulgence in that kind of reading, was as utterly disqualified for being a candidate for the office of a minister, as another who could not be allowed, under any circumstances, to taste of spirituous liquor, lest he should become a drunkard. The only reason which the author assigns for interdicting wholly the reading of novels, we think might be urged, with nearly the same force, for the rejection of other works of taste and imagination, which he yet highly recommends. Poetry and the drama are as fascinating as novels, and possess an equal power of absorbing the attention and deep interest of the student, and wasting his time. And we are far from thinking their moral influence more pure and safe.

Why should Shakspeare, we ask, stand at the very head of a list of books recommended to occupy the student's leisure moments, and the author of Waverley be utterly interdicted? There is far less that is exceptionable in a moral view, in the writings of the great novelist, than in those of the great dramatist; and the Waverley novels, we are persuaded, may be read with less danger than the plays of Shakspeare, and, we are not afraid to add, with equal intellectual pleasure and improvement.

Besides, if the works of Richardson, and Radcliffe, Burney, and Scott, are to be prohibited, because the student, by reading them, will acquire a taste that may tempt him to waste his time on similar works of an inferior character, or endanger his morals by some that are polluting; why is he not also warned against Milton, and Young, and Cowper, and Thompson, lest the taste for poetry should lead him to waste his time upon the empty and worthless trash of inferior writers, or to destroy his best moral feelings by steeping them in the pollution and the misanthropy of Byron? But the reading of Byron he may consider as even recommended; for he is advised, if he have time, to read all the first rate works of imagination, taste, and entertainment, that he can obtain.

Why, again, are the fictions of Addison and Johnson to be recommended, and those of Miss Edgeworth and Miss Sedgwick, as full of refined and elevating morality, and the latter of as pure religion, be banished in company with 'tobacco and ardent spirits,' with the sweeping denunciation, 'touch not, taste not, handle not?' Has Dr Miller ever read the books, which he so confidently condemns? Or has he not followed himself the course, which he recommends to the student; condemned them without reading? Has he read, too, the plays of Shakspeare and the poems of Pope, which he recommends in so unqualified a manner? In both of them he will meet with sentiments and expressions, which in no modern poem or novel would be tolerated. We make allowance for the taste of the age in which they wrote; and in Shakspeare and Pope, and in Addison too, suffer to pass without censure, what we would not excuse in a writer of the present day.

With respect, then, to the class of writings under consideration, we say to the student, 'Read the best, and get some knowledge even of the worst. The former will be an innocent, and in some degree, an improving exercise, if not indulged to excess. The latter will at least qualify you to speak understandingly respecting them, and to assign just reasons for warning others of their bad tendency, and of the danger of cultivating too exclusively a taste for writings of that kind.'

Art. XII.—*An Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, translated from the Work of Professors Storr and Flatt, with Additions.* By S. S. Schmucker A. M. Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, Gettysburg, Pa. Andover, Flagg & Gould, 1826. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 481 and 408.

The work before us has some claims on our attention; being, as we are told in the translator's preface, 'the result of the joint labor of two of the most eminent divines of the present age.' 'These distinguished champions of the truth,' Professor Schmucker informs us, 'sustained the cause of Orthodoxy for upward of twenty years, and published, from time to time, the most able replies to the several systems of infidelity which sprung up in Europe. Having been harrassed by metaphysical and speculative and infidel systems of pretended Christianity, they were taught the absolute necessity of building their faith exclusively on the word of God; and the present work is purely of this biblical character. It is confined to the doctrines which are taught in the sacred volume TOTIDEM VERBIS. The various INFERENTIAL, sectarian views, which are used by divines of different denominations to complete their peculiar systems, are here omitted; even those of the Lutheran church to which the authors belonged. The work is composed with the highest regard to exegesis, composed, too, in view of all the objections which the liberalists of the last thirty years have been able to raise. That such a work is peculiarly needed in the present day, must be evident to every reflecting mind acquainted with the course of theological discussion in our country.'

The translator was encouraged and assisted in his undertaking by the Professors at Andover; and the work has received high commendation from other quarters. It appears, therefore, that Professor Schmucker's opinion is not peculiar; but that there are others, who think with him, that this publication is well adapted to furnish those weapons 'to sustain the cause of Orthodoxy,' which are 'so peculiarly needed in the present day,' and in the present 'course of theological discussion in our country.' The work is, however, an exposition of the doctrines of the Lutheran church, including, for instance, an exposition or an explaining away, we are not certain which it should be called, of the doctrine of consubstantiation. Those doctrines have not only been regarded as agreeing with what was the prevalent form of Orthodoxy in our country, Calvinism; but for some time past, it has been evident, that no particular system is thought of much importance, by some of those writers who have assumed the name of Orthodox, but that their doctrines vary with the occasion, and that Lutheranism or Calvinism, Sabellianism or Tritheism, and any sort of faith, which, properly or improperly, retains the use of the word *atonement*, and the most contradictory language respecting the freedom of man to choose good and avoid evil, are all acceptable. Any thing on which the name of Orthodoxy can be imposed, or which chooses to assume that name, is received with favor.

Echoing the language of the translator, a reviewer in the Christian Spectator, for January, 1827, says, 'the grand excellence of the work, and we must add the only very important excellence, is its *biblical character*.' And again, 'it is chiefly because the work is thus *biblical*, that it deserves, so far as it is a system of theology, the attention of the student.'

The reviewer probably repeated the word *biblical*, without any clear notion of its meaning. It has been but lately introduced into the language, and if we understand its use, properly signifies, not that which is contained in or founded upon the bible, but that which relates to the bible; as we speak, for instance, of biblical literature, and biblical criticism. Perhaps, however, the epithet may be applied to a system of theology, to denote that this system consists of those doctrines which are supposed to be taught in the bible. But the admirers of every different system believe its doctrines to be taught in the bible. In this sense of the word, therefore, the purport of the passages quoted would be, that the 'grand and only very important excellence' of the work before us is, that it contains those doctrines which Professor Schmucker, and some writer in the Christian Spectator, suppose to be taught in the bible. We believe that this account of it would be very near the truth.

These writers, however, undoubtedly thought themselves to mean something more. This further meaning, we may presume, appears in what the translator subjoins to the praise of its purely biblical character. 'It is confined to the doctrines which are taught in the sacred volumes *totidem verbis*.' To the doctrines which are taught *in so many words!* To one who has read the book, this assertion is startling, and may appear to have been made under the influence of what physicians call hallucination. Let us examine it a little.

The second book, among other subjects, treats of the existence of God, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We will acknowledge ourselves to be under great obligations to Professor Schmucker, if he will furnish us with a single passage from the whole volume of scripture, which teaches the doctrine of the trinity, or the existence of God, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *totidem verbis*. We were not aware that a Professor was any where to be found, who would affirm, that the doctrine of the trinity is taught in the bible, in so many words. We knew not that it was pretended by any critic, at the present day, that the doctrine was to be gathered from scripture, in any other way, than by *inference* and *deduction*. But the translator says, that 'the various INFERENTIAL, sectarian views, which are used by divines of different denominations to complete their peculiar systems, are here omitted.' If the doctrine of the trinity is taught in the scriptures *totidem verbis*, and not gathered merely here and there by inference and remote deduction, why not produce the passages, and substitute them for the Athanasian creed, and the other formulas in which the doctrine has been taught? Instead of this profitable labor, we find, in the work before us, seventy octavo pages, by the original authors, in relation to the subject, and, as if this were not enough, fifteen more added by the translator, whose object is to explain a new invented scheme of his own, which he thinks happily relieves the doctrine from the charge of absurdity. And yet we are told that this work is of a *purely biblical character*, and that the various *inferential* views are here omitted.

This pretension is equally unfounded in regard to the remainder of the work. The third book treats of created rational beings; of good angels, their attributes and service; of apostate angels, their transgression and fate, the enmity of Satan to the human family, and the reality of demoniacal possessions; of man, his creation and fall, and the provision made for his salvation through Christ.

The fourth book treats of Jesus Christ, or God the Redeemer of men, his person, the hypostatic union, his states of humiliation and exaltation ; of his offices, as instructer, mediator, and redeemer ; of the christian church, its origin and preservation ; of the ministerial office ; of the sacraments, and the real presence of Christ in the eucharist.

The fifth and last book treats of justification by faith, change of heart, and reformation of life.

It is surprising that any one, who has read his bible, can be so blinded by his attachment to this Orthodox system of theology, as to persuade himself that it can be called *biblical* in any sense of the term ; and much more so, that he can venture to affirm, that every one of its doctrines is taught in the bible *totidem verbis.* But what shall we say to the declaration, 'that the various *inferential* sectarian views, which are used by divines of different denominations to complete their peculiar systems, are here omittted, *even those of the Lutheran church, to which the authors belonged,*' when a large proportion of the work consists, not of direct scriptural proof, but of long processes of uncertain inference and remote deduction ; and when, especially, in open contradiction to the assertion, it contains twentysix pages, ten by the translator, in proof of something which is called the *doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament?* With this contradiction staring us in the face, what degree of confidence can any one repose in the recommendations with which this *Biblical Theology* is offered to the public ?

We have neither intention nor wish to show at length, how indirect and inconsequential are the pretended proofs deduced from scripture, in favor of many of the doctrines maintained. Our object thus far has been, by comparing the work with the representation which is made of it by the translator and high Orthodox authorities, to show how entirely unfounded is the declaration, that it is of a 'purely biblical character,' and 'confined to the doctrines which are taught in the sacred volume, *totidem verbis.*'

In regard to the execution of the work, it will be necessary to make but a few remarks. We have discovered nothing important in it, which may not be found elsewhere, expressed in a more able and perspicuous manner. Throughout the whole there is a want of clearness, and simplicity, and logical arrangement. 'The original,' we are informed, 'is printed thus ; first, the propositions, or text ; next, notes ; thirdly, notes upon these notes by Starr ; then notes upon all these notes by Flatt, which occasionally creates much perplexity and confusion to the reader.' Certainly, it must; but we do not think that Professor Schmucker has much mended the matter, by incorporating all these 'into one continuous and connected discussion,' and *enriching* them by so many and various additions of his own. On the bottom of almost every page we have numerous references to the authors' authorities, and to such works as the reader may consult for further information; but, though the translator has attempted to improve his work, and adapt it to American students, nearly all these references are to German writers. Even when the authors have made reference to the German translation of an English work, Professor Schmucker has retained the same, instead of referring directly to the original. Upon the canonical and divine authority of the scriptures, we find references repeated and in abundance, to German authors, while the standard works, in our own language, of Jones, Lardner, and Paley, are scarcely mentioned. Upon other subjects also, especially the existence, perfections, and providence of God, which have been so ably treated by many English authors, we find a long catalogue of foreign names, while not a single reference is made, for the benefit of the American reader, to any of the distinguished writers in our native tongue.

We have said enough respecting the general character of the work. We will now make a few remarks concerning the attacks on Unitarian Christians with which its publication has been accompanied. We would first refer our readers to the professed design of the publication, as stated by the translator in one of the extracts already given.* In the work itself we find the following passage, which is quoted for the sake of the note appended to it.

'Those who reject the divinity† of Christ, are in truth not Protestants; for it is essential to the character of Protestants, that they not only reject all human authority, but more particularly, that they receive the Holy Scriptures as the only and the infallible criterion, by which they are to judge doctrines and ministers; nay, they are not even christians: for the acknowledgment of the divine authority of Christ, is essential to the character of a christian. Such persons are at liberty to pursue their own opinions, and if they are desirous of being teachers of a church which rejects Christ, they may, in countries which tolerate such churches, collect disciples who desire a teacher of this cast. 2 Tim. 4: 3. But, to undermine the dignity of Christ and of the Holy Scriptures, under the deceitful mask of a Christian and Protestant minister, and to receive for his treacherous attempts to demolish the very pillars of Christianity and Protestantism, a salary which is appropriated only for their preservation and defence, which can be merited only by ministers who are laboring (Tit. 1: 9) to accomplish that object (1 Cor. 9: 7—11. 1 Tim. 5: 17 &c. Gal. 6: 6), and which traitors and enemies to the cause can never with good conscience accept; this I say is a course of conduct, of which no man of honor, no conscientious man, will suffer himself to be guilty.' Vol. II. pp. 279—281.

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* See above, page 334.

† We have not been able to procure the original, and therefore do not know whether the translation in this passage be correct. We strongly suspect that what is rendered 'divinity of Christ,' ought to have been rendered 'divine authority of Christ.' The whole reasoning we think would be too inconsequential for a writer above the grade of Professor Schmucker, if this be not the case; but however little we may esteem the work before us, neither Storr nor Flatt was an ordinary man. If what we conjecture be the sense of the original, we have nothing to object to the passage quoted. Its sentiments are in perfect accordance with our own.

To the above passage, in which we have retained the scripture references, as specimens, by which the reader may perceive how plain and direct is the nature of that proof, which renders this work so eminently *biblical* in its character, the translator, Professor Schmucker, has appended the following note, which we are unable to withhold from our readers.

'The Unitarianism of this country, and the Neology [*the Neology!*] of Europe, are, in their cardinal features, the same; and the position taken by Dr Miller, in his Letters on Unitarianism, is precisely similar to that here maintained by our author. In Letter VIII, pp. 284, 285, we find the following remarks:—"If they, (Unitarians) reject every fundamental (distinguishing) doctrine of the religion of Christ, they, of course, reject christianity; if they reject christianity, they surely are not christians; their congregations evidently ought not to be called churches, nor their ordinances be considered as valid.—I have said, that Unitarians ought to be considered and treated as *Deists in disguise.* I beg that this language may not be misconstrued. It is by no means my intention to intimate, for I do not believe, that Unitarians are, as a sect, a set of hypocrites; that they profess one thing, and really believe another.—But my meaning is, that, while they assume, and insist on retaining the Christian *name*, their creed really does not differ much, in substance, from that of serious Deists. Now if this be the case, and if the fact that they are substantially Deists, be, in effect, concealed from popular view by the name which they bear, what is this but being Deists under the christian name, in other words *Deists in disguise?*"' Ibid, p. 280.

Closely allied to the above in sentiment and feeling are the following extracts from the review of this work in the Christian Spectator.

'Such is the present state of theological discussion in our country, and such is the nature of the arguments and objections by which the defender of the truth is now assailed, that he must arm himself at all points, and he will be able to draw from these writers important assistance. * * * Storr came forward to overthrow the foundations of the liberal school. * * * Liberalism received from his hand a salutary check. In his treatise on the historical sense, he demolished the whole scheme of *accommodation,* and compelled the party to resort to other grounds to defend their interpretations and doctrines. In other pieces he successfully and triumphantly attacked other errors of the Rationalists. His system of theology, which was purely Biblical, was the most solid and effectual contribution towards the support of the primitive faith of the Lutheran church, which she had received for more than a century. And the influence of his writings has not ceased; they are cooperating with the writings of living authors and with other causes, to purge out the abominations of that infidel philosophy, whose pernicious sway we have just exhibited. * * * The divine authority of the Bible was rejected by the great body of the Liberalists of the age. Many of them freely admitted that the doctrines of orthodoxy were plainly taught in the sacred books, but openly declared that no reader was under obligation on that account to adopt them. We fully believe that the Unitarians of this country will be compelled to avow the same opinion; indeed we apprehend they do not now as a body feel bound to believe what is taught in *the Epistles;* they make a distinction between what was *spoken by Christ*, and what was *written by the early teachers;* and unless we have been greatly misled as to their views, by what we have read in their publications and heard from their pulpits, there are among them those who do not consider any of the writings even of the New Testament as in any proper sense *inspired;* they take them not as *being themselves a revelation from God*, but only as *a history of such a revelation*, a history written indeed with great candour and fairness, and by persons probably competent for the work, but still a history liable like every other history to contain mistakes or errors even as to grand points connected with its main subject. Now our expectation long has been that they would ultimately avow this, that they would change the ground of attack upon the opinions of the Orthodox, and deny the claims of the writers of the New Testament to implicit belief on the points in dispute. And the sooner this ground is taken the better; better for the truth, for it will tend very directly to open the eyes of many who are now blinded by their professed regard for the Bible, and better in some respects for the advocates of the heresy too, for it will free them from the embarrassment under which they evidently now suffer in their controversial efforts, lest they should too incautiously betray to the mass of the people their real opinions as to the authority of the scriptures. But whenever they may gather their forces and marshal them for a contest on this ground, we think they will meet with their usual success, which, (we are sorry for their sake and for the sake of their reputed learning and talents, although for the truth's sake, and for righteousness sake most glad to say it,) has been defeat and disaster. The argument of Storr on this subject is conducted in a masterly manner and with irresistible evidence, and if our young theologians shall ever need to look around for the weapons of such a warfare, they will find here a well stored armory.'—Christian Spectator, New Series, Vol. I. pp. 35, 38—40.

In reading such passages as we have quoted, in order to lessen the disgust which they are adapted to produce, we always endeavour to make a fair allowance for the confusion of mind, the ignorance, and prejudices of the writers. In the particular case, however, of the Christian Spectator, though none can lay claim to more indulgence on the grounds just stated than the contributors to that work, yet we are always in doubt how to strike the balance between their sins of ignorance and sins of presumption. In attacking the reputation of others, they are, in general, entitled to the praise of manifesting the most disinterested and impartial indifference to their own; so far as the opinion of all intelligent and well informed readers is concerned. It is useless, therefore, to answer any thing in that publication, with the hope of bringing home conviction and shame to the mind of the writer. In a month or two, probably, he would be at his work again. The extracts we have given from it, are full of blunders and misstatements, such as must be obvious to any one acquainted with the subjects on which the reviewer descants. There are, however, one or two things in them which deserve remark, and to which we shall recur in a moment.

The general purport of the passages we have quoted may be thus expressed: Storr and Flatt were the champions, who sustained the cause of Orthodoxy and overthrew the infidel systems of pretended Christianity which sprung up in Europe. The Unitarianism of this country is fundamentally the same as the infidelity of Europe; its principles are the same, and lead to the same results. Therefore, the Biblical Theology, with the additions of the translator, is recommended to 'our young theologians' as the well stored armory, which will furnish them with 'the weapons of their warfare.'

We are not about to defend ourselves against this charge of infidelity. We shall not condescend to compare the grand, ennobling, invigorating conceptions of the character of God, and of the nature, duties, and history of man, which Christ and his apostles have taught us, with the notions which such writers as we have quoted may have learnt from the Westminster confessions and catechisms, or from such systems of theology as that we have reviewed. As far however as our assertions may avail, we will endeavour to remove their mistake, if their be any mistake in the case. We are at quite as great a distance from the infidel theologians of Germany, as we are from the most ignorant and bigotted among the Orthodox writers of our own country. We will go farther. We think we should prefer to the speculations of those theologians, even Calvinism itself, in a mitigated state, though we might hesitate about the more odious and mischievous forms in which it has lately appeared among us. Before bringing the charge of infidelity against Unitarians, let such writers recollect who have been the most earnest, able, and efficient, defenders of Christianity. As regards this country, let them read some works which we suppose they must have heard of, the Sermons, for instance, of Mr Buckminster or Mr Thacher, or the Dudleian Lecture of Mr Channing, or the Discourses of Mr Ware on the Character and Offices of Christ. And where the argument from authority is used in defence of Christianity let them run over the list of names produced. They are those of Unitarians, or of men who approached as near to our opinions as the knowledge and intellectual improvement of the age admitted. Who thinks of alledging the names of Calvin, or Beza, or Twiss, or Gill, or any of the Edwardses?

With regard to our modes of interpreting scripture, there is not less ignorance or injustice discovered, in attempting to confound them with those which have prevailed in Germany, among the followers of Semler, who is called the 'father of the *modern Liberalism*.' However true it may be, that Semler was the first of the theologians of his country who entertained views of the character of the scriptures, and applied principles to their interpretation, which make some approach to those that we regard as rational and just, it is to be attributed, not so much to any merit of his own, as to the wretched condition of German theology down to the time when he lived. His admirers in Germany, may contend that he is entitled to the praise of discovery; and our Orthodox writers may reecho that 'this bold innovator has the undisputed honor of being the father of modern Liberalism.'* But we know, that, until the middle of the eighteenth century, the theologians in other countries were much in advance of those in Germany, and that as critics and commentators, Grotius, Locke, LeClerc, and Wettstein, were far above those, whom Germany revered as oracles. The principles of the rational interpretation of scripture, had long been familiar to the more enlightened among the English divines. The character of Semler did not fit him for an interpreter of scripture. If he obtained some just views in regard to the original design of the sacred writings, and the principles on which they should be explained, he wanted patience to distinguish and separate truth from error. Few writers have dogmatized more freely or have been more sparing of arguments. His love of novelty, and fondness for innovation, often led him beyond the bounds of reason, probability, and truth, to the regions of hypothesis and extravagant conjecture. In his language concerning the miraculous evidence which attended the first promulgation of Christianity, the germ may be perceived of that system of infidelity which has so extensively prevailed among his countrymen. We perceive also in his writings the rough sketches of other hypotheses which have been elaborated by his followers, have had their day of celebrity, have furnished many volumes for the Leipsic fair, and now, following the natural course of such things in Germany, are falling into disrepute and oblivion. But his writings have been but little known in this country, and such are their defects, especially the obscurity and barbarism of their style, both in Latin and German, that we believe they are at present but very little read any where. Those principles of interpretation, which we regard as fundamental, were known and practised upon long before

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* Christian Spectator, Vol. I. N. S. p. 37.

Semler lived, and are acknowledged and applied, at the present day, by every student of scripture, who can pretend to any acquaintance with the subject.

There are not wanting some, however, it appears, to assume the office of enlightening the public mind upon this subject, who are singularly unacquainted with the topics which they undertake to discuss. In the passage cited above, there are abundant proofs of this fact. We have time to remark briefly only upon two, which are contained in the extract from the Christian Spectator. One of them is the following.

'In his treatise on the historical sense, Storr,' says the reviewer, 'demolished the whole scheme of accommodation, &c.'

Now incredible as the fact may appear, there can be no doubt, that the writer does not know what is meant by the term, *accommodation*. He has repeated the word merely by rote. In a theological sense, it is used to express a characteristic of the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles; namely, that they adapted or *accommodated* their instructions to the peculiar circumstances, and the peculiar moral and intellectual state of those whom they immediately addressed; that *to the Jews they became as Jews, and to those without the law as without the law, accommodating* themselves to the comprehension, and, in some degree, to the prejudices of all, and making use of that particular mode of instruction, which was required in each particular case. About the truth of this principle of interpretation there is no dispute among those who understand the subject. It is admitted, at the present day, by all expositors of any reputation. Instead of being originated by Semler, as the reviewer seems to imagine, it was clearly laid down sixteen hundred years ago, by the most ancient and most eloquent of the Latin fathers, Tertullian. He says, as we should say: 'Omnia quidem dicta domini omnibus posita sunt: per aures Judæorum ad nos transierunt. Sed pleraque in personas directa, non proprietatem admonitionis nobis constituerunt sed exemplum.'* One of the most noted modern works on the subject of accommodation is by Van Hemert; a prize essay. The question proposed will show what is meant by the term. It was as follows: 'Did Christ in his preaching, and did the evangelists and apostles in their writings, sometimes accommodate themselves to the popular conceptions which prevailed at their time? And if this cannot be denied, in what case and how far did they do so? And how may this supposition, correctly understood, contribute to the explanation of the New Testament.' The principle of accommodation, though undeniably true in itself, is, however, obviously liable to be extended too far and applied in improper cases. It is to be connected with and limited by other sound principles of interpretation. It has without doubt been abused by the infidel critics of Germany; and there is much in the work of Van Hemert just mentioned, to which we do not assent.

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* De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum, c. 8.

In regard to the assertion that Storr in his Treatise on the Historical Sense, has overthrown the whole system of accommodation, we might in another case charitably suppose that the person who made it had never seen the work. The truth is that a considerable part of it is employed in maintaining the principle of accommodation. He opposed, indeed, as we should do, the extravagant misapplication of this principle, into which some critics of his country had fallen. What we have stated will be evident to every one who may look into the Treatise. But in noticing as we have done a writer in the Christian Spectator, we may seem, for the time, to place ourselves on a level with him; and as our assertions are expressly contradictory, and the charge of gross ignorance, or the most discreditable misstatement, must rest somewhere, we shall quote a single authority to confirm what we have said. 'A man' says the venerable Professor Staüdlin, 'of profound learning, and of much discrimination and acuteness, G. C. Storr, of Sobingen, opposed the historical mode of interpretation, particularly in so far as it supposed, that Jesus and his apostles in their discourses, accommodated themselves to the errors and prejudices of the Jews, and expressed themselves conformably to them, without being themselves in earnest in what they said. He by no means denied that they practised accommodation, so far as this was consistent with the character of honest and holy men. Within this limit he himself ascribed to them different kinds of accommodation.'* It is surely needless to say that no Unitarian Christian will contend for any other sort of accommodation than what is here described.

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* Staüdlin's Geschichte der theologischen Wissenchaften, II. Th. s. 401.

On this subject we will make a few very general remarks. Would it be possible to regard Christianity as being a revelation from God, unless it were *accommodated*, in its language and truths, to the weakness of our nature, and the imperfect state in which we live? Human language is but a very imperfect medium for the communication of thought. Yet all revelation which is not confined to immediate individual illumination, must be made to us in the language of men. Is not this accommodation? In all the discoveries of God to mankind, from the beginning of the world, do we not perceive the same wise and merciful condescension? Is it not seen in the Divine communications to the patriarchs of early times? Is it not seen in the Mosaic institutions, adapted to an uncultivated people? and in the clearer revelations, which were made by the prophets, at a more advanced period of the world, and in a more improved state of society? Who can look back upon the history of these several dispensations, and not perceive that they were granted to mankind in that degree, in which they were best able to receive them? Such being the case, can it be supposed, that the principle of accommodation, on which God had proceeded in every previous dispensation, was no longer regarded in the christian system? Or shall we say, that, in the time of our Saviour, the Jews were prepared for the immediate reception of our religion in its purity and perfection? We think that there are plain and unequivocal indications of the same principle of accommodation in the instructions of Christ and the apostles. We think we perceive it in the uniform caution of our Saviour's discourses; in the gradual discoveries of the true nature of his kingdom; in his declaration, on a certain occasion, 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;' and in Paul's language to the Corinthians, 'I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.' We think that we perceive the same accommodation in the conduct of the apostles on several occasions; particularly in Paul's circumcision of Timothy, Acts xvi. 3. and in his joining with the Nazarites to fulfil their vow, according to the instructions of the elders at Jerusalem, and out of regard to the prejudices of the Jews, Acts xxi. 20—26. All this is acknowledged by

Storr, in his Treatise on the Historical Sense, the assertion of the reviewer in the Christian Spectator notwithstanding. His seventeenth section contains the illustration of the following proposition; 'It may be safely admitted, that the divine teachers accommodated their conduct to the erroneous opinions of their contemporaries, by doing that which was not required, and abstaining from that which was not forbidden, by the divine law.'

We shall make but a few observations on the other extraordinary statement which we have alluded to. It is this; 'Unitarians take the writings of the New Testament, not as being themselves a revelation from God; but only as a history of such a revelation.' Assuredly they do so. We are happy to be able to say that this assertion is true. But what are we to infer respecting the opinions of the reviewer? We know very well that there was a time in the dark ages and afterwards, when it was maintained, we cannot say believed, for the proposition does not admit of being believed, that the whole bible, including the historical books of the Old Testament, was a revelation. Calvin, we recollect, affirms that it all 'proceeded from the very mouth of God,' *ex ipsissimo Dei ore prodidisse.* The reviewer *in accommodation*, we suppose, to the prejudices and errors of this age, has thought proper to limit his implied proposition to the New Testament. It is a proposition which is so unintelligible in any sense, which one acquainted with the writings of the New Testament, can for a moment admit to be true, that we have no disposition to discuss it. The revelation from God, the glorious gospel of the blessed God, does not consist of the historical books and epistles which compose the New Testament, but of the sublime truths which God has taught us by Jesus Christ. The writings we value because they give us information and assurance of those truths; and we should be sorry indeed to think that we did not value them quite as highly as those who accuse us of infidelity, and with far better reason.

Notices of Recent Publications.

19. Simplicity in the Christian Faith alike Scriptural and Powerful.—A Sermon, delivered July 1, 1827, at the Second Independent Church in Charleston, S. C. By Mellish I. Motte. Charleston, C. C. Sebring, 1827. 12mo. pp. 24.

This is a discourse from one who has recently left the ministry of the Episcopal Church from a conviction that its Orthodox doctrines are unscriptural, and that the Unitarian faith is the faith of the New Testament. The preface, which contains a very proper and manly account of the circumstances which led to the preaching and publication of the sermon, informs us, that Mr Motte was educated in the Episcopal Church, and embraced its ministry as a matter of course, without curiously inquiring into the grounds of its faith. 'Early habits, the influence of connexions, the wish of his family, the exclusive character of the books to which he had easiest access, and the limited knowledge of theology required for ordination,' were the inducements which led him, as they have many others, to an act which he does not pretend to justify; especially, as he found himself resorting to 'equivocations'; 'in the construction he felt obliged to put upon the' decidedly Calvinistic 'articles of his church.' In this, however, he had company enough; for, as he observes, 'it is betraying no secret to say, that if only those were to throw a stone at him who are themselves without sin on this head, he would have but few blows to apprehend from his brethren of the Episcopal ministry.' The brief history of the process of his mind in departing from his opinions, is best given in his own words.

> 'After being settled some time,—he began to be sensible of the narrowing tendency to mind and heart of confining his inquiries to one system of doctrines. But to *doubt* honestly and freely, he soon found, was, for himself at least, *to be lost at once*. Christianity stood firmer than ever in his convictions after all his investigations, but his "Orthodoxy" was shaken to its lowest foundations. It is due to what he now believes to be truth, to state the general principles on which he reformed his creed.
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> 'It is allowed that the personal appearance of our Saviour did not prove him to be the Supreme God. "He was in all things made like unto his brethren" in outward form. This stupendous fact then could be learned only from his explicit assertion; and when that assertion was made by him, the overwhelming astonishment and awe produced by it on his disciples would be related in the narrative, and would certainly impel them to record at least once this astounding declaration. Now where have they done so? Throughout the New Testament, not a passage has been found where Christ in direct and unperverted language says any thing like, "I am Jehovah, as much as my Father is Jehovah." "I am very and eternal God, of one substance, power and eternity with the Father."
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> 'Patient examination of the original phraseology of the New Testament, satisfied the writer hereof that such a doctrine was not taught in it with sufficient distinctness to authorize him to preach it as a condition of salvation.
>
> 'But from the distorted second-hand representations which he had received

of the testimony of the early Fathers, he still felt confident that Ecclesiastical History was in favor of the doctrine. How much was he surprised to find, on looking a little nearer, that their testimony obviated the greatest difficulty in the Unitarian system, by authorizing us to refer the Trinitarian doctrine of the Logos, to the Platonic and Gnostic philosophy, which was so much in vogue with most of the first learned converts to Christianity. The unlearned, we have reason to believe, continued Unitarian, until the Church gradually submitted to the authority of these speculative philosophers. The writer thus found, that he was compelled, with Augustine, to acknowledge his obligation to Plato for his belief in the Trinity.

'The result has been, that he felt himself called upon by conscience to leave the Episcopal Ministry. Still he perceived the propriety of proceeding with great hesitation in so serious a change; and he thinks that he must now be acquitted of precipitation, when, after devoting nine months to reflection, inquiry, and prayer, he has complied with requests to preach to a society formed on the scriptural principle that, "whosoever believeth Jesus to be the Messiah, is born of God."' pp. 4—6.

The society referred to, is that of which Mr Gilman is pastor in Charleston; and these last words, from 1 John v. 1., form the text of the discourse, the object of which is, to show that the New Testament throughout agrees with this verse in making the doctrine, that Jesus is the Christ, 'the condition of admittance to his kingdom or church.' This is done by a rapid and very satisfactory survey of the passages relating to the subject, and is followed by a glowing and catholic application of the doctrine. Let us take the following as a specimen.

'Among other advantages of the simplicity of this creed, we have to thank God for being furnished in it with an easy and intelligible principle of union which might bind all Christendom together, round the globe and through all time. We know who is a brother in Christ. I ask not assent to perplexing dogmas expressed in the language of men. I inquire not whether you have studied metaphysics. I do not reservedly draw back, until I have taken the gage with my measure of the length and breadth and depth of your theological system, and weighed in my balance the results of your inquiries in what does not touch the supreme authority of the Gospel. But, brother, believest thou in Christ? and I take you by the hand, and we are one already in what lies nearest to our hearts.' p. 17.

Again;

'This is what you have aimed at, my hearers, in the constitution of your society; and I congratulate you on the privileges you enjoy; privileges with which Providence has blessed you without requiring the heavy price of a sudden disruption of all the ties and associations which naturally endear that house of God to our hearts, to which the footsteps of our happy childhood have followed those whom we first loved, and in which we have left their tombs and memorials to see them no more. Your gift is peculiar, and you will not fail to remember that, to whom much has been given, of them will proportionably much be required. I feel called upon on this occasion to trouble you with but one suggestion, which yet you may think the principles which distinguish you render peculiarly unnecessary. The Churches around repel you from their fellowship. This cannot but be a greater evil to them than to you; for from it may be expected, at least in some degree, the unsocial influences that make religion unamiable. But though you are free from the first action of such feelings, you may be provoked to the unworthy and equally pernicious reaction of resentful retaliation. Be on your guard. It least becomes you to recompense evil for evil. It is particularly incumbent on you, if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, to live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath. Trust in Him who judgeth righteously, and be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. Recollect, the opinions of men, however erroneous, however illiberal they may seem to us, are still a sacred thing, a privileged sanctuary not to be profaned by angry intrusion. Should one of us, therefore, see reason to adopt the sentiments of those who differ from us,—and it seems but fair to say the same, should one of them come over to us,—regard him with the mild aspect which becomes the consciousness of our own frailty and ignorance. His motives you cannot know. His heart is open to but one eye. To his own Master he standeth or falleth; who art thou that judgest the servant of another? For what he does he knows that he must give account before the judgment seat of God; why should men oppress him with their premature inquisition and impatient reviling? Brethren, we have something else to do besides passing sentence on one another here; let us thank God, this invidious duty is not imposed on us.' pp. 18, 19.

This discourse is characterised by just and liberal views, kind feeling, warm expression, and a general complexion of honesty and fairness which bespeak the reader's respect and confidence. We may be permitted to congratulate the writer on his access to the simple and happy faith of the gospel. To escape from the prejudices of education, and, in spite of all the impediments of family and worldly prospects, to embrace and avow an unpopular and calumniated doctrine; to give up for it the chosen employment of life, and make a surrender of the good will and friendship of former associates, requires no small portion of firmness, and, although no proof that the doctrine for which he makes the sacrifice is true, is yet a decisive proof that he is altogether honest and sincere, in this devotion to conscience and to God. May he find, in the consciousness of integrity and the peace of a happier doctrine, more than a compensation for the sacrifices he may be compelled to make.

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20. A Discourse on Denying the Lord Jesus. By Bernard Whitman of Waltham. Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. 12mo. pp. 47.

Unitarianism is often denounced by its opponents as amounting to a rejection of Christianity. We are unwilling to retort the charge; we do not like the language of denunciation in any form, and we are therefore pleased to find that Mr Whitman uniformly expresses himself cautiously and with moderation. There is nothing in his performance that can justly offend those whom it fails of convincing. He begins by observing, that no sincere Christian would knowingly deny the Lord Jesus; but are 'we in no danger,' he asks 'of ignorantly denying him?' 'When I observe the weakness, and ignorance, and depravity of mankind,' he continues, 'when I witness the mighty influence of prejudice, and interest, and party spirit; when I feel in myself the powerful effects of early instruction, and early impressions, and early associations, I am *compelled* to fear we are in great danger of unintentionally denying the Lord Jesus.'

'Jesus Christ,' he observes, may be denied 'in two different ways, either in word or in deed;' and he proceeds to give some examples of denial of each kind. He is denied, when he is not received in his true character. Thus the Jews, John x. denied him when they accused him of *making himself God*, whereas he tells them he had no such intention. In general those who say that Jesus is God, deny him; for they contradict the declarations of Moses and the prophets, his own declarations, the declarations of his apostles, and all the remarkable facts in his history. After a concise, but satisfactory illustration of these topics, the author proceeds to consider the objections of those, who allege that the 'titles, attributes, offices, works, and words of Jesus seem to imply that he is God.' He points out several instances in which the term God seems, at first view, to be applied to Jesus, but is not in reality so applied, or is applied only in an inferior sense. He also meets the argument for Christ's divinity, drawn from his office of iudge of the world; from the prerogative of forgiveness, in one instance, at least, exercised by him; from his miraculous powers; from his declaration, 'I and my Father are one;' and lastly, from the use which is made of his name in the form of baptism.

Again, the Jews accused Jesus of making himself equal with God. But he expressly asserts his inferiority, and his apostles and the preceding prophets assert the same. Those who, with the Jews, say that he is, or makes himself, equal with God, are therefore chargeable with denying him, as they ascribe to him a character he expressly disclaimed.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding statement and reasoning, the author observes, is, that the inferiority of Jesus to the Father is uniformly taught both in the Old and New Testaments. Not one passage, is found in either, which asserts or implies that he is equal. On the contrary the New Testament alone, 'contains above three hundred passages, in which it is either positively declared or clearly implied, that he is inferior to his Father. If then I am governed by reasonable evidence, I must conclude that Jesus is not equal with God. And as an honest man I *dare* not reject this conclusion. I dare not contradict the uniform testimony of the whole bible. When Jesus declared in so many words, "My Father is greater than I," I *dare* not accuse him of uttering falsehood. I dare not unite with the Jews in accusing him of making himself equal with God. For I would not knowingly deny the Lord Jesus.'

Mr Whitman proceeds to notice a denial of the second kind; when Christ is *worshipped* as God. The term worship is used in different senses. It is sometimes employed to denote simply the respect, which may be felt and expressed by one human being towards another. Instances of this use of the term repeatedly occur in the scriptures. Thus the people '*worshipped* the *Lord* and the *king*.' 'Nebuchadnezzar fell down on his face and *worshipped* Daniel.' When Jesus is spoken of as worshipped, therefore, it is not necessary to suppose that he was worshipped as divine. Such worship is not authorized by the scriptures; the bible affords no example of it, and it is expressly forbidden by our Lord himself. The author then bestows a few moments' attention on the old hypothesis of two natures, by which the passages implying the inferiority of the Son to the Father are attempted to be explained away. He concludes with an impressive appeal, of which the following is the introductory part.——'My Friends, the question is now put to your consciences. On this infinitely important subject, are you disposed to receive the plain, current, unembarrassed doctrine of revelation? Are you willing to believe that "there is but one God the Father;" that "the Father *sent* the Son to be the Saviour of the world;" and that the "true worshippers shall worship the Father?" Will you make the holy scriptures the standard of your faith, and the rule of your conduct? And will you study them in connexion, and compare passage with passage, and exercise your common sense in their interpretation, so as to obtain their true meaning? Or will you form a system of belief, from detached verses, and obscure expressions, and human inferences, and party explanations? You have your choice.'

We recommend Mr Whitman's discourse, as well adapted to produce the effects its author had in view. It is a sensible and judicious performance, and combining, as it does, the utmost simplicity and plainness, with chaste and forcible expression, cannot fail of becoming extensively useful. It does not profess to go into those deep and abstruse speculations, which, however gratifying to the few abstract thinkers, cannot profit the great mass of mankind; it is a piece of calm and temperate reasoning, intended to meet the wants of common minds. He has well explained numerous passages of scripture. In one or two instances his criticisms appear a little fanciful, but they are in the main, just and striking. Performances of this kind, containing plain and simple statements and expositions of the doctrines of revelation, are, at the present day, much needed, and we conclude with expressing the hope, that Mr Whitman may see fit to lay the public under still further obligations to his pen.

21. A Letter to the Editor of the Charleston Observer, concerning his Treatment of Unitarians, with some preliminary Documents. Charleston, James S. Burges, 1827. 12mo. pp. 40.

The preliminary documents explain the occasion of this well written Letter. The publishers of the Observer had begun their career with deprecating whatever might 'awaken sectarian jealousy,' and with professing 'affectionate courtesy towards the members of other communions.' But seeming to have forgotten this pledge, they afterwards quoted a very offensive passage from the writings of the distinguished Robert Hall, besides a silly anecdote or two which they picked up from some obscure newspapers; both directed against Unitarian Christians. Upon these things a writer under the signature of 'A Unitarian,' made some very temperate remarks, which the publishers of the Observer deigned to admit into their paper, but which were followed by certain observations that we have no hesitation in pronouncing alike uncourteous ungenerous, insolent, and unchristian; especially as all further. opportunity of discussing the subject in this paper was peremptorily foreclosed.

The extract from the Rev. Robert Hall, is altogether unworthy of him. He covets exceedingly, it seems, the good name, 'Unitarian,' which has so often been used as a term of reproach, and takes great alarm from a single instance in which it appears to have been used as the antithetic word to 'Tritheist.' We have often seen and heard very bad reasoning upon facts, and very strange general deductions drawn from a few particulars. But that the whole body of Unitarians should be thought to have entered into a league to appropriate the name by which they are called to a new sense, and to make it mean 'Anti-tritheist,' instead of 'Anti-trinitarian,' because a single individual has seen fit to give it this meaning, is a result to which Mr Hall must have come by taking counsel of his fears. It is for him and his friends to clear up the difficulties of the case. They probably will not attempt to show that Unitarians are not Unitarians; and if they choose to claim the same appellation, and can make out a good case, we shall be very glad to receive them, not only to the honors of the name, but to all the immunities that belong to it.

We shall pass over the remarks made by the author of the Letter upon the article of the publishers of the Observer, in which they very plainly deny the name of Christian to the believer in the true unity of Deity. Perhaps Unitarians are, on the whole, the best judges whether they are or are not Christians. We select the following passage, however, to show the propriety of Unitarians being called by a name of their own choosing.

'The principal injustice in applying to Unitarians the name of Socinians is this. An immense majority of the public have conceived a very erroneous idea respecting the belief of Socinians, and think that they deny every thing miraculous, or inspired, or superhuman, or divine, both to the character and authority of Christ, and to his gospel. In short, Socinians have been very erroneously classed with the *Rationalists* of Germany, and thus, very palpable injustice is done to their faith. The word is used by your party as a kind of nickname, not as a sober distinctive term, and the object is, to clothe us with odium, rather than to describe our tenets. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that we should continue to complain.

'Besides, I do not agree with you that any class of men ought to be called by a name which they disclaim, if there is another which will more accurately describe them. The circumstance that two denominations hold an opinion in common is surely no valid reason why they should both be called by the most obnoxious name. According to your reasoning Calvinists might with propriety be called Arminians, or both be called Baptists, or all three be stigmatized as Antinomians, or the whole be called Roman Catholics—and why? Because, as you contend, it is proper for those who bear a common relation to a very important doctrine, to wear the name of any one subdivision of them!

'Do you not remember, Sir, in your college studies, or at least in your reading elsewhere, a rule of logic with regard to *genus* and *species?* The genus comprehends the species, but not the species the genus. All that can be predicated of any genus, may be predicated of any species under it; but not so, *vice versa.* Now Unitarian is a generic term, comprising several species under it, one of which is a Socinian. It would be as illogical to call every Unitarian a Socinian, as to call every plant a beet. Yet your reasoning goes directly to such a consequence. If it is correct to denominate all Unitarians Socinians, then it is equally correct to denominate all Trinitarians Calvinists;—a conclusion which I may leave you to settle with the Catholics and Arminians, who at this moment constitute more than three-fourths of Christendom.

* * * *

'In so far as you believe that there are three persons in the Deity, you surely cannot be Unitarian; and since we believe that there is but one person in the Deity, it is correct to allow us the name Unitarian. It well and expressly represents our dissent from your favorite and leading doctrine; whereas the word *Socinian* does not convey of itself any idea of our opinions whatever, but only suggests the name of a theologian, whose writings have contributed, though not more than those of many others, to disseminate our opinions. Had Socinus never lived, there would have been thousands of Unitarian Christians. They abounded in the Church for centuries before he lived, and they have sprung up every where, and are continually springing up, without ever hearing of him, or reading his writings, or even previously knowing one word of his opinions.' pp. 12—15.

The Letter is written throughout as becomes a Christian, and a minister of Christ. The warfare was provoked, but the defence and the retaliation are temperate and manly; not carried on with carnal weapons, but with the sword of the Spirit, the word of God.

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22. Poems; by the Author of 'Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse.' Boston, S. G. Goodrich. 1827. 12mo. pp. 228.

The author of this volume writes very smooth poetry, and generally expresses herself with precision and accuracy. A few exceptions to this remark occur in the pieces before us, but they are not frequent and gross enough essentially to impair the value of her productions. On the whole, the volume has afforded us gratification, and we cordially recommend it to the attention of the lovers of American poetry. If they meet in it none of the more brilliant efforts of genius, and no deep and spiritstirring strains, they will be sure of always finding chaste sentiment, correct feeling, and in general, a pleasing simplicity of language. It breathes throughout a spirit of unexceptionable morality, and may, we are confident, be read with profit, should it fail, in some respects, of satisfying a fastidious taste. It is made up of a great variety of pieces, the largest of them not exceeding a few pages. A small portion of them are light and airy, but they are mostly of a grave and somewhat pensive character.

The lines 'To the Moon,' p. 13, contain much beautiful imagery, and seem to have been struck out in one of our author's moments of happiest inspiration. We regret we have room only for a part of them.

'Hail beauteous and inconstant!—Thou who roll'st
Thy silver car around the realm of night,
Queen of soft hours! how fanciful art thou
In equipage and vesture.—Now thou com'st
With slender horn piercing the western cloud,
As erst on Judah's hills, when joyous throngs
With trump and festival saluted thee;
Anon thy waxing crescent 'mid the host
Of constellations, like some fairy boat,
Glides o'er the waveless sea; then as a bride
Thou bow'st thy cheek behind a fleecy veil,
Timid and fair; or, bright in regal robes,
Dost bid thy full-orb'd chariot proudly roll,
Sweeping with silent rein the starry path
Up to the highest node,—then plunging low
To seek dim Nadir in his misty cell.

* * *

'————I fain would ask
If since thy bright creation, thou hast seen
Aught like a Newton, whose admitted eye
The arcana of the universe explored?
Light's subtle ray its mechanism disclosed,
The impetuous comet his mysterious lore
Unfolded,—system after system rose,
Eternal wheeling thro' the immense of space,
And taught him of their laws.—Even angels stood
Amaz'd, as when in ancient times they saw
On Sinai's top, a mortal walk with God.—
—But he to whom the secrets of the skies
Were whisper'd—in humility adored,
Breathing with childlike reverence the prayer,
—"When on yon heavens, with all their orbs, I gaze,
Jehovah!—what is man?"' pp. 13—15.

We might specify several other pieces entitled to a good deal of praise, but the reader will be at no loss in discovering them.

The volume makes a very good appearance, both as regards typographical execution and paper, circumstances which we by no means think unimportant.

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23. Two Discourses designed to illustrate in some Particulars, the Original Use of the Epistles of the New Testament, compared with their Use and Application at the present Day. By Rev. Orville Dewey, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in New Bedford. Boston, Isaac R. Butts & Co. 1827. 12mo. pp. 35.

In these Sermons, Mr Dewey has illustrated, in his usual clear and popular style, an important principle of interpretation. No mistake has been more common, and none more productive of mysticism, superstition, and error on the one hand, and of infidelity on the other, than that of regarding every precept and assertion of the scriptures as applicable, in its full extent, to all men, in all ages of the world. Some of the precepts of Christ, indeed are so inapplicable, in their unlimited and literal sense, to the present state of society, that few or no Christians profess to observe them. No one, for instance, thinks it is his duty to wash the feet of his fellow Christian, or to bring the poor and the maimed to his table. These precepts are supposed to borrow their form from the customs of the age and country, when and where they were delivered. The spirit of these precepts is supposed to be observed, when affection and charity are manifested according to the prevailing modes of the present day. Now what the necessity of the case requires with respect to the abovementioned precepts, Mr Dewey has shown to be essential to the right interpretation of all parts of scripture. He has, however, chiefly directed his attention to the epistles of the New Testament. He has shown, that although they may have been designed for the instruction of all men in every age, yet that particular directions, general observations, and instructions of the Apostles, had a special application to those to whom they were first addressed; that they had reference to the state, opinions, prejudices and controversies of the times; and that they cannot be applied to Christians of the present day without limitation and modification. Mr Dewey has illustrated his doctrine by a variety of pertinent examples, from which we quote the first.

'1. The first subject, which I shall mention, is the institution of the Lord's Supper. Nothing can be more simple, cheerful, and inviting, than this institution was, as it originally came from the hands of its Founder, as it was first celebrated, with easy, though serious, conversation, and in the common manner of a Jewish supper, by our Lord and his disciples.

'Now there is a passage on this subject, in an Epistle to the Corinthians, containing a strain of tremendous denunciation, which has spread terror through every succeeding age of the church. Many sincere and serious persons, even at this day, tremble, and hesitate, and actually refuse to obey a plain command of the scriptures, lest they should incur the weight of that fearful curse, and should "eat and drink damnation to themselves." It has actually been supposed by multitudes that they were liable to set the seal to their everlasting perdition, by a serious and conscientious endeavour to obey the command of God. What deplorable views of God these imaginations must have nurtured, and how much they must have interfered with the comfort and improvement of Christians, need not be said. It is more to our purpose, to remark, that the difficulty has arisen entirely from neglecting to consider the circumstances. It is true, indeed, that there has been a great misunderstanding of the terms of this denunciation; but there has been a still greater inattention to the particular and local application of it. It was aimed against a riotous, licentious and profane use of the Lord's Supper, in which the Corinthians had been guilty of excess, and even of intemperance. It belongs, therefore, to the Corinthian church, and to no other, until, indeed, another shall be found which is guilty of the same sacrilege.' pp. 11, 12.

We recommend these discourses as throwing much light upon the sacred pages, and tending to the correction of many popular, but mischievous errors.

Intelligence.

Dr Beecher and Mr Beman's Convention on Revivals.—We republish the following document without hope that it will afford *gratification* to any of our readers. We should be sorry to believe it would. But though a most melancholy, it is a most instructive display of the state of religious character in a portion of our community. On this account it deserves to be read attentively.

In order fully to understand it, we must recollect that the Rev. Mr Beman was a leader in those exhibitions of hypocrisy, profaneness, and folly, which lately occurred in the western part of New York, and were called a 'revival of religion.' Of these we gave *some* account in our last number. Others interested in producing 'revivals of religion,' were alarmed lest the indecencies and wickedness displayed in these should bring odium upon the whole system of proceedings which they were endeavouring to organize. The Rev. Dr Beecher of this town wrote, in consequence, the noted letter concerning the Rev. Mr Beman's revival, which we presume most of our readers have seen. A schism, accordingly, took place; and the two parties met in the Convention, the account of whose proceedings we are about to copy. It was called, as will be perceived, by the Rev. Dr Beecher and the Rev. Mr Beman, conjointly. To one acquainted with the transactions which previously occurred, it will be obvious that most of the motions made were only concealed attacks of the two parties upon each other. And all this was mixed up with 'seasons of prayer,' 'interspersed with singing,' and preceded by a VOTE! 'that the brethren present should be requested to spend as much of their time as may be convenient, in special prayer for the divine blessing on the proceedings of this meeting.' The document was first published in a newspaper called the New York Observer, for August 4th. We retain the prefatory remarks of the editor of that paper, which are every way worthy to introduce it.

'IMPORTANT CONVENTION.'

'It is generally known to the christian public, that a Convention of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers have been several days in session at New Lebanon, to consult on certain differences of opinion which were supposed to exist among themselves and their brethren, in respect to revivals of religion. Not that any doubted the reality and unspeakable importance of these refreshings, or had ceased to pray that they might become coextensive with the earth; for here, let the enemy know, there has been, and is, a perfect unanimity. Indeed, it is *on account* of this strong feeling in favor of revivals, that so tender an anxiety has been awakened to preserve them from all extravagances.

'When the project of such a Convention was first rumored, there were many who prophesied evil rather than good from its deliberations; because, they said, it would be perfectly easy, by inviting men of a particular stamp, to make its results just what the projectors might please. Concerning this we remark, in the first place, that no such partiality appears to have been observed in selecting the members,—and secondly, that though this were the case, still the meeting would have accomplished one important good, by showing to the public what are the *real* sentiments of this and that man, this and that party, if such they may be called, on the points in dispute. But we trust other benefits will result from the measure; and that the spirit of christian tenderness and supplication, which seems to have pervaded the meeting, will be diffused through all our congregations, allaying every improper excitement, and preparing them for new blessings from the overflowing Fountain of Mercy.'——

'New Lebanon, July 18, 1827.

'At a Convention of Ministers of the Gospel, assembled at the house of Mr Betts, by letters of invitation from Mr Beman and Dr Beecher, Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D. was chosen Moderator; and Rev. William R. Weeks and Rev. Henry Smith, Scribes.

'The meeting was opened with prayer by the Moderator.

'After some conversation respecting the list of persons who had been originally agreed upon to compose this meeting, voted to have a recess, till half past two o'clock.

'After recess, met and proceeded to business.

'Of the brethren who were considered as duly invited, there were *present*, Rev. Asahel S. Norton, D. D. of Clinton, N. Y. Lyman Beecher, D. D. Boston, Mass. Moses Gillet, Rome, N. Y. Nathan S. S. Beman. Troy, N. Y. Dirck C. Lansing, D. D. Auburn, N. Y. Heman Humphrey, D. D. Amherst College, Mass. John Frost, Whitesborough, N. Y. Asahel Nettleton, Connecticut, William R. Weeks, Paris, N. Y. Justin Edwards, Andover, Mass. Henry Smith, Camden, N. Y. and Charles G. Finney, Oneida Co N. Y. *Absent*, Rev. David Porter, D. D. Catskill, N. Y. Alvan Hyde, D. D. Lee, Mass. Samuel Tomb, Salem, N. Y. Joel T. Benedict, Chatham, N. Y. Eliphalet Nott, D. D. Union College, N. Y. Thomas McAuley, D. D. New York, Gardiner Spring, D. D. New York, James Patterson, Philadelphia, Henry R. Weed, Albany, N. Y. Samuel C. Aikin, Utica, N. Y. Thomas H. Skinner, D. D. Philadelphia, and Edwin Dwight, Richmond, Mass.

'The Rev. Caleb J. Tenney, of Wethersfield, and the Rev. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, Conn. being present by invitation from Dr Beecher, the Rev. George W. Gale, of the Oneida Academy, N. Y. being present by invitation from Mr Frost, and the Rev. Silas Churchill, minister of the place, it was voted that they be invited to take a seat as members of this Convention.

'The Convention united in a season of prayer, interspersed with singing.

'Voted, that those of our brethren who are in the place, be requested to spend as much of their time as may be convenient, in special prayer for the divine blessing on the deliberations of this meeting.

'After the brethren who had called the meeting, had made an exposition of its origin, it was moved and seconded, that we proceed to see in what respects there is an agreement between brethren from different sections of the country, in regard to principles and measures in conducting and promoting revivals of religion; which motion was under discussion till seven o'clock, when the Convention adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Thursday Morning, July* 19.—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. Present the same as yesterday, with the addition of the Rev. Mr Aikin.

'The minutes of yesterday were read.

'The motion under discussion yesterday was taken up, and after further discussion, it was carried, fourteen voting in the affirmative, one in the negative, and two declining to vote, as follows; *For the affirmative*, Messrs. Norton, Beecher, Churchill, Gillet, Tenney, Lansing, Humphrey, Nettleton, Hawes, Weeks, Gale, Edwards, Smith, and Finney. *For the negative*, Mr Beman. *Declined voting*, Messrs. Frost and Aikin.

'Mr Frost entered the following as his reason for declining to vote; "That he understood the object of the meeting to be, to correct misapprehensions, and restore peace among brethren."

'The Convention then proceeded to attend to the subject proposed: and on motion of Mr Edwards, the following propositions were agreed to:

'"That revivals of true religion are the work of God's spirit, by which, in a comparatively short period of time, many persons are convinced of sin, and brought to the exercise of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."—Voted in the affirmative unanimously.

'"That the preservation and extension of true religion in our land have been much promoted by these revivals."—Voted unanimously.

'"That according to the bible, and the indications of Providence, greater and more glorious revivals are to be expected, than have ever yet existed."—Voted unanimously.

'"That, though revivals of religion are the work of God's spirit, they are produced by means of divine truth and human instrumentality, and are liable to be advanced or hindered by measures which are adopted in conducting them. The idea that God ordinarily works independently of human instrumentality, or without any reference to the adaptation of means to ends, is unscriptural."—Voted unanimously.

'"There may be some variety in the mode of conducting revivals, according to local customs, and there may be relative imperfections attending them, which do not destroy the purity of the work and its permanent and general good influence upon the church and the world; and in such cases, good men, while they lament these imperfections, may rejoice in the revival as the work of God."—Voted unanimously.

'Recess till three o'clock. Then met, and resumed the consideration of general principles. On motion of Mr Edwards the following propositions were agreed to.

'"There may be so much human infirmity, and indiscretion, and wickedness of man, in conducting a revival of religion, as to render the general evils which flow from this infirmity, indiscretion, and wickedness of man, greater than the local and temporary advantages of the revival: that is, this infirmity, indiscretion, and wickedness of man, may be the means of preventing the conversion of more souls than may have been converted during the revival."—Voted unanimously.

'"In view of these considerations, we regard it as eminently important, that there should be a general understanding among ministers and churches, in respect to those things which are of a dangerous tendency, and are not to be countenanced."—Voted unanimously.

'Mr Edwards then introduced the following proposition:

'"In social meetings of men and women, for religious worship, females are not to pray."

'After some discussion, adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Friday, July* 20.—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'Present the same as yesterday. The minutes of yesterday were read.

'The consideration of the proposition under discussion yesterday, was resumed. After further discussion, united in a season of prayer. Then attended further to the discussion of the subject, till one o'clock, and adjourned to meet at half past two o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Friday Afternoon.*—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'The consideration of the proposition which had been under discussion, was resumed.

'It was moved by Mr Aikin,and seconded by Mr Finney, that the further consideration of the proposition be postponed, till we shall have gone into an inquiry into matters of fact.

'After some discussion, united in a season of prayer.

'After further discussion, Mr Aikin asked and obtained leave to withdraw his motion for postponement, and it was withdrawn.

'The Rev. Mr Weed appeared in Convention, and took his seat as a member.

'After further discussion, the question was taken, and *nine* voted in favor of the proposition, and *nine* declined voting as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Nettleton, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards. *Declined voting*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney.

'It was moved by Mr Frost, and seconded by Mr Finney, that the following question be answered, to wit:

'"Is it right for a woman in any case to pray in the presence of a man?"

'After some discussion, it was moved by Mr Edwards that the further consideration of this question be indefinitely postponed. The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, Mr Edwards asked and obtained leave to withdraw his motion, and it was withdrawn.

'It was moved by Mr Lansing, that the further consideration of the question be postponed, for the purpose of introducing a substitute, which he read. The motion was seconded, and after discussion, it was carried.

'Mr Lansing then introduced the following proposition, as a substitute for the question of Mr Frost, to wit:

'"There may be circumstances in which it may be proper for a female to pray in the presence of men."

'The motion was seconded, and after discussion, the question was taken, and *eight* voted in favor of the proposition, and *ten* declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Nettleton, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, Edwards, and Smith.

'Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Saturday, July* 21.—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. Present the same as yesterday. The minutes of yesterday were read.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"It is improper for any person to appoint meetings in the congregations of acknowledged ministers of Christ, or to introduce any measures to promote or conduct revivals of religion, without first having obtained the approbation of said ministers."

'The motion was seconded, and after considerable discussion, the question was taken, and *thirteen* voted in favor of the proposition, and *five* declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Churchill, Tenney, Humphrey, Nettleton, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, Gale, Edwards, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, and Aikin.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "That *there may be some cases*, where the elders or members of a minister's own church may appoint and conduct prayer meetings, without having consulted the minister or obtained his approbation; but, in no case ought such elders or members to appoint or conduct such meetings contrary to the will of the pastor; and these meetings ought to be *occasional*, and not *stated*."

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"Those meetings for social religious worship, in which all speak according to their own inclinations, are improper; and all meetings for religious worship ought to be under the presiding influence of some person or persons."

'The motion was seconded, and after discussion, it was voted unanimously in the affirmitive.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"The calling of persons by name in prayer ought to be carefully avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, it was moved and seconded that it be so amended as to read as follows:

'"The calling of persons by name in social circles for prayer ought to be carefully avoided." This amendment did not prevail.

'Mr Edwards moved that the proposition be so amended as to read as follows:

'"The calling of persons by name in social prayer ought to be carefully avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and the amendment prevailed.

'Mr Lansing then moved that the proposition be so amended as to read as follows:

'"The calling of persons by name in public prayer ought to be carefully avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, the question was put by lifting the hands, and *nine* were counted in favor of the amendment, and *eight* against it; upon which the Moderator declared it *not a vote*, being understood to vote against it. It was questioned whether it was usual for the Moderator to vote in such cases; upon which he declined voting, and declared the amendment carried.

'After some remarks, it was moved, that it is the sense of this body that the Moderator has a right to vote, in all cases before us, as any other member. The motion was seconded and carried.

'It was then agreed to take the question on Mr Lansing's amendment over again, by ayes and noes, when the amendment prevailed, *ten* voting in the affirmative, *seven* in the negative, and *one* declining to vote, as follows: *For the affirmative*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Weed, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *For the negative*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Nettleton, Hawes, Weeks, and Edwards. *Declined voting*, Mr Humphrey.

'The question was then taken on the proposition, as amended, and all voted in favor of it, except that Mr Edwards declined voting, and Mr Nettleton was absent.

'Mr Edwards again introduced the following proposition:

'"The calling of persons by name in social prayer ought to be carefully avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and the question being taken, *eight* voted in favor of the proposition, and *nine* declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards. *Declined voting*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Absent*, Mr Nettleton.

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition:

'"The calling of persons by name in prayer may take place in small social circles."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, it was moved and seconded that the proposition be so amended as to read as follows:

'"The calling of persons by name in prayer may take place in small social circles; but in all cases ought to be practised with great caution and tenderness."

'The amendment prevailed.

'After further discussion of the proposition as amended, adjourned to meet on Monday next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Concluded with prayer.

'*Monday, July* 23.—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. Present the same as before.

'The minutes of last week were read and corrected.

'The proposition under discussion on Saturday was taken up. After further discussion, Mr Beman asked and obtained leave to withdraw it, and it was withdrawn.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"Audible groaning, violent gestures, and boisterous tones, in prayer, are improper."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, Dr Beecher moved an amendment, inserting the words "and unusual postures," which motion was seconded, and the amendment prevailed. After further discussion, those words were struck out.

'Adjourned to meet at half past two o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Monday Afternoon.*—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'After further discussion, Mr Lansing moved to amend the proposition, so that it read as follows:

'"Audible groaning in prayer is improper."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, Mr Beman moved the postponement of the motion under consideration, for the purpose of introducing a substitute, which he read. The motion was seconded, and carried.

'Mr Lansing then proposed the substitute offered by Mr Beman, as follows:

'"Audible groaning in prayer, is, in all ordinary cases, to be discouraged; and violent gestures, and boisterous tones, in the same exercise, are improper."

'The motion was seconded, and the question being taken, *fourteen* voted in favor of the proposition, and *three* declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Beecher, Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Tenney, Lansing, Humphrey, Frost, Weed, Gale, Aikin, Edwards, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Hawes, and Weeks. *Absent*, Mr Nettleton.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"Speaking against ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in regular standing, as cold, stupid, or dead, as unconverted, or enemies to revivals of religion, is improper."

'The motion was seconded, and after some remarks, Mr Beman moved to amend the proposition, so that it read as follows:

'"Speaking against ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in regular standing, as cold, stupid, or dead, as unconverted, or enemies to revivals, as heretics, or enthusiasts, or disorganizers, as deranged or mad, is improper."

'The motion was seconded, and the amendment prevailed.

'Mr Edwards then moved to strike out all the epithets, so that it read as follows:

'"Speaking against ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in regular standing, is improper."

'The motion was seconded, and after discussion, it was lost.

'The question was then taken on the proposition as amended, and all voted in favor of it, except that Mr Edwards declined voting, and Mr Nettleton was absent.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"To receive persons as converted, merely on the ground of their own judgment, without opportunity for examination, and time to afford evidence of real conversion, is improper."

'The motion was seconded; and after discussion, the mover asked and obtained leave to withdraw the same, and it was withdrawn.

'Mr Lansing introduced the following proposition:

'"The writing of letters to individuals in the congregations of acknowledged ministers, complaining of measures supposed to have been employed in revivals of religion, being calculated to impair the confidence of the members of such congregations in their ministers, and to encourage the wicked to oppose, ought to be carefully avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, the mover asked leave to withdraw the proposition for the present, with the understanding that it shall come up hereafter. Leave was granted accordingly, and it was withdrawn.

'Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Tuesday, July* 24.—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'Present the same as yesterday, except Mr Nettleton. The minutes of yesterday were read.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"The existence in the churches of evangelists, in such numbers as to constitute an influence in the community, separate from that of the settled pastors, and the introduction, by evangelists, of measures, without cousulting the pastors, or contrary to their judgment and wishes, by an excitement of popular feeling which may seem to render acquiescence unavoidable, is to be carefully guarded against, as an evil which is calculated, or at least liable, to destroy the institution of a settled ministry, and fill the churches with confusion and disorder."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, the Convention united in a season of prayer.

'After further discussion, the question was taken, and all voted in favor of the proposition, except Mr Churchill, who was absent.

'Mr Edwards introduced the following proposition:

'"Language adapted to irritate, on account of its manifest personality, such as describing the character, designating the place, or any thing which will point out an individual or individuals before the assembly, as the subjects of invidious remark, is, in public prayer and preaching, to be avoided."

'The motion was seconded, and after some discussion, Mr Lansing moved to amend the proposition, by striking out the words, "on account of its manifest personality, such as," which motion was seconded, and after discussion, was lost.

'After further discussion, the question was taken and twelve voted in favor of the proposition, and five declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Churchill, Gillet, Tenney, Humphrey, Frost, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, Edwards, and Smith. *Declined voting*, Messrs Beman, Lansing, Gale, Aikin, and Finney.

'Messrs Lansing and Aikin entered the following, as their reason; "The undersigned do decline voting on the foregoing particular, not because they do not most unequivocally condemn such personality in preaching as makes an invidious exposure of individuals, but because they suppose that the article in question may be liable to such construction, as to lead many to say, that such *characteristic* preaching is condemned by this Convention, as is adapted to make sinners suppose that their individual case is intended. *D. C. Lansing, S. C. Aikin.*

'On motion of Mr Edwards, the following propositions were agreed to:

'"All irreverent familiarity with God, such as men use towards their equals, or which would not be proper for an affectionate child to use towards a worthy parent, is to be avoided."—Voted unanimously.

'"From the temporary success of uneducated and ardent young men, to make invidious comparisons between them and settled pastors; to depreciate the value of education, or introduce young men as preachers without the usual qualifications, is incorrect and unsafe."—Voted unanimously.

"To state things which are not true, or not supported by evidence, for the purpose of awakening sinners, or to represent their condition as more hopeless than it really is, is wrong."—Voted unanimously.

'"Unkindness and disrespect to superiors in age or station, is to be carefully avoided."—Voted unanimously.

'"In promoting and conducting revivals of religion, it is unsafe, and of dangerous tendency, to connive at acknowledged errors, through fear that enemies will take advantage from our attempt to correct them."—Voted unanimously.

'"The immediate success of any measure, without regard to its scriptural character, or its future aud permanent consequences, does not justify that measure, or prove it to be right."—Voted unanimously.

"Great care should be taken to discriminate between holy and unholy affections, and to exhibit with clearness the scriptural evidences of true religion."—Voted unanimously.

'"No measures are to be adopted in promoting and conducting revivals of religion, which those who adopt them are unwilling to have published, or which are not proper to be published to the world."—Voted unanimously.

'Adjourned to meet at half past two o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Tuesday Afternoon.*—Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. The minutes of the morning were read.

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"As human instrumentality must be employed in promoting revivals of religion, some things undesirable may be expected to accompany them; and as these things are often proclaimed abroad and magnified, great caution should be exercised in listening to unfavorable reports."

'The question being taken, eleven voted in favor of the proposition, and six declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition,* Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Humphrey, Frost, Hawes, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting,* Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As the above does not appear to us to be, in the course of Divine Providence, called for, we therefore decline to act."

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"Although revivals of religion may be so improperly conducted, as to be attended with disastrous consequences to the church and the souls of men; yet, it is also true, that the best conducted revivals are liable to be stigmatized and opposed by lukewarm professors and the enemies of evangelical truth."

'The question being taken, eleven voted in favor of the proposition, and six declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition,* Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Humphrey, Frost, Hawes, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As the above does not appear to us to be, in the course of Divine Providence, called for, we therefore decline to act."

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"Attempts to remedy evils existing in revivals of religion, may, through the infirmity and indiscretion and wickedness of man, do more injury, and ruin more souls, than those evils which such attempts are intended to correct."

'The question being taken, nine voted in favor of the proposition, and eight declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs. Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As the above does not appear to us to be, in the course of Divine Providence, called for, we therefore decline to act."

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"In public meetings for religious worship, composed of men and women, females are not to pray."

'The question being taken, nine voted in favor of the proposition, and eight declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As we have expressed our views on this subject in a previous proposition, we therefore decline to act."

'Mr. Lansing introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"The writing of letters to individuals in the congregations of acknowledged ministers, or circulating letters which have been written by others, complaining of measures which may have been employed in revivals of religion; or visiting the congregations of such ministers, and conferring with opposers, without conversing with the ministers of such places, aud speaking against measures which have been adopted; or for ministers residing in the congregations of settled pastors to pursue the same course; thus strengthening the hands of the wicked, and weakening the hands of settled pastors, are breaches of christian charity, and ought to be carefully avoided."

'The question being taken, nine voted in favor of the proposition, and eight declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Humphrey, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As the above does not appear to us to be called for, and is, in our view, liable to great misapprehension and abuse, and may not be, in all respects, correct, we therefore decline to act; there being cases when it is the duty of ministers of the gospel freely to communicate, by letter or otherwise, with one another, and with private Christians, and give notice of approaching danger; to do which, they are bound by their office, and the impropriety of neglecting it is in proportion to the magnitude of the interests involved."

'Mr Beman introduced the following proposition, to wit:

'"In preaching the gospel, language ought not to be employed with the intention of irritating or giving offence; but that preaching is not the best adapted to do good and save souls, which the hearer does not perceive to be applicable to his own character."

'The question being taken, ten voted in favor of the proposition, and seven declined voting, as follows: *For the proposition*, Messrs Churchill, Gillet, Beman, Lansing, Humphrey, Frost, Gale, Aikin, Smith, and Finney. *Declined voting*, Messrs Norton, Beecher, Tenney, Hawes, Weeks, Weed, and Edwards.

'Those who declined voting, entered the following as their reason, to wit: "As the above does not appear to us to be, in the course of Divine Providence, called for, we therefore decline to act."

'On motion of Mr Frost, the following propositions were agreed to:

'"Evening meetings continued to an unseasonable hour, ought to be studiously avoided."—Voted unanimously.

'"In accounts of revivals of religion, great care should be taken that they be not exaggerated."—Voted unanimously.

'The Convention united in a season of prayer, and then attended to the reading of sundry documents, till half past six o'clock, and had a recess till eight o'clock.

'After recess, met, and had a season of free conversation; and then adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Wednesday, July* 25. Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. Present the same number as before. The minutes of yesterday were read.

'Attended further to free conversation on the documents of yesterday.

'It was moved and seconded, that we proceed to the reading of other documents, without further conversation on those which have been read.

'The Rev. Mr Benedict appeared in Convention, and took his seat as a member.

'After some discussion, united in a season of prayer.

'After further discussion, the question was put, and the motion was lost.

'Attended further to free conversation on the documents of yesterday, till one o'clock, and then adjourned to meet at half past two o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Wednesday Afternoon.* Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'Attended further to free conversation on the documents previously read, and to the reading of some others.

'Recess till eight o'clock.

'After recess, met, and attended to the reading of other documents. Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at eight o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Thursday, July* 26. Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer. Present the same as before. The minutes of yesterday were read.

'Attended further to the reading of documents. United in a season of prayer.

'Attended further to free conversation on the documents. Adjourned to meet at half past 2 o'clock. Concluded with prayer.

'*Thursday Afternoon.* Met according to adjournment, and opened with prayer.

'Attended further to free conversation.

'Recess till eight o'clock.

'After recess, met, and attended further to free conversation.

'After which it was voted that the minutes of this Convention be forwarded to the Editors of the New York Observer, for insertion in their paper.

'Voted, that the Rev. Mr Churchill express to the people of New Lebanon our grateful sense of their kindness and hospitality, and our best wishes for their present and everlasting welfare.

'By order of the Convention,
'HEMAN HUMPHREY, *Moderator.*
'WM. R. WEEKS, *Scribe.*'

Remarks enough suggest themselves after reading this document. But we shall leave our readers to their own reflections. There can be but one deep feeling of regret and even shame among all enlightened Christians at the disgrace, which such proceedings as we have here recorded, are adapted to bring on our religion.

Theological School in Cambridge.—We have repeatedly within the past year borne our testimony to the distinct and encouraging signs of improvement exhibited in this institution. The annual examination, which took place on Friday, July 13th, was of a character to confirm all we have said. We regret that we can give no more than a catalogue of the performances.

JUNIOR CLASS.

1. The Comparative Advantages of Reading Sermons, Reciting *Memoriter*, and Extemporaneous Discourse.—*Horatio Alger.*
2. The Use of a Liturgy.—*William Barry.*
3. The Circumstances of Peter's Denial of his Master.—*Hersey B. Goodwin.*
4. On the Spirit of Persecution, and the different Forms under which it has appeared.—*William Newell.*
5. Miracles; their Susceptibility of Proof by Human Testimony.—*Cazneau Palfrey.*
6. An Explanation of Matthew xii. 1—8, 'At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn,' &c.—*George Whitney.*

MIDDLE CLASS.

1. On St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.—*George P. Bradford.*
2. On our Saviour's Prophecies respecting his Second Coming during the Lifetime of some who heard him, compared with the Expectations of the Apostles upon this Subject.—*Jonathan Cole.*
3. On the Influence which the Fact, that the Apostles expected a Personal Return of our Saviour to the Earth, at no distant Period, should have upon us of the present Day.—*Frederick Augustus Farley.*
4. A View of the Ecclesiastical, Moral, and Intellectual Condition of Europe, previous to the Reformation, showing the Necessity and Sources of that Event.—*Frederick H. Hedge.*
5. On the Conversion of Rammohun Roy, and its Effect upon Christianity in India.—*Samuel K. Lothrop.*
6. On the Connexion between Enlightened Views of Christianity and Lukewarmness in its Cause.—*William P. Lunt.*
7. The Advantages and Disadvantages of a Church Establishment, and the probable Effect of the Absence of one in this Country.—*Artemas B. Muzzy.*
8. On the Sabbath.—*John L. Sibley.*
9. On the Uses of Controversy.—*Moses G. Thomas.*

SENIOR CLASS.

1. On the Disinterestedness and Devotedness required in a Christian Minister.—*Daniel Austin.*
2. The Comparative Value of the English and French Styles of Preaching as Models of Pulpit Eloquence.—*George W. Burnap.*
3. The Present State of Religious Inquiry in this Country, as relating to the Ministerial Office.—*Christopher T. Thayer.*

4. Importance to the Young Preacher of cultivating Religious Feeling.—*William H. White.*

5. On the Advantages of Permanence in the Relation of a Pastor to his Flock.—*William A. Whitwell.*

Young Men's Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society.—The formation of this Society among the young men of Boston, at once the evidence and result of the increasing demand for Unitarian publications, has been noticed by us with no ordinary satisfaction. The American Unitarian Association has hitherto been the source to which the public has looked for the supply of Unitarian tracts; but the calls for them have been more numerous than they could answer. We rejoice that in this Society, the public have hope that the demand will be more completely supplied. The publications it furnishes are to be gratuitously distributed. The Constitution provides that an annual subscription of not less than one dollar shall constitute any individual a member, and give him the right to recommend any person as an object of the Society's benefactions. 'In respect to the subject before us,' say the Committee to whom the project was referred, 'let the members of the Society be actuated by a christian temper, in all their deliberations and doings; let the publications they distribute, breathe the spirit of the Gospel, while they expose error and inculcate truth; let them not be obtruded where they are not asked for, and do not promise to be useful; and let there be nothing offensive in the mode of procuring funds for the accomplishment of the Society's object, and your committee have no doubt that the plan which has been submitted to them to consider and forward, will prove highly useful to the community, and at the same time contribute not a little to the advantage of the members of the Society themselves, by interesting them more in one another, and in the love and practice of the religion which they undertake with a zeal so praiseworthy, to recommend to others.'

Unitarian Dissenters' Marriage Bill.—'This Bill has passed through the House of Commons, almost without opposition. The little objection that was made to it has been removed by an alteration of it in its progress. The plan of the present measure is to enable Unitarians to enter into the marriage contract before a magistrate, and to record the marriage in the parochial register. The choice of a religious service is left to the parties marrying. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chester have signified their approbation of the Bill. Lord Eldon, the late Chancellor, is in opposition to it, and has divided the House upon it; there was a majority of 7 for its going into Committee. The present Chancellor befriends the measure. What will be its fate, is at the moment we write, uncertain; yet it is hard to suppose that a measure confessed on all hands to be necessary, can be defeated by a part of the present opposition in the House of Lords, against the sense of the episcopal bench and the wishes of a Cabinet Minister, the Marquis of Lansdowne, by whom it is brought forward.' *Christian Reformer.*

British and Foreign Unitarian Association.—The Monthly Repository for July, contains a long account of the celebration of the second anniversary of this Society, with reports of the speeches made upon the occasion, from which we make the following extracts.

'The Second Anniversary of this Society was held on Wednesday and Thursday, the 6th and 7th of June. The meeting for transacting the annual business was held at the Unitarian Chapel, South Place, Finsbury, on Wednesday morning: JOHN CHRISTIE, Esq. in the Chair.

'The CHAIRMAN observed, that it became his duty, as Treasurer of the Society, to read the statement of their funds, which, he was happy to say, were in a flourishing condition. He then enumerated the various items of receipt and expenditure, from which it appeared, that during the last year the former had amounted to the sum of £1138 18*s.*; to which was to be added the balance of £329 4*s.* 9*d.* in the hands of the Treasurer at the last Anniversary, which, with the exception of £359 14*s.* 11*d.* yet remaining in his hands, had been expended in effecting the diffusion of Unitarian principles in this and other countries.

'The Rev. R. ASPLAND, the Secretary, read the Report of the proceedings of the Committee during the past year. It commenced by stating, that the result of their exertions for the spread of true and liberal Christianity, was on the whole satisfactory, and that their labors had not altogether been in vain. The Report was divided into four parts: 1st. The Home Department; 2d. Civil Rights; 3d. The Book Department; 4th. Foreign Department. Upon the first, it stated, that the principles of Unitarianism were making slow but promising progress in various parts of the United Kingdom.'——'The Report then proceeded to detail the exertions of the Committee for the attainment and preservation of their civil rights.'

A detail is then given of measures adopted in relation to the Unitarian Marriage Bill, and notice taken of 'the strenuous efforts that had recently been made by the various denominations of Protestant Dissenters, for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts,' in all which endeavours the Committee of the Association had cordially joined.

'The Rev. Dr REES read the Report of the Book and Tract Department. It stated the junction of the Unitarian Book Society with the Association, and that books and tracts had been distributed in Calcutta, Paris, Glasgow, and in various other towns in England and Scotland. It also announced, that the Monthly Repository had been purchased by the Association, with the aid of donations and loans from private individuals, and would in future be conducted under the direction of the Committee.

'Mr Bowring read, in the unavoidable absence of Mr Fox, the Report of the Foreign Department. It stated, that a mission had been established at Calcutta, under the superintendence of Mr Adam.'——'At Madras, a Unitarian Church had been for some years in existence.'——'The Report further stated, that in the United States of America, measures had been taken to unite the different and scattered Unitarian interests into one grand and efficient body, from which the happiest results were anticipated. From Transylvania, which might be deemed the mother country of Unitarianism, the Committee had received the most gratifying accounts. The number who professed that faith in that quarter, was estimated at 50,000. The superintending authority was vested in the *preses* of the general Synod. A college had long been established at Klausenburg, which contained about 300 students; besides, there were two gymnasia, or preparatory schools, at Thomburg and Keresztur. In France, and other countries on the continent, the Committee flattered themselves they saw an opening for the introduction of their tenets.'

In the evening and on Thursday morning, there were religious services in the Chapel and sermons preached by Rev. Edward Tagart of Norwich, and the Rev. John Kenrick of York. The account is closed with notices of toasts and addresses given at the dinner at the London Tavern, from which our limits will not allow us to make extracts. The celebration appears to have been conducted with spirit, and to have afforded much gratification to those who participated in it, and great encouragement for their cause.

Second Unitarian Church in New York.—From a letter addressed to us from New York, it appears, that 'the enemy,' as they would have said at New Lebanon, has been industriously circulating erroneous statements respecting the condition of this new church. The establishment of a second Unitarian church in New York, it is said, was premature. In consequence but few pews have been sold, the services are ill attended, and the whole concern is in a desperate sinking condition. Unitarianism, therefore, has really few supporters in the city, and is not making the rapid progress there, its advocates fondly imagine. But the truth is, that 'the enemy,' to quote the *Revivalists* once more, is deceived. We would not for the world suppose honest, fairminded Orthodox partisans practice deception upon others.

But however this may be, the letter before us, and it is from the best authority, shows that the step taken by the Unitarians of New York was a most judicious one. The church is built in a part of the city which is rapidly increasing in population, and bids fair at no very distant period to be the centre of that metropolis. The pews sold have been as many as were sold in the same time either in the last Unitarian or last Orthodox church erected in this town, and that, too, without a settled minister. Its funds are in a good condition; its numbers constantly increasing, and nothing is wanting to its complete success but the settlement of an able, enterprising, and devoted minister.

Obituary.

Died, at Plymouth, July 15, Alexander Bliss Esq. of Boston, Counsellor at Law, aged 34.

[We have been permitted to publish the following extract from a sermon preached the Lord's day after the death of Mr. Bliss, by the minister of the New South Church, where he worshipped. The subject of the discourse was 'The peculiar Dangers and Temptations incident to Young Men in our State of Society.']

'It is delightful and animating to witness, from time to time, instances of young men, who, by the force of decided principle, have been enabled to shun the perils and to overcome the temptations incident to their condition; who, when tried in the fiery furnace of the world's communion, have come out, not merely unharmed, but refined and purified. When death has set his seal upon the character of such an one, and there remains for him no further duty or trial upon earth, it is proper, it is salutary, to record his success, and attest his worth. An impartial tribute to the memory of departed excellence may serve as a lesson and encouragement to the living.

'The legal profession in this place has within a few years been peculiarly afflicted by the premature departure of young men of high character and distinguished promise. The last week has lengthened their death-roll, by adding the name of Bliss to the hallowed names of Gallison and Spooner. In the removal of such men, possessing high capacities and attainments, diligently employing them for the benefit of others, and adorning them moreover with pure principles and an exemplary life, the community sustains a loss which it is not easy to estimate. It is a loss, not merely of their actual services and personal labors, but of the good influence of their example; an example widely recognized and appreciated.

'The religious society, of which Mr Bliss was an esteemed member, deplore his sudden and early death, and unite with his friends, with his professional associates, and with the community, in lamenting the common calamity. His life was a brief one. The days of his youth were shortened. But if life be measured by what is effected and what is purposed that is worthy and good, he had lived long. He had lived long enough to convince the public that he possessed the means of being eminently useful, and that he was willing and determined to employ them. He had lived long enough to satisfy his friends that his principles were right, and that his conduct was invariably regulated by his principles.

'Engaged in a laborious profession, to which he was strongly attached from early choice, and placed in a situation where perpetual calls were made upon his services, he devoted to it a clear intellect and a discriminating judgment.

He was a faithful, indefatigable alwyer. Whatever he undertook, he performed, promptly, efficiently, satisfactorily. He was not one of those who aspire after regard and credit, without making those exertions which merit and will ultimately secure them. He knew that no great enterprise could be accomplished without great application and effort; and he therefore gave himself to the duties of his profession with an earnestness and constancy that could not but secure to him confidence and respect. And he did obtain them. He had gained an honorable place among his associates, and was daily rising in esteem and trust among our citizens. Few men of his age had done more, none were more deservedly beloved, none had fairer prospects in view. His friends were looking forward with an assurance which his character and past success justified, to the period when he would be more widely known and become more useful, by occupying higher and more responsible stations. But their fond hopes and cherished expectations have all, alas! been suddenly blasted. A premature death has shortened his days, and left to them nothing but his beloved image, and honored name.

'I have spoken of the intellectual endowments of our lamented associate, and of the fidelity and diligence with which he applied himself to the various duties of his calling. The qualities of his heart corresponded with the powers of his mind, and were discerned and appreciated by all who knew him. His gentle and benevolent disposition appeared in the bland expression of his countenance and in the uniform kindness of his address. He was distinguished by an uncommon composure and evenness of temper. His mind was too well balanced and controled, ever to be ruffled by the turbulence of passion. Austerity or moroseness were never seen to usurp the place of his habitual suavity and mildness. Retiring and unobtrusive, his manners were imbued with the spirit of the old school. He cherished a regard for the feelings of others, and this was evinced, not by loud professions, nor by a bustling parade of services, but by a demeanour uniformly affable, conciliatory, and respectful. His politeness was not a blind obedience to established ceremony, but the natural, sincere expression of his good will.

'But the distinguishing trait of his character, that which we now love most to remember and cherish, was his incorruptible integrity. He was a man of principle; of moral and religious principle; and when I have said that, I have said every thing; for it embraces all that is good; it is the sum and substance of virtue. He did what was right, not because it was easy, or convenient, or agreeable, but simply and solely, because it was right. He was a pure, conscientious man. His character was unsullied. Calumny had not assailed it. Envy could find in it no place to invade. His principles were attested by the uniform sobriety of his mind and conduct. Truth and sincerity had taken up their abode with him, and they led him into the right way, into the paths of pleasantness and peace.

'It is for others to say with what fidelity he discharged the duties of the social relation. It is not for me to invade the privacy of domestic retirement, and proclaim the unseen, unrecorded virtues of the household. I delineate his public character, and declare his acknowledged excellences, that those who hear may honor and imitate them. I will not attempt to portray the thousand acts of goodness which adorned his quiet and happy home, which so endeared him to every member of an extensive family, and the mere mention of which revives in their souls that anguish of grief which burst forth at the tidings of his early departure.'

ERRATA.

Page 294, line 29, 'members,' for 'numbers.'
Page 335, line 3, 'only,' for 'always.'
Page 345, line 29, 'Sobingen,' for 'Tübingen.'
The last error is corrected in part of the impression.

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Miscellany.

TRANSLATION FROM PHILO JUDÆUS.

In the work of Philo 'On the Formation of the World,' there is a striking passage, in which he speaks of the dignity and powers of man, as an intellectual being. It resembles a very glowing and beautiful description of the unlimited reach of the mind, in the first book of Akenside's 'Pleasures of Imagination.' Akenside was a scholar and an enthusiastic admirer of the Platonic philosophy. It is not improbable, therefore, that he may have read and remembered, more or less distinctly, this passage of the Jewish Plato, as Philo has been called. There is nothing, however, of that peculiar character in the correspondence between the two passages, which would imply very strongly, that the latter writer had seen the words of his predecessor.

The following is a translation of the words of Philo. *

'It is very well said, that man was made an image and likeness of God, for nothing earthborn more resembles God. But let none suppose that this likeness is in the lineaments of the body; for God has not the shape of man, nor is the form of the human body divine; but the image spoken of consists in the ruling power of the soul, intellect. For to the One

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* The passage may be found, pp. 14, 15, ed. Paris. pp. 15, 16, ed. Mang.

Mind, which is the intellect of all things, that which exists in each individual is conformed, being, in some sort, the god of what bears it about and enshrines it. For the human intellect appears to hold the same relation to man, that the Great Ruler does to the universe. Seeing all things, it is itself invisible; and while it comprehends the nature of other things, its own nature is unknown. By the help of the arts and sciences, opening for itself various ways, and all broad and easy, it passes through earth and sea, searching out what is peculiar to each.[*] Then taking wing, after contemplating the air and its phenomena, it is borne upward to the ethereal region and the revolving spheres of the heavens, and is there carried round with the choirs of the wandering and the fixed stars, moving according to the perfect laws of harmony. Hence, following the love of wisdom as a guide, and raising its view above all sensible objects, it is urged forward to those which are only perceived by the intellect; and upon beholding, in their exceeding beauty, the patterns and images of the sensible things[†] which it had before seen, it is seized with a sober intoxication, possessed, as in trance, by the spirit of God; and being filled with another, a sweet and better longing, it is by this impelled onward to the highest summit of intellectual being, and thinks to make its way to the Great King himself. But while it is straining to behold him, the untempered and unmingled rays of Divine Light pour forth like a torrent, darkening the eye of the mind with their splendors.'[‡]

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[*] 'For this has Science searched with weary wing,
By shore and sea, each mute and living thing.'——*Campbell.*

[†] Philo here expresses a conception of Plato, who regarded the immaterial archetypes of things, as existing apart, objects not of sense but of intellect; all sensible things being formed more or less imperfectly after the fashion of these preexistent models. They are the images of Plato; *images*, not *ideas*, as the word is often rendered, I think incorrectly; at least since an idea is no longer regarded as an image in the mind.

The conception of Plato may serve to illustrate the theory of Sir Joshua Reynolds respecting beauty. Perfect beauty, according to him, resides in what may be called the standard form of each species of things, that to which nature appears to be always inclining, and from which the variations in individuals are departures toward deformity. These models, after which nature may be imagined as working, correspond, so far, to the images of Plato, his archetypal forms.

[‡] —'Eternal King, the author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible,
Amidst the glorious brightness, where thou sit'st

The passage of Akenside referred to, is the following. It is quoted from his poem as originally written. In its first form, it corresponds, in general, more with the extract from Philo, than it does as refashioned by the author in the elaboration of his work.

——'The high born soul
Disdains to rest her heaven-aspiring wing
Beneath her native quarry. Tired of earth,
And this diurnal scene, she springs aloft
Through fields of air; pursues the flying storm;
Rides on the vollied lightning through the heavens;
Or, yoked with whirlwinds and the northern blast,
Sweeps the long tract of day. Then high she soars
The blue profound, and hovering round the Sun,
Beholds him pouring the redundant stream
Of light; beholds his unrelenting sway
Bend the reluctant planets to absolve
The fated rounds of time. Thence far effused,
She darts her swiftness up the long career
Of devious comets; through its burning signs
Exulting measures the perennial wheel
Of Nature, and looks back on all the stars,
Whose blended light, as with a milky zone,
Invests the orient. Now amazed she views
The empyreal waste, where happy spirits hold,
Beyond this concave heaven, their calm abode,
And fields of radiance, whose unfading light
Has travelled the profound six thousand years,
Nor yet arrives in sight of mortal things.
Even on the barriers of the world untired,
She meditates the eternal depth below;
Till half recoiling, down the headlong steep

Throned inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
The full blaze of thy beams, and, through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes!'—*Milton.*

The same thought, as every one will recollect, is used by Gray in speaking of Milton himself.

'He saw, but blasted with excess of light,
Closed his eyes in endless night.'

Philo, however, will bear the test of a comparison with either poet. Instead of introducing the image of mere bodily vision, he has applied the figure of the Divine Light to express the truth, that the mind of man forms but an obscure and imperfect idea of God through the very perfection of His nature.

She plunges; soon o'erwhelmed and swallowed up
In that immense of being. There her hopes
Rest at the fated goal.'

In the revised edition, the last lines are thus altered:

———‘ down
The gloomy void, astonished, yet unquelled,
She plungeth; down the unfathomable gulph
Where God alone hath being. There her hopes
Rest at the fated goal.'——*Ed. of* 1757.

I must confess that the conclusion of Akenside seems to me, in either form of it, obscure and unhappy. It does not harmonize with the spirit and poetical energy of what precedes. The ‘headlong steep’ and ‘gloomy void’ to which the English poet conducts the soul, are not comparable, in sublimity or in justness of thought, to the overwhelming splendor, with which the Jewish philosopher invests the highest object of intellect, the Divinity.

Poetry.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

Sir,—I send you a few verses, which were written for the beautiful air of ‘Silent, Oh Moyle;’ and that I had regard in composing them to their fitness for that music, rather than their exact conformity to the rules of metre, will account for, and, I hope, excuse, the apparent halting of some of the lines.

TWILIGHT AND AUTUMN.

Mark how the earth, as the months are declining,
Casts her green robes of beauty away;
In crimson and gold, groves and mountains are shining,
Decked, as they fade, in their brightest array.
Proudly they stand in gorgeous splendor,
Glorious mid the gathering gloom;
Calmly waiting to surrender
Honors that freshly in spring shall bloom.

Low in the west day's king is descending,
Wrapt in his mantle of beauty and light;
The clouds, as they change, on their monarch attending,
Press o'er his path and involve it in night.

Yet, though in darkness and clouds disappearing,
Light eternal round him flows ;
Light, that man and nature cheering,
Shall call the gay morn from its deep repose.

Oh, when the day of thy life is over,
In brightness like this mayst thou sink to thy rest ;
While the last dark clouds that around thee hover
Beam with light from the realms of the blest.
Thus may thy pure and ripened spirit
Glow in life's autumnal ray ;
Calmly waiting to inherit
Heaven's joyous springtime that fades not away.

TO THE MEMORY OF A FRIEND AND RELATIVE.

BY MRS HEMANS.

[*From the Manuscript.*]

'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'

We miss thy voice while early flowers are blowing,
And the first flush of blossom clothes each bough,
And the spring sunshine round our home is glowing,
Soft as thy smile—thou shouldst be with us now !

With *us !*—we wrong thee by the earthly thought—
Could our fond gaze but follow where thou art,
Well might the glories of this world seem nought
To the one promise given the pure in heart.

Yet wert thou blest e'en here—oh ! ever blest
In thine own sunny thoughts and tranquil faith ;—
The silent joy that still o'erflowed thy breast,
Needed but guarding from all change, by death.

So is it sealed to peace !—on thy clear brow
Never was care one fleeting shade to cast,
And thy calm days in brightness were to flow,
A holy stream, untroubled to the last !

Farewell ! thy life hath left surviving love
A wealth of records and sweet 'feelings given,'

From sorrow's heart the faintness to remove,
By whispers breathing 'less of earth than heaven.'*

Thus rests thy spirit still on those with whom
Thy step the paths of joyous duty trod,
Bidding them make an altar of thy tomb,
Where chastened thought may offer praise to God!

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* Alluding to the lines she herself quoted, from the Lady of the Lake, but an hour before her death—

'Some feelings are to mortals given
With less of earth in them than heaven'—

'and these,' she said, 'I feel now!'

Review.

Art. XIII.—*The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte, Emperor of the French. With a Preliminary View of the French Revolution. By* The Author of 'Waverley,' &c. Philadelphia, Carey, Lea & Carey, 1827. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 516, 400, 438.

The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte by Sir Walter Scott has been anticipated with an eagerness, proportioned to the unrivalled power of the author, and to the wonderful endowments and fortunes of the hero. That the general expectation has been satisfied, we cannot affirm. But few will deny, that the writer has given us a monument of his great talents. The rapidity with which such a work has been thrown off astonishes us. We think, however, that the author owed to himself and to the public a more deliberate execution of this important undertaking. He should either have abandoned it, or have bestowed on it the long and patient labor which it required. The marks of negligence and haste, which are spread through the work, are serious blemishes, perhaps inexpiable defects. It wants compression and selection throughout. Many passages are encumbered with verbiage. Many thoughts are weakened by useless expansion and worse than useless repetition. Comparisons are accumulated to excess, and whilst many are exquisite, perhaps as many are trite and unworthy of history. The remarks are generally just, but obvious, and we fear we must add, often superficial. We state these defects plainly, that we may express the more freely our admiration of the talents, which have executed so rapidly, a work so extensive and various, so rich in information, so fresh and vivid in description, and furnishing such abundant specimens of a free, graceful, and vigorous style.

The work has the great merit of impartiality. It is probably inaccurate in many of its details, but singularly free from prejudice and passion. Not a few, who considered that the author was both a Briton and a friend of the principles and policy of Pitt, were expecting from his pen a discolored delineation of the implacable foe of England and of that great minister. But the rectitude of his mind, and his reverence for historical truth, have effectually preserved him from abusing the great power, conferred on him by his talents, over public opinion. We think that his laudable fear of wronging the enemy of his country, joined to an admiration of the dazzling qualities of Napoleon, has led him to soften unduly the crimes of his hero, and to give more favorable impressions than truth will warrant.

But enough of the author, who needs not our praise, and can suffer little by our censure. Our concern is with his subject. A just estimate of the late emperor of France seems to us important. That extraordinary man, having operated on the world with unprecedented power during his life, is now influencing it by his character. That character, we apprehend, is not viewed as it should be. The kind of admiration which it inspires, even in free countries, is a bad omen. The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence, which is its due; and which, if really felt, would fix on the usurper a brand of indelible infamy. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to its intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men, who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it, with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful, which no glare of successful war, and no admiration of the crowd, can induce us to suppress. We mean then to speak freely of Napoleon. But if we know ourselves, we could on no account utter one unjust reproach. We speak the more freely, because conscious of exemption from every feeling like animosity. We war not with the dead. We would resist only what we deem the pernicious influence of the dead. We would devote ourselves to the cause of freedom and humanity, a cause perpetually betrayed by the admiration lavished on prosperous crime and allgrasping ambition. Our great topic will be the Character of Napoleon; and with this we shall naturally intersperse reflections on the great interests which he perpetually influenced.

We begin with observing, that it is an act of justice to Bonaparte to remember, that he grew up under disastrous influences, in a troubled day, when men's minds were convulsed, old institutions overthrown, old opinions shaken, old restraints snapped asunder; when the authority of religion was spurned, and youth abandoned to unwonted license; when the imagination was made feverish by visions of indistinct good, and the passions swelled by the sympathy of millions to a resistless torrent. A more dangerous school for the character cannot well be conceived. That Allseeing Being, who knows the trials of his creatures and the secrets of the heart, can alone judge to what degree crimes are extenuated by circumstances so inauspicious. This we must remember in reviewing the history of men, who were exposed to trials unknown to ourselves. But because the turpitude of an evil agent is diminished by infelicities of education or condition, we must not therefore confound the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, and withhold our reprobation from atrocities which have spread misery and slavery far and wide.

It is also due to Napoleon to observe, that there has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of military and political life. The wrongdoing of public men on a large scale, has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. Nations have seemed to court aggression and bondage, by their stupid, insane admiration of successful tyrants. The wrongs, from which men have suffered most, in body and mind, are yet unpunished. True, Christianity has put into our lips censures on the aspiring and the usurping. But these reproaches are as yet little more than sounds, and unmeaning commonplaces. They are repeated for form's sake. When we read or hear them, we feel that they want depth and strength. They are not inward, solemn, burning convictions, breaking from the indignant soul with a tone of reality, before which guilt would cower. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created. We believe, then, that such a character as Bonaparte's, is formed with very little consciousness of its turpitude; and society, which contributes so much to its growth, is responsible for its existence, and merits in part the misery which it spreads.

Of the early influences, under which Bonaparte was formed, we know little. He was educated in a military school, and this, we apprehend, is not an institution to form much delicacy, or independence of moral feeling; for the young soldier is taught, as his first duty, to obey his superior without consulting his conscience; to take human life at another's bidding; to perform that deed, which above all others requires deliberate conviction, without a moment's inquiry as to its justice, and to place himself a passive instrument in hands, which, as all history teaches, often reek with blood causelessly shed.

His first political association was with the Jacobins, the most sanguinary of all the factions which raged in France, and whose sway is emphatically called 'the reign of terror.' The service which secured his command in Italy, was the turning of his artillery on the people, who, however dangerous when acting as a mob, happened in the present case to understand their rights, and were directing their violence against manifest usurpation.

His first campaign was in Italy, and we have still a vivid recollection of the almost rapturous admiration, with which we followed his first triumphs; for then we were simple enough to regard him as the chosen guardian of liberty. His peculiar tactics were not then understood; the secret of his success had not reached us; and his rapid victories stimulated the imagination to invest him with the mysterious powers of a hero of romance. We confess that we cannot now read the history of his Italian wars without a quickened movement in the veins. The rapidity of his conceptions; the inexhaustibleness of his invention; the energy of his will; the decision which suffered not a moment's pause between the purpose and its execution; the presence of mind, which, amidst sudden reverses and on the brink of ruin, devised the means of safety and success; these commanding attributes, added to a courage, which, however suspected afterwards, never faltered then, compel us to bestow, what indeed we have no desire to withhold, the admiration which is due to superior power.

Let not the friends of peace be offended. We have said, and we repeat it, that we have no desire to withhold our admiration from the energies, which war often awakens. Great powers, even in their perversion, attest a glorious nature, and we may feel their grandeur, whilst we condemn, with our whole strength of moral feeling, the evil passions by which they are depraved. We are willing to grant that war, abhor it as we may, often developes and places in strong light, a force of intellect and purpose, which raises our conceptions of the human soul. There is perhaps no moment in life, in which the mind is brought into such intense action, in which the will is so strenuous, and in which irrepressible excitement is so tempered with selfpossession, as in the hour of battle. Still the greatness of the warrior is poor and low compared with the magnanimity of virtue. It vanishes before the greatness of principle. The martyr to humanity, to freedom, or religion; the unshrinking adherent of despised and deserted truth; who, alone, unsupported, and scorned, with no crowd to infuse into him courage, no variety of objects to draw his thoughts from himself, no opportunity of effort or resistance to rouse and nourish energy, still yields himself calmly, resolutely, with invincible philanthropy, to bear prolonged and exquisite suffering, which one retracting word might remove, such a man is as superior to the warrior, as the tranquil and boundless heavens above us, to the low earth we tread beneath our feet.

We have spoken of the energies of mind called forth by war. If we may be allowed a short digression, which however bears directly on our main subject, the merits of Napoleon, we would observe, that military talent, even of the highest order, is far from holding the first place among intellectual endowments. It is one of the lower forms of genius; for it is not coversant with the highest and richest objects of thought. We grant that a mind, which takes in a wide country at a glance, and understands almost by intuition the positions it affords for a successful campaign, is a comprehensive and vigorous one. The general, who disposes his forces so as to counteract a greater force; who supplies by skill, science, and genius, the want of numbers; who dives into the counsels of his enemy, and who gives unity, energy, and success to a vast sphere of operations, in the midst of casualties and obstructions which no wisdom could foresee, manifests great power. But still the chief work of a general is to apply physical force; to remove physical obstructions; to avail himself of physical aids and advantages; to act on matter; to overcome rivers, ramparts, mountains, and human muscles; and these are not the highest objects of mind, nor do they demand intelligence of the highest order; and accordingly nothing is more common than to find men, eminent in this department, who are almost wholly wanting in the noblest energies of the soul; in imagination and taste, in the capacity of enjoying works of genius, in large views of human nature, in the moral sciences, in the application of analysis and generalization to the human mind and to society, and in original conceptions on the great subjects which have absorbed the most glorious understandings. The office of a great general does not differ widely from that of a great mechanician, whose business it is to frame new combinations of physical forces, to adapt them to new circumstances, and to remove new obstructions. Accordingly great generals, away from the camp, are commonly no greater men than the mechanician taken from his workshop. In conversation they are often dull. Works of profound thinking on general and great topics they cannot comprehend. The conqueror of Napoleon, the hero of Waterloo, undoubtedly possesses great military talents; but we have never heard of his eloquence in the senate, or of his sagacity in the cabinet; and we venture to say, that he will leave the world, without adding one new thought on the great themes, on which the genius of philosophy and legislature has meditated for ages. We will not go down for illustration to such men as Nelson, a man great on the deck, but debased by gross vices, and who never pretended to enlargement of intellect. To institute a comparison in point of talent and genius between such men and Milton, Bacon, and Shakspeare, is almost an insult on these illustrious names. Who can think of these truly great intelligences; of the range of their minds through heaven and earth; of their deep intuition into the soul; of their new and glowing combinations of thought; of the energy with which they grasped and subjected to their main purpose, the infinite materials of illustration which nature and life afford; who can think of the forms of transcendent beauty and grandeur which they created, or which were rather emanations of their own minds; of the calm wisdom and fervid impetuous imagination which they conjoined; of the dominion which they have exerted over so many generations, and which time only extends and makes sure; of the voice of power, in which, though dead, they still speak to nations, and awaken intellect, sensibility, and genius in both hemispheres; who can think of such men, and not feel the immense inferiority of the most gifted warrior, whose elements of thought are physical forces and physical obstructions, and whose employment is the combination of the lowest class of objects, on which a powerful mind can be employed.

We return to Napoleon. His splendid victories in Italy spread his name like lightning through the civilized world. Unhappily they emboldened him to those unprincipled and open aggressions, to the indulgence of that lawless, imperious spirit, which marked his future course, and kept pace with his growing power. In his victorious career, he soon came in contact with States, some of which, as Tuscany and Venice, had acknowledged the French Republic, whilst others, as Parma and Modena, had observed a strict neutrality. The oldfashioned laws of nations, under which such states would have found shelter, seemed never to have crossed the mind of the young victor. Not satisfied with violating the neutrality of all, he seized the port of Leghorn, and ruined the once flourishing commerce of Tuscany; and having exacted heavy tribute from Parma and Modena, he compelled these powers to surrender, what had hitherto been held sacred in the utmost extremities of war, some of their choicest pictures, the chief ornaments of their capitals. We are sometimes told of the good done by Napoleon to Italy. But we have heard his name pronounced as indignantly there as here. An Italian cannot forgive him for robbing that country of its noblest works of art, its dearest treasures and glories, which had made it a land of pilgrimage to men of taste and genius from the whole civilized world, and which had upheld and solaced its pride under conquest and humiliation. From this use of power in the very dawn of his fortunes, it might easily have been foretold, what part he would act in the stormy day which was approaching, when the sceptre of France and Europe was to be offered to any strong hand, which should be daring enough to grasp it.

Next to Italy, Egypt became the stage for the display of Napoleon; Egypt, a province of the Grand Signior, with whom France was in profound peace, and who, according to the long established relations of Europe, was her natural ally. It would seem, that this expedition was Bonaparte's own project. His motives are not very distinctly stated by his biographer. We doubt not that his great aim was conspicuousness. He chose a theatre where all eyes could be turned upon him. He saw that the time for usurpation had not yet come in France. To use his own language, 'the fruit was not yet ripe.' He wanted a field of action which would draw upon him the gaze of the world, and from which he might return at the favorable moment for the prosecution of his enterprises at home. At the same time he undoubtedly admitted into his mind, which success had already intoxicated, some vague wild hope of making an impression on the Eastern world, which might place its destinies at his command, and give him a throne more enviable than Europe could bestow. His course in the East exhibited the same lawlessness, the same contempt of all restraints on his power, which we have already noted. No means, which promised success, were thought the worse for their guilt. It was not enough for him to boast of his triumphs over the cross, or to profess Mahometanism. He claimed inspiration, and a commission from God, and was anxious to join the character of prophet to that of hero. This was the beginning of the great weaknesses and errors into which he was betrayed by that spirit of selfexaggeration, which, under the influence of past success and of unbounded flattery, was already growing into a kind of insanity. In his own view he was fit to be a compeer with Mahomet. His greatness in his own eyes made him blind to the folly of urging his supernatural claims on the Turk, who contemned, even more than he abhorred, a Frank; and who would sooner have sold himself a slave to Christians, than have acknowledged a renegade Christian as a sharer of the glories of Mahomet. It was not enough for Bonaparte, on this expedition, to insult God, to show an impiety as foolish as it was daring. He proceeded to trample on the sentiments and dictates of humanity with equal hardihood. The massacre of Jaffa is universally known. Twelve hundred prisoners, and probably more, who had surrendered themselves to Napoleon, and were apparently admitted to quarter, were two days afterwards marched out of the fort, divided into small bodies, and then deliberately shot, and, in case the musket was not effectual, were despatched by bayonets. This was an outrage, which cannot be sheltered by the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are. It was the deed of a bandit and savage, and ought to be execrated by good men, who value and would preserve the mitigations which Christianity has infused into the conduct of national hostilities.

The next great event in Bonaparte's history was the usurpation of the supreme power of the state, and the establishment of military despotism over France. On the particulars of this criminal act we have no desire to enlarge, nor are we anxious to ascertain, whether our hero, on this occasion, lost his courage and selfpossession, as he is reported to have done. We are more anxious to express our convictions of the turpitude of this outrage on liberty and justice. For this crime but one apology can be offered. Napoleon, it is said, seized the reins, when, had he let them slip, they would have fallen into other hands. He enslaved France at a moment, when, had he spared her, she would have found another tyrant. Admitting the truth of the plea, what is it but the reasoning of the highwayman, who robs and murders the traveller, because the booty was about to be seized by another hand, or because another dagger was ready to do the bloody deed? We are aware that the indignation, with which we regard this crime of Napoleon, will find a response in few breasts; for to the multitude a throne is a temptation which no virtue can be expected to withstand. But moral truth is immoveable amidst the sophistry, ridicule, and abject reasonings of men, and the time will come, when it will find a meet voice to give it utterance. Of all crimes against society, usurpation is the blackest. He who lifts a parricidal hand against his country's rights and freedom; who plants his foot on the necks of thirty millions of his fellow creatures; who concentrates in his single hand the powers of a mighty empire, and who wields its powers, squanders its treasures, and pours forth its blood like water, to make other nations slaves and the world his prey; this man, as he unites all crimes in his sanguinary career, so he should be set apart by the human race for their unmingled and unmeasured abhorrence, and should bear on his guilty head a mark as opprobrious as that which the first murderer wore. We cannot think with patience of one man fastening chains on a whole people, and subjecting millions to his single will; of whole regions overshadowed by the tyranny of a frail being like ourselves. In anguish of spirit we exclaim, How long will an abject world kiss the foot which tramples it? How long shall crime find shelter in its very aggravations and excess?

Perhaps it may be said, that our indignation seems to light on Napoleon, not so much because he was a despot, as because he became a despot by usurpation; that we seem not to hate tyranny itself, so much as a particular mode of gaining it. We do indeed regard usurpation as a crime of peculiar blackness, especially when committed, as in the case of Napoleon, in the name of liberty. All despotism, however, whether usurped or hereditary, is our abhorrence. We regard it as the most grievous wrong and insult to the human race. But towards the hereditary despot we have more of compassion than indignation. Nursed and brought up in delusion, worshipped from his cradle, never spoken to in the tone of fearless truth, taught to look on the great mass of his fellow beings as an inferior race, and to regard despotism as a law of nature and a necessary element of social life; such a prince, whose education and condition almost deny him the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling and manly virtue, must not be judged severely. Still, in absolving the despot from much of the guilt which seems at first to attach to his unlawful and abused power, we do not the less account despotism a wrong and a curse. The time for its fall, we trust, is coming. It cannot fall too soon. It has long enough wrung from the laborer his hard earnings; long enough squandered a nation's wealth on its parasites and minions; long enough warred against the freedom of the mind, and arrested the progress of truth. It has filled dungeons enough with the brave and good, and shed enough of the blood of patriots. Let its end come. It cannot come too soon.

We have now followed Bonaparte to the moment of possessing himself of the supreme power. Those who were associated with him in subverting the government of the Directory, essayed to lay restraints on the First Consul, who was to take their place. But he indignantly repelled them. He held the sword, and with this, not only intimidated the selfish, but awed and silenced the patriotic, who saw too plainly, that it could only be wrested from him by renewing the horrors of the revolution.—We now proceed to consider some of the means, by which he consolidated his power, and raised it into the imperial dignity. We consider these as much more important illustrations of his character than his successive campaigns, to which accordingly we shall give little attention.

One of his first measures for giving stability to his power, was certainly a wise one, and was obviously dictated by his situation and character. Having seized the first dignity in the state by military force, and leaning on a devoted soldiery, he was under no necessity of binding himself to any of the parties which had distracted the country, a vassalage to which his domineering spirit could ill have stooped. Policy and his love of mastery pointed out to him an indiscriminate employment of the leading men of all parties; and not a few of these had become so selfish and desperate in the disastrous progress of the revolution, that they were ready to break up old connexions, and to divide the spoils of the Republic with a master. Accordingly he adopted a system of comprehension and lenity, from which even the emigrants were not excluded, and had the satisfaction of seeing almost the whole talent which the revolution had quickened, leagued in the execution of his plans. Under the able men, whom he called to his aid, the finances and the war department, which had fallen into a confusion that threatened ruin to the state, were soon restored to order, and means and forces provided for retrieving the recent defeats and disgraces of the French armies.

This leads us to mention another and most important and effectual means by which Napoleon secured and enlarged his power. We refer to the brilliant campaign immediately following his elevation to the Consulate, and which restored to France the ascendancy which she had lost during his absence. On his success at this juncture his future fortunes wholly depended. It was in this campaign that he proved himself the worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden, gave the impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition. This enterprise was in one view a fearful omen to Europe. It showed a power over the minds of his soldiers, the effects of which were not to be calculated. The conquest of St Bernard by a French army was the boast of the nation; but a still more wonderful thing was, the capacity of the general to inspire into that army the intense force, confidence, resolution, and patience, by which alone the work could be accomplished. The victory of Marengo, gained by one of the accidents of war in the moment of apparent defeat and ruin, secured to Bonaparte the dominion which he coveted. France, who, in her madness and folly, had placed her happiness in conquest, now felt that the glory of her arms was safe only in the hands of the First Consul; whilst the soldiery, who held the sceptre in their gift, became more thoroughly satisfied, that triumph and spoils waited on his standard.

Another important and essential means of securing and building up his power, was the system of *espionage*, called the Police, which, under the Directory, had received a developement worthy of those friends of freedom, but which was destined to be perfected by the wisdom of Napoleon. It would seem as if despotism, profiting by the experience of ages, had put forth her whole skill and resources in forming the French police, and had forged a weapon, never to be surpassed, for stifling the faintest breathings of disaffection, and chaining every free thought. This system of *espionage*, (we are proud that we have no English word for the infernal machine,) had indeed been used under all tyrannies. But it wanted the craft of Fouché, and the energy of Bonaparte, to disclose all its powers. In the language of our author, 'it spread through all the ramifications of society;' that is, every man, of the least importance in the community, had the eye of a spy upon him. He was watched at home as well as abroad, in the boudoir and theatre, in the brothel and gaming house; and these last named haunts furnished not a few ministers of the Argus-eyed police. There was an ear open through all France to catch the whispers of discontent; a power of evil, which aimed to rival, in omnipresence and invisibleness, the benignant agency of the Deity. Of all instruments of tyranny, this is the most detestable; for it chills the freedom and warmth of social intercourse; locks up the heart; infects and darkens men's minds with mutual jealousies and fears; and reduces to system a wary dissimulation, subversive of force and manliness of character. We find, however, some consolation in learning that tyrants are the prey of distrust, as well as the people over whom they set this cruel guard; that tyrants cannot confide in their own spies, but must keep watch over the machinery which we have described, lest it recoil upon themselves. Bonaparte at the head of an army is a dazzling spectacle; but Bonaparte, heading a horde of spies, compelled to doubt and fear these base instruments of his power, compelled to divide them into bands, and to receive daily reports from each, so that by balancing them against each other and sifting their testimony, he might gather the truth; Bonaparte, thus employed, is any thing but imposing. It requires no great elevation of thought to look down on such an occupation with scorn; and we see, in the anxiety and degradation which it involves, the beginning of that retribution which tyranny cannot escape.

Another means by which the First Consul protected his power can excite no wonder. That he should fetter the press, should banish or imprison refractory editors, should subject the journals and more important works of literature to jealous superintendence, these were things of course. Free writing and despotism are such implacable foes, that we hardly think of blaming a tyrant for keeping no terms with the press. He cannot do it. He might as reasonably choose a volcano for the foundation of his throne. Necessity is laid upon him, unless he is in love with ruin, to check the bold and honest expression of thought. But the necessity is his own choice; and let infamy be that man's portion, who seizes a power which he cannot sustain, but by dooming the mind, through a vast empire, to slavery, and by turning the press, that great organ of truth, into an instrument of public delusion and debasement.

We pass to another means of removing obstructions to his power and ambition, still worse than the last. We refer to the terror which he spread by his severities, just before assuming the imperial power. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien was justified by Napoleon as a method of striking fear into the Bourbons, who, as he said, were plotting his death. This may have been one motive; for we have reason to think that he was about that time threatened with assassination. But we believe still more, that he intended to awe into acquiescence the opposition, which, he knew, would be awakened in many breasts, by the prostration of the forms of the republic, and the open assumption of the imperial dignity. There were times when Bonaparte disclaimed the origination of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. But no other could have originated it. It bears internal marks of its author. The boldness, decision, and overpowering rapidity of the crime, point unerringly to the soul where it was conceived. We believe that one great recommendation of this murder, was, that it would strike amazement and terror into France and Europe, and show that he was prepared to shed any blood, and to sweep before him every obstruction, in his way to absolute power. Certain it is, that the open murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and the justly suspected assassinations of Pichegru and Wright, did create a dread, such as had not been felt before; and whilst on previous occasions some faint breathings of liberty were to be heard in the legislative bodies, only one voice, that of Carnot, was raised against investing Bonaparte with the imperial crown, and laying France, an unprotected victim, at his feet.

There remain for our consideration other means employed by Bonaparte for building up and establishing his power, of a different character from those we have named, and which on this account we cannot pass without notice. One of these was the Concordat which he extorted from the Pope, and which professed to reestablish the Catholic religion in France. Our religious prejudices have no influence on our judgment of this measure. We make no objections to it, as the restoration of a worship which on many accounts we condemn. We view it now simply as an instrument of policy, and in this light, it seems to us no proof of the sagacity of Bonaparte. It helps to confirm in us an impression, which other parts of his history give us, that he did not understand the peculiar character of his age, and the peculiar and original policy which it demanded. He always used commonplace means of power, although the unprecedented times in which he lived, required a system, which should combine untried resources; and touch new springs of action. Because old governments had found a convenient prop in religion, Napoleon imagined that it was a necessary appendage and support of his sway, and resolved to restore it. But at this moment there were no foundations in France for a religious establishment, which could give strength and a character of sacredness to the supreme power. There was comparatively no faith, no devout feeling, and still more, no superstition to supply the place of these. The time for the reaction of the religious principle had not yet arrived; and a more likely means of retarding it could hardly have been devised, than the nursing care extended to the church by Bonaparte, the recent Mussulman, the known despiser of the ancient faith, who had no worship at heart but the worship of himself. Instead of bringing religion to the aid of the state, it was impossible that such a man should touch it, without loosening the faint hold which it yet retained on the people. There were none so ignorant as to be the dupes of the First Consul in this particular. Every man, woman, and child knew that he was playing the part of a juggler. Not one religious association could be formed with his character or government. It was a striking proof of the selfexaggerating vanity of Bonaparte, and of his ignorance of the higher principles of human nature, that he not only hoped to revive and turn to his account the old religion, but imagined, that he could, if necessary, have created a new one. 'Had the Pope never existed before, he should have been made for the occasion,' was the speech of this political charlatan; as if religious opinion and feeling were things to be manufactured by a consular decree. Ancient legislators, by adopting and sympathizing with popular and rooted superstitions, were able to press them into the service of their institutions. They were wise enough to build on a preexisting faith, and studiously to conform to it. Bonaparte, in a country of infidelity and atheism, and whilst unable to refrain from sarcasms on the system which he patronized, was weak enough to believe that he might make it a substantial support of his government. He undoubtedly congratulated himself on the terms, which he exacted from the Pope, and which had never been conceded to the most powerful monarchs; forgetting that his apparent success was the defeat of his plans; for just as far as he severed the church from the supreme pontiff, and placed himself conspicuously at its head, he destroyed the only connexion which could give it influence. Just so far its power over opinion and conscience ceased. It became a coarse instrument of state, contemned by the people, and serving only to demonstrate the aspiring views of its master. Accordingly the French bishops in general refused to hold their dignities under this new head, preferred exile to the sacrifice of the rights of the church, and left behind them a hearty abhorrence of the Concordat among the more zealous members of their communion. Happy would it have been for Napoleon, had he left the Pope and the church to themselves. By occasionally recognizing and employing, and then insulting and degrading the Roman pontiff, he exasperated a large part of Christendom, fastened on himself the brand of impiety, and awakened a religious hatred which contributed its full measure to his fall.

As another means employed by Bonaparte for giving strength and honor to his government, we may name the grandeur of his public works, which he began in his consulate and continued after his accession to the imperial dignity. These dazzled France, and still impress travellers with admiration. Could we separate these from his history, and did no other indication of his character survive, we should undoubtedly honor him with the title of a beneficent sovereign; but connected as they are, they do little or nothing to change our conceptions of him as an allgrasping, unprincipled usurper. Paris was the chief object of these labors; and surely we cannot wonder, that he who aimed at universal dominion, should strive to improve and adorn the metropolis of his empire. It is the practice of despots to be lavish of expense on the royal residence and the seat of government. Travellers in France, as in other countries of the continent, are struck and pained by the contrast between the magnificent capital and the mud-walled village, and uninteresting province. Bonaparte had a special motive for decorating Paris, for 'Paris is France,' as has often been observed; and in conciliating the vanity of the great city, he secured the obedience of the whole country.

The boasted internal improvements of Napoleon scarcely deserve to be named, if we compare their influence with the operation of his public measures. The conscription, which drew from agriculture its most effective laborers, and his continental system, which sealed up every port and annihilated the commerce of his empire, drained and exhausted France to a degree, for which his artificial stimulants of industry, and his splendid projects afforded no compensation. Perhaps the most admired of all his public works, is the road over the Simplon, to which all travellers concur in giving the epithet, stupendous. But it ought not to amaze us, that he, who was aspiring at unlimited dominion, should establish communications between the different provinces of his empire. It ought not to amaze us, that he, who had scaled the glaciers of St Bernard, should covet some easier passage for pouring his troops into Italy; nor is it very wonderful, that a sovereign, who commanded the revenues of Europe, and who lived in an age when civil engineering had been advanced to a perfection before unknown, should accomplish a bolder enterprise than his predecessors. We would add, that Napoleon must divide with Fabbroni the glory of the road over the Simplon; for the genius, which contrived and constructed, is more properly its author, than the will which commanded it.

There is however one great work, which gives Bonaparte a fair claim on the gratitude of posterity, and entitles him to an honorable renown. We refer to the new code of laws, which was given to France under his auspices. His participation in this work has indeed been unwarrantably and ridiculously magnified. Because he attended the meetings of the commissioners to whom it was assigned, and made some useful and sagacious suggestions, he has been praised, as if he had struck out, by the miraculous force of his genius, a new code of laws. The truth is, that he employed for this work, as he should have done, the most eminent civilians of the empire; and it is also true that these learned men have little claim to originality; for, as our author observes, the code 'has few peculiarities making a difference betwixt its principles and those of the Roman law.' In other words, they preferred wisdom to novelty. Still Bonaparte deserves great praise for his interest in the work, for the impulse he gave to those to whom it was committed, and for the time and thought, which, amidst the cares of a vast empire, he bestowed upon it. That his ambition incited him to this labor, we doubt not. He meant to entwine the laurels of Justinian with those of Alexander. But we will not quarrel with ambition, when it is wise enough to devote itself to the happiness of mankind. In the present case, he showed that he understood something of true glory ; and we prize the instance more, because it stands almost alone in his history. We look on the conqueror, the usurper, the spoiler of kingdoms, the insatiable despot, with disgust, and see in all these characters an essential vulgarness of mind. But when we regard him as a Fountain of Justice to a vast empire, we recognize in him a resemblance to the just and benignant Deity, and cheerfully accord to him the praise of bestowing on a nation one of the greatest gifts, and of the most important means of improvement and happinesss, which it is permitted to man to confer. It was however the misery of Bonaparte, a curse brought on him by his crimes, that he could touch nothing without leaving on it the polluting mark of despotism. His usurpation took from him the power of legislating with magnanimity, where his own interest was concerned. He could provide for the administration of justice between man and man, but not between the citizen and the ruler. Political offences, the very class which ought to be submitted to a jury, were denied that mode of trial. Juries might decide on other criminal questions ; but they were not to be permitted to interpose between the despot and the ill fated subjects, who might fall under his suspicion. These were arraigned before 'special tribunals, invested with a half military character,' the ready ministers of nefarious prosecutions, and only intended to cloak by legal forms the murderous purpose of the tyrant.

We have thus considered some of the means by which Bonaparte consolidated and extended his power. We now see him advanced to that imperial throne, on which he had long fixed his eager eye. We see France now awed and now dazzled by the influence we have described, and at last surrendering, by public, deliberate acts, without a struggle or a show of opposition, her rights, liberties, interests, and power to an absolute master and to his posterity forever. Thus perished the name and forms of the Republic. Thus perished the hopes of philanthropy. The air, which a few years ago resounded with the shouts of a great people casting away their chains, and claiming their birthright of freedom, now rung with the servile cries of long life to a bloodstained usurper. There were indeed generous spirits, true patriots, like our own La Fayette, still left in France. But few and scattered, they were left to shed in secret the tears of sorrowful and indignant despair. By this base and disastrous issue of their revolution, the French nation not only renounced their own rights, but brought reproach on the cause of freedom, which years cannot wash away. This is to us a more painful recollection, than all the desolations which France spread through Europe, and than her own bitter sufferings, when the hour of retribution came upon her. The fields which she laid waste are again waving with harvest; and the groans which broke forth through her cities and villages, when her bravest sons perished by thousands and ten thousands on the snows of Russia, have died away, and her wasted population is renewed. But the wounds which she inflicted on freedom by the crimes perpetrated in that sacred name, and by the abject spirit with which that sacred cause was deserted, are still fresh and bleeding. France not only subjected herself to a tyrant, but what is worse, she has given tyranny every where new pleas and arguments, and emboldened it to preach openly, in the face of heaven, the impious doctrines of absolute power and unconditional submission.

Napoleon was now Emperor of France; and a man unacquainted with human nature, would think that such an empire, whose bounds now extended to the Rhine, might have satisfied even an ambitious man. But Bonaparte obeyed that law of progress, to which the highest minds are peculiarly subjected; and acquisition inflamed, instead of appeasing, the spirit of dominion. He had long proposed to himself the conquest of Europe, of the world; and the title of Emperor added intenseness to this purpose. Did we not fear, that by repetition we might impair the conviction which we are most anxious to impress, we would enlarge on the enormity of the guilt involved in the project of universal empire. Napoleon knew distinctly the price, which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. He knew that the path to it lay over wounded and slaughtered millions, over putrefying heaps of his fellow creatures, over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans; of bereaved friendship and despairing love; and that in addition to this amount of misery, he would create an equal amount of crime, by multiplying indefinitely the instruments and participators of his rapine and fraud. He knew the price and resolved to pay it. But we do not insist on a topic, which few, very few as yet, understand or feel. Turning then for the present from the moral aspect of this enterprise, we will view it in another light, which is of great importance to a just estimate of his claims on admiration. We will inquire into the nature and fitness of the measures and policy which he adopted, for compassing the subjugation of Europe and the world.

We are aware, that this discussion may expose us to the charge of great presumption. It may be said that men, having no access to the secrets of cabinets, and no participation in public affairs, are not the best judges of the policy of such a man as Napoleon. This we are not anxious to disprove, nor shall we quarrel with our readers for questioning the soundness of our opinions. But we will say, that though distant, we have not been indifferent observers of the great events of our age, and that though conscious of exposure to many errors, we have a strong persuasion of the substantial correctness of our views. We express then, without reserve, our belief, that the policy of Napoleon was wanting in sagacity, and that he proved himself incapable, as we before suggested, of understanding the character and answering the demands of his age. His system was a repetition of old means, when the state of the world was new. The sword and the police, which had sufficed him for enslaving France, were not the only powers required for his designs against the human race. Other resources were to be discovered or created; and the genius for calling them forth did not, we conceive, belong to Napoleon.

The circumstances under which Napoleon aspired to universal empire, differed in many respects from those under which former conquerors were placed. It was easy for Rome, when she had subdued kingdoms, to reduce them to provinces and to govern them by force; for nations at that period were bound together by no tie. They had little communication with each other. Differences of origin, of religion, of manners, of language, of modes of warfare; differences aggravated by long and ferocious wars, and by the general want of civilisation, prevented joint action, and almost all concern for one another's fate. Modern Europe, on the other hand, was an assemblage of civilized states, closely connected by commerce, by literature, by a common faith, by interchange of thoughts and improvements, and by a policy which had for ages proposed, as its chief object, the establishment of such a balance of power as would secure national independence. Under these influences the human mind had made great progress; and in truth the French revolution had resulted from an unprecedented excitement and developement of men's faculties, and from the extension of power and intelligence through a vastly wider class, than had participated in them at any former period. The very power, which Napoleon was wielding, might be traced to an enthusiasm essentially generous, and manifesting a tendency of the civilized world to better institutions. It is plain that the old plans of conquest, and the maxims of comparatively barbarous ages, did not suit such a state of society. An ambitious man was to make his way, by allying himself with the new movements and excitements of the world. The existence of a vast maritime power like England, which, by its command of the ocean and its extensive commerce, was brought into contact with every community, and which at the same time enjoyed the enviable preeminence of possessing the freest institutions in Europe, was of itself a sufficient motive for a great modification of the policy, by which one state was now to be placed at the head of the nations. The peculiar character and influence of England, Bonaparte seemed indeed never able to comprehend; and the violent measures, by which he essayed to tear asunder the old connections of that country with the continent, only gave them strength, by adding to the ties of interest those of sympathy, of common suffering, and common danger.

Force and corruption were the great engines of Napoleon, and he plied them without disguise or reserve, not caring how far he insulted, and armed against himself, the moral and national feelings of Europe. His great reliance was on the military spirit and energy of the French people. To make France a nation of soldiers was the first and main instrument of his policy; and here he was successful. The revolution indeed had in no small degree done this work to his hands. To complete it, he introduced a national system of education, having for its plain end to train the whole youth of France to a military life, to familiarize the mind to this destination from its earliest years, and to associate the idea of glory almost exclusively with arms. The conscription gave full efficacy to this system; for as every young man in the empire had reason to anticipate a summons to the army, the first object in education naturally was, to fit him for the field. The public honors bestowed on military talent, and a rigorous impartiality in awarding promotion to merit, so that no origin, however obscure, was a bar to what were deemed the highest honors of Europe, kindled the ambition of the whole people into a flame, and directed it exclusively to the camp. It is true, the conscription, which thinned so terribly the ranks of her youth, and spread anxiety and bereavement through all her dwellings, was severely felt in France. But Napoleon knew the race whom it was his business to manage; and by the glare of victory, and the title of the Grand Empire, he succeeded in reconciling them for a time to the most painful domestic privations, and to an unexampled waste of life. Thus he secured, what he accounted the most important instrument of dominion, a great military force. But, on the other hand, the stimulants, which, for this purpose, he was forced to apply perpetually to French vanity, the ostentation with which the invincible power of France was trumpeted to the world, and the haughty vaunting style which became the most striking characteristic of that intoxicated people, were perpetual irritations of the national spirit and pride of Europe, and implanted a deep hatred towards the new and insulting empire, which waited but for a favorable moment to repay with interest the debt of humiliation.

The condition of Europe forbade, as we believe, the establishment of universal monarchy by mere physical force. The sword, however important, was now to play but a secondary part. The true course for Napoleon seems to us to have been indicated, not only by the state of Europe, but by the means which France in the beginning of her revolution had found most effectual. He should have identified himself with some great interests, opinion, or institutions, by which he might have bound to himself a large party in every nation. He should have contrived to make at least a specious cause against all old establishments. To contrast himself most strikingly and most advantageously with former governments, should have been the key of his policy. He should have placed himself at the head of a new order of things, which should have worn the face of an improvement of the social state. Nor did the subversion of republican forms prevent his adoption of this course, or of some other which would have secured to him the sympathy of multitudes. He might still have drawn some broad lines between his own administration and that of other states, tending to throw the old dynasties into the shade.* He might have cast away all the pageantry and forms of courts, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his establishments, and exaggerated the relief which he gave to his people, by saving them the burdens of a wasteful and luxurious court. He might have insisted on the great benefits that had accrued to France from the establishment of uniform laws, which protected alike all classes of men; and he might have virtually pledged himself to the subversion of the feudal inequalities which still disfigured Europe. He might have insisted on the favorable changes to be introduced into property, by abolishing the entails which fettered it, the rights of primogeniture, and the exclusive privileges of a haughty aristocracy. He might have found abuses enough against which to array himself as a champion. By becoming the head of new institutions, which would have involved the transfer of power into new hands, and would have offered to the people a real improvement, he might every where have summoned to his standard the bold and enterprising, and might have disarmed the national prejudices to which he fell a prey. Revolution was still the true instrument of power. In a word, Napoleon lived at a period, when he could only establish a durable and universal control, through principles and institutions of some kind or other, to which he would seem to be devoted.

It was impossible, however, for such a man as Napoleon, to adopt, perhaps to conceive, a system such as has now been traced; for it was wholly at war with that egotistical, selfrelying, selfexaggerating principle, which was the most striking feature of his mind. He imagined himself able, not only to conquer nations, but to hold them together by the awe and admiration which his own character would inspire; and this bond he preferred to every other. An indirect sway, a control of nations by means of institutions, principles, or prejudices, of which he was to be only the apostle and defender, was utterly inconsistent with that vehemence of will, that passion for astonishing mankind, and that persuasion of his own invincibleness, which were his master feelings, and which made force his darling instrument of dominion. He chose to be the great, palpable, and sole bond of his empire; to have his image reflected from every establishment; to be the centre, in which every ray of glory should meet, and from which every impulse should be propagated. In consequence of this egotism, he never dreamed of adapting himself to the moral condition of the world. The sword was his chosen weapon, and he used it without disguise. He insulted nations as well as sovereigns. He did not attempt to gild their chains, or to fit the yoke gently to their necks. The excess of his extortions, the audacity of his claims, and the insolent language in which Europe was spoken of as the vassal of the great empire, discovered, that he expected to reign, not only without linking himself with the interests, prejudices, and national feelings of men, but by setting all at defiance.

It would be easy to point out a multitude of instances in which he sacrificed the only policy by which he could prevail, to the persuasion, that his own greatness could more than balance whatever opposition his violence might awaken. In an age in which Christianity was exerting some power, there was certainly a degree of deference due to the moral convictions of society. But Napoleon thought himself more than a match for the moral instincts and sentiments of our nature. He thought himself able to cover the most atrocious deeds by the splendor of his name, and even to extort applause for crimes by the brilliancy of his success. He took no pains to conciliate esteem. In his own eyes he was mightier than conscience; and thus he turned against himself the power and resentment of virtue, in every breast where that divine principle yet found a home.

Through the same blinding egotism, he was anxious to fill the thrones of Europe with men bearing his own name, and to multiply every where images of himself. Instead of placing over conquered countries efficient men, taken from themselves, who, by upholding better institutions, would carry with them large masses of the people, and who would still, by their hostility to the old dynasties, link their fortunes with his own, he placed over nations such men as Jerome and Murat. He thus spread a jealousy of his power, whilst he rendered it insecure; for as none of the princes of his creation, however well disposed, were allowed to identify themselves with their subjects, and to take root in the public heart, but were compelled to act, openly and without disguise, as satellites and prefects of the French emperor; they gained no hold on their subjects, and could bring no strength to their master in his hour of peril. In none of his arrangements did Napoleon think of securing to his cause the attachment of nations. Astonishment, awe, and force were his weapons, and his own great name the chosen pillar of his throne.

So far was Bonaparte from magnifying the contrast and distinctions between himself and the old dynasties of Europe, and from attaching men to himself by new principles and institutions, that he had the great weakness, for so we view it, to revive the old forms of monarchy, and to ape the manners of the old court, and thus to connect himself with the herd of legitimate sovereigns. This was not only to rob his government of that imposing character which might have been given to it, and of that interest which it might have inspired, as an improvement on former institutions, but was to become competitor in a race in which he could not but be distanced. He could indeed pluck crowns from the heads of monarchs; but he could not by any means infuse their blood into his veins, associate with himself the ideas which are attached to a long line of ancestry, or give to his court the grace of manners, which belongs to older establishments. His true policy was, to throw contempt on distinctions, which he could not rival; and had he possessed the genius and spirit of the founder of a new era, he would have substituted for a crown, and for other long worn badges of power, a new and simple style of grandeur, and new insignia of dignity, more consonant with an enlightened age, and worthy of one who disdained to be a vulgar king. By the policy which he adopted, if it be worthy of that name, he became a vulgar king, and showed a mind incapable of answering the wants and demands of his age. It is well known, that the progress of intelligence had done much in Europe, to weaken men's reverence for pageantry and show. Nobles had learned to lay aside their trappings in ordinary life, and to appear as gentlemen. Even royalty had begun to retrench its pomp; and in the face of all this improvement, Bonaparte stooped from his height, to study costumes, to legislate about court dresses and court manners, and to outshine his brother monarchs in their own line. He desired to add the glory of master of ceremonies to that of conquerer of nations. In his anxiety to belong to the caste of kings, he exacted scrupulously the observance and etiquette with which they are approached. Not satisfied with this approximation to the old sovereigns, with whom he had no common interest, and from whom he could not have removed himself too far, he sought to ally himself by marriage with the royal families in Europe, to engraft himself and his posterity on an old imperial tree. This was the very way to turn back opinion into its old channels; to carry back Europe to its old prejudices; to facilitate the restoration of its old order; to preach up legitimacy; to crush every hope that he was to work a beneficent change among nations. It may seem strange, that his egotism did not preserve him from the imitation of antiquated monarchy. But his egotism, though excessive, was not lofty, nor was it seconded by a genius, rich and inventive, except in war.

We have now followed Napoleon to the height of his power, and given our views of the policy by which he hoped to make that power perpetual and unbounded. His fall is easily explained. It had its origin in that spirit of selfreliance and selfexaggeration, of which we have seen so many proofs. It began in Spain. That country was a province in reality. He wanted to make it one in name; to place over it a Bonaparte; to make it a more striking manifestation of his power. For this purpose, he 'kidknapped' its royal family, stirred up the unconquerable spirit of its people, and, after shedding on its plains and mountains the best blood of France, lost it for ever. Next came his expedition against Russia, an expedition against which his wisest counsellors remonstrated, but which had every recommendation to a man who regarded himself as an exception to his race, and able to triumph over the laws of nature. So insane were his selfconfidence and impatience of opposition, that he drove by his outrages Sweden, the old ally of France, into the arms of Russia, at the very moment that he was about to throw himself into the heart of that mighty empire. On his Russian campaign we have no desire to enlarge. Of all the mournful pages of history, none are more sad than that which records the retreat of the French army from Moscow. We remember, that when the intelligence of Napoleon's discomfiture in Russia first reached this country, we were among those who exulted in it, thinking only of the results. But when subsequent and minuter accounts brought distinctly before our eyes that unequalled army of France, broken, famished, slaughtered, seeking shelter under snowdrifts, and perishing by intense cold, we looked back on our joy with almost a consciousness of guilt, and expiated by a sincere grief our insensibility to the sufferings of our fellow creatures. We understand that many interesting notices of Napoleon, as he appeared in this disastrous campaign, are given in the Memoirs of Count Segur, a book, from which we have been repelled by the sorrows and miseries which it details. We can conceive few subjects more worthy of Shakspeare than the mind of Napoleon, at this moment, when his fate was sealed; when the tide of his victories was suddenly stopped and rolled backwards; when his dreams of invincibleness were broken as by a peal of thunder; when the word, which had awed nations, died away, on the bleak waste, a powerless sound; and when he, whose spirit Europe could not bound, fled in fear from a captive's doom. The shock must have been tremendous to a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled to humiliation. The intense agony of that moment when he gave the unusual orders, to retreat; the desolateness of his soul, when he saw his brave soldiers, and his chosen guards sinking in the snows, and perishing in crowds around him; his unwillingness to receive the details of his losses, lest selfpossession should fail him; the levity and badinage of his interview with the Abbé de Pradt at Warsaw, discovering a mind laboring to throw off an insupportable weight, wrestling with itself, struggling against misery; and though last not least, his unconquerable purpose, still clinging to lost empire as the only good of life;

these workings of such a spirit would have furnished to the great dramatist a theme, worthy of his transcendent powers.

By the irretrievable disasters of the Russian campaign, the empire of the world was effectually placed beyond the grasp of Napoleon. The tide of conquest had ebbed, never to return. The spell which had bound the nations was dissolved. He was no longer the Invincible. The weight of military power, which had kept down the spirit of nations, was removed, and their long smothered sense of wrong and insult broke forth like the fires of a volcano. Bonaparte might still, perhaps, have secured the throne of France; but that of Europe was gone. This however, he did not, could not, would not understand. He had connected with himself too obstinately the character of the world's master, to be able to relinquish it. Amidst the dark omens which gathered round him, he still saw in his past wonderful escapes, and in his own exaggerated energies, the means of rebuilding his fallen power. Accordingly the thought of abandoning his pretensions does not seem to have crossed his mind, and his irreparable defeat was only a summons to new exertion.—We doubt, indeed, whether Napoleon, if he could have understood fully his condition, would have adopted a different course. Though despairing, he would probably have raised new armies, and fought to the last. To a mind, which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, the thought of descending to the level even of kings, is intolerable. Napoleon's mind had been stretched by such ideas of universal empire, that France, though reaching from the Rhine to the Alps, seemed narrow to him. He could not be shut up in it. Accordingly, as his fortunes darkened, we see no signs of relenting. He could not wear, he said, 'a tarnished crown,' that is, a crown no brighter than those of Austria and Russia. He continued to use a master's tone. He showed no change, but such as opposition works in the obstinate. He lost his temper and grew sour. He heaped reproaches on his marshals, and the legislative body. He insulted Metternich, the statesman, on whom, above all others, his fate depended. He irritated Murat by sarcasms, which rankled within him, and accelerated, if they did not determine, his desertion of his master. It is a striking example of retribution, that the very vehemence and sternness of his will, which had borne him onward to dominion, now drove him to the rejection of terms which would have left him a formidable power, and thus made his ruin entire. Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting with a stubbornness, which reminds us of a spoiled child, who sullenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance, until his little fingers are one by one unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. Thus fell Napoleon. We shall follow his history no farther. His retreat to Elba, his irruption into France, his signal overthrow, and his banishment to St Helena, though they add to the romance of his history, throw no new light on his character, and would of course contribute nothing to our present object. There are indeed incidents in this portion of his life which are somewhat inconsistent with the firmness and conscious superiority which belonged to him. But a man, into whose character so much impulse, and so little principle entered, must not be expected to preserve unblemished, in such hard reverses, the dignity and selfrespect of an emperor and a hero.

In the course of these remarks, our views of the Conqueror, of the First Consul, and of the Emperor, have been given plainly and freely. The subject, however, is so important and interesting, that we have thought it worth our while, though at the hazard of some repetition, to bring together, in a narrower compass, what seem to us the great leading features of the intellectual and moral character of Napoleon Bonaparte.

His intellect was distinguished by rapidity of thought. He understood by a glance what most men, and superior men, could learn only by study. He darted to a conclusion rather by intuition than reasoning. In war, which was the only subject of which he was master, he seized in an instant on the great points of his own and his enemy's positions; and combined at once the movements, by which an overpowering force might be thrown with unexpected fury on a vulnerable part of the hostile line, and the fate of an army be decided in a day. He understood war as a science; but his mind was too bold, rapid, and irrepressible, to be enslaved by the technics of his profession. He found the old armies fighting by rule, and he discovered the true characteristic of genius, which, without despising rules, knows when and how to break them. He understood thoroughly the immense moral power, which is gained by originality and rapidity of operation. He astonished and paralyzed his enemies by his unforeseen and impetuous assaults, by the suddenness with which the storm of battle burst upon them ; and, whilst giving to his soldiers the advantages of modern discipline, breathed into them, by his quick and decisive movements, the enthusiasm of ruder ages. This power of disheartening the foe, and of spreading through his own ranks a confidence, and exhilarating courage, which made war a pastime, and seemed to make victory sure, distinguished Napoleon in an age of uncommon military talent, and was one main instrument of his future power.

The wonderful effects of that rapidity of thought by which Bonaparte was marked, the signal success of his new mode of warfare, and the almost incredible speed with which his fame was spread through nations, had no small influence in fixing his character and determining for a period the fate of empires. These stirring influences infused a new consciousness of his own might. They gave intensity and audacity to his ambition ; gave form and substance to his indefinite visions of glory, and raised his fiery hopes to empire. The burst of admiration, which his early career called forth, must in particular have had an influence, in imparting to his ambition that modification by which it was characterized, and which contributed alike to its success and to its fall. He began with *astonishing* the world, with producing a sudden and universal *sensation*, such as modern times had not witnessed. To *astonish* as well as to sway by his energies, became the great aim of his life. Henceforth to rule was not enough for Bonaparte. He wanted to amaze, to dazzle, to overpower men's souls, by striking, bold, magnificent, and unanticipated results. To govern ever so absolutely would not have satisfied him, if he must have governed silently. He wanted to reign through wonder and awe, by the grandeur and terror of his name, by displays of power which would rivet on him every eye, and make him the theme of every tongue. Power was his supreme object, but a power which should be gazed at as well as felt, which should strike men as a prodigy, which should shake old thrones as an earthquake, and by the suddenness of its new creations should awaken something of the submissive wonder which miraculous agency inspires.

Such seems to us to have been the distinction, or characteristic modification of his love of fame. It was a diseased passion for a kind of admiration, which, from the principles of our nature, cannot be enduring, and which demands for its support perpetual and more stimulating novelty. Mere esteem he would have scorned. Calm admiration, though universal, and enduring, would have been insipid. He wanted to electrify and overwhelm. He lived for effect. The world was his theatre, and he cared little what part he played, if he might walk the sole hero on the stage, and call forth bursts of applause, which would silence all other fame. In war the triumphs which he coveted were those, in which he seemed to sweep away his foes like a whirlwind; and the immense and unparalleled sacrifice of his own soldiers, in the rapid marches and daring assaults to which he owed his victories, in no degree diminished their worth to the victor. In peace, he delighted to hurry through his dominions; to multiply himself by his rapid movements; to gather at a glance the capacities of improvement which every important place possessed; to suggest plans which would startle by their originality and vastness; to project in an instant works which a life could not accomplish, and to leave behind the impression of a superhuman energy.

Our sketch of Bonaparte would be imperfect indeed, if we did not add, that he was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of *selfexaggeration*. The singular energy of his intellect and will, through which he had mastered so many rivals and foes, and overcome what seemed insuperable obstacles, inspired a consciousness of being something more than man. His strong original tendencies to pride and selfexaltation, fed and pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled into an almost insane conviction of superhuman greatness. In his own view, he stood apart from other men. He was not to be measured by the standard of humanity. He was not to be retarded by difficulties to which all others yielded. He was not to be subjected to laws and obligations which all others were expected to obey. Nature and the human will were to bend to his power. He was the child and favorite of fortune, and if not the lord, the chief object of destiny. His history shows a spirit of selfexaggeration, unrivalled in enlightened ages, and which reminds us of an oriental king to whom incense had been burnt from his birth as to a deity. This was the chief source of his crimes. He wanted the sentiment of a common nature with his fellow beings. He had no sympathies with his race. That feeling of brotherhood, which is developed in truly great souls with peculiar energy, and through which they give up themselves willing victims, joyful sacrifices, to the interests of mankind, was wholly unknown to him. His heart, amidst all its wild beatings, never had one throb of disinterested love. The ties which bind man to man he broke asunder. The proper happiness of a man, which consists in the victory of moral energy and social affection over the selfish passions, he cast away for the lonely joy of a despot. With powers, which might have made him a glorious representative and minister of the beneficent Divinity, and with natural sensibilities which might have been exalted into sublime virtues, he chose to separate himself from his kind, to forego their love, esteem, and gratitude, that he might become their gaze, their fear, their wonder; and for this selfish, solitary good, parted with peace and imperishable renown.

This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged, broke out in the beginning of his career. His first success in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour. One can hardly help being struck with the *natural* manner with which he arrogates supremacy in his conversation and proclamations. We never feel as if he were putting on a lordly air, or borrowing an imperious tone. In his proudest claims, he speaks from his own mind, and in native language. His style is swollen, but never strained, as if he were conscious of playing a part above his real claims. Even when he was foolish and impious enough to arrogate miraculous powers and a mission from God, his language showed, that he thought there was something in his character and exploits to give a color to his blasphemous pretensions. The empire of the world seemed to him to be in a measure his due, for nothing short of it corresponded with his conceptions of himself; and he did not use mere verbiage, but spoke a language to which he gave some credit, when he called his successive conquests 'the fulfilment of his destiny.'

This spirit of selfexaggeration wrought its own misery, and drew down upon him terrible punishments; and this it did by vitiating and perverting his high powers. First, it diseased his fine intellect, gave imagination the ascendency over judgment, turned the inventiveness and fruitfulness of his mind into rash, impatient, restless energies, and thus precipitated him into projects, which, as the wisdom of his counsellors pronounced, were fraught with ruin. To a man whose vanity took him out of the rank of human beings, no foundation for reasoning was left. All things seemed possible. His genius and his fortune were not to be bounded by the barriers, which experience had assigned to human powers. Ordinary rules did not apply to him. His imagination, disordered by his selfexaggerating spirit and by unbounded flattery, leaped over appalling obstacles to the prize which inflamed his ambition. He even found excitement and motives in obstacles, before which other men would have wavered; for these would enhance the glory of triumph, and give a new thrill to the admiration of the world. Accordingly he again and again plunged into the depths of an enemy's country, and staked his whole fortune and power on a single battle. To be rash was indeed the necessary result of his selfexalting and selfrelying spirit; for to dare what no other man would dare, to accomplish what no other man would attempt, was the very way to display himself as a superior being in his own and other's eyes.—To be impatient and restless was another necessary issue of the attributes we have described. The calmness of wisdom was denied him. He, who was next to omnipotent in his own eyes, and who delighted to strike and astonish by sudden and conspicuous operations, could not brook delay or wait for the slow operations of time. A work, which was to be gradually matured by the joint agency of various causes, could not suit a man, who wanted to be felt as the great, perhaps only, cause; who wished to stamp his own agency in the most glaring characters on whatever he performed; and who hoped to rival by a sudden energy the steady and progressive works of nature. Hence so many of his projects were never completed, or only announced. They swelled however the tide of flattery, which ascribed to him the completion of what was not yet begun, whilst his restless spirit, rushing to new enterprises, forgot its pledges, and left the promised prodigies of his creative genius to exist only in the records of adulation.—Thus the rapid and inventive intellect of Bonaparte was depraved, and failed to achieve a growing and durable greatness, through his selfexaggerating spirit. It reared indeed a vast and imposing structure, but disproportioned, disjointed, without strength, without foundations. One strong blast was enough to shake and shatter it, nor could his genius uphold it. Happy would it have been for his fame, had he been buried in its ruins.

One of the striking properties of Bonaparte's character was decision, and this, as we have already seen, was perverted, by the spirit of selfexaggeration, into an inflexible stubbornness, which counsel could not enlighten, nor circumstances bend. Having taken the first step, he pressed onward. His purpose he wished others to regard as a law of nature, or a decree of destiny. It *must* be accomplished. Resistance but strengthened it; and so often had resistance been overborne, that he felt as if his unconquerable will, joined to his matchless intellect, could vanquish all things. On such a mind the warnings of human wisdom and of Providence were spent in vain; and the Man of Destiny lived to teach others, if not himself, the weakness and folly of that all-defying decision, which arrays the purposes of a mortal with the immutableness of the counsels of the Most High.

A still more fatal influence of the spirit of selfexaggeration which characterized Bonaparte, remains to be named. It depraved to an extraordinary degree his moral sense. It did not obliterate altogether the ideas of duty, but, by a singular perversion, it impelled him to apply them exclusively to others. It never seemed to enter his thought, that he was subject to the great obligations of morality, which all others are called to respect. He was an exempted being. Whatever stood in his way to empire, he was privileged to remove. Treaties only bound his enemies. No nation had rights but his own France. He claimed a monopoly in perfidy and violence. He was not naturally cruel; but when human life obstructed his progress, it was a lawful prey, and murder and assassination occasioned as little compunction as war. The most luminous exposition of his moral code was given in his counsels to the king of Holland. 'Never forget, that in the situation to which my political system and the interests of my empire have called you, your first duty is towards ME, your second towards France. All your other duties, even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these.' To his own mind he was the source and centre of duty. He was too peculiar and exalted, to be touched by that vulgar stain, called guilt. Crimes ceased to be such, when perpetrated by himself. Accordingly he always speaks of his transgressions as of indifferent acts. He never imagined that they tarnished his glory, or diminished his claim on the homage of the world. In St Helena, though talking perpetually of himself, and often reviewing his guilty career, we are not aware that a single compunction escapes him. He speaks of his life as calmly as if it had been consecrated to duty and beneficence, whilst in the same breath he has the audacity to reproach unsparingly the faithlessness of almost every individual and nation, with whom he had been connected. We doubt whether history furnishes so striking an example of the moral blindness and obduracy to which an unbounded egotism exposes and abandons the mind.

His spirit of selfexaggeration was seen in his openness to adulation. Policy indeed prompted him to put his praises into the mouths of the venal slaves, who administered his despotism. But flattery would not have been permitted to swell into exaggerations, now nauseous, now ludicrous, and now impious, if, in the bosom of the chief, there had not lodged a flatterer who sounded a louder note of praise than all around him. He was remarkably sensitive to opinion, and resented as a wrong the suppression of his praises. The press of all countries was watched, and free states were called upon to curb it for daring to take liberties with his name. Even in books published in France on general topics, he expected a recognition of his authority. Works of talent were suppressed, when their authors refused to offer incense at the new shrine. He wished indeed to stamp his name on the literature, as on the legislation, policy, warfare of his age, and to compel genius, whose pages survive statues, columns, and empires, to take a place among his tributaries.

We close our view of Bonaparte's character, by saying, that his original propensities, released from restraint, and pampered by indulgence, to a degree seldom allowed to mortals, grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever usurped the human heart. The love of power and supremacy absorbed, consumed him. No other passion, no domestic attachment, no private friendship, no love of pleasure, no relish for letters or the arts, no human sympathy, no human weakness, divided his mind with the passion for dominion and for dazzling manifestations of his power. Before this, duty, honor, love, humanity fell prostrate. Josephine, we are told, was dear to him; but the devoted wife, who had stood firm and faithful in the day of his doubtful fortunes, was cast off in his prosperity, to make room for a stranger, who might be more subservient to his power. He was affectionate, we are told, to his brothers and mother; but his brothers, the moment they ceased to be his tools, were disgraced; and his mother, it is said, was not allowed to sit in the presence of her imperial son.* He was sometimes softened, we are told, by the sight of the field of battle strown with the wounded and dead. But if the Moloch of his ambition claimed new heaps of slain tomorrow, it was never denied. With all his sensibility, he gave millions to the sword, with as little compunction as he would have brushed away so many insects, which had infested his march. To him, all human will, desire, power, were to bend. His superiority, none might question. He insulted the fallen, who had contracted the guilt of opposing his progress; and not even woman's loveliness, and the dignity of a queen, could give shelter from his contumely. His allies were his vassals, nor was their vassalage concealed. Too lofty to use the arts of conciliation, preferring command to persuasion, overbearing, and allgrasping, he spread distrust, exasperation, fear, and revenge through Europe; and when the day of retribution came, the old antipathies and mutual jealousies of nations were swallowed up in one burning purpose to prostrate the common tyrant, the universal foe.

Such was Napoleon Bonaparte. But some will say, he was still a great man. This we mean not to deny. But we would have it understood, that there are various kinds or orders of greatness, and that the highest did not belong to Bonaparte. There are different orders of greatness. Among these the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity; to that sublime energy, by which the soul, smitten with the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom, virtue, and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever 'ready to be offered up' on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this moral greatness, which throws all other forms of greatness into obscurity, we see not a trace or spark in Napoleon. Though clothed with the power of a God, the thought of consecrating himself to the introduction of a new and higher era, to the exaltation of the character and condition of his race, seems never to have dawned on his mind. The spirit of disinterestedness and selfsacrifice seems not to have waged a moment's war with selfwill and ambition. His ruling passions, indeed, were singularly at variance with magnanimity. Moral greatness has too much simplicity, is too unostentatious, too selfsubsistent, and enters into others' interests with too much heartiness, to live a day for what Napoleon always lived, to make itself the theme, and gaze, and wonder of a dazzled world.—Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this, we mean that sublime capacity of thought, through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and allcomprehending laws of nature, binds together by innumerable affinities and relations all the objects of its knowledge, and, not satisfied with what exists and with what is finite, frames to itself ideal excellence, loveliness, and grandeur. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, inspired poets, and to the master spirits in the fine arts.—Next comes the greatness of *action*; and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving and executing bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects. To this head belongs the greatness of Bonaparte, and that he possessed it, we need not prove, and none will be hardy enough to deny. A man, who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, who changed the face of the world, who made himself felt through powerful and civilized nations, who sent the terror of his name across seas and oceans, whose will was pronounced and feared as destiny, whose donatives were crowns, whose antechamber was thronged by submissive princes, who broke down the awful barrier of the Alps and made them a highway, and whose fame was spread beyond the boundaries of civilisation to the steppes of the Cossack, and the deserts of the Arab; a man, who has left this record of himself in history, has taken out of our hands the question, whether he shall be called great. All must concede to him a sublime power of action, an energy equal to great effects.

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* See 'America,' page 57. We should not give this very unamiable trait of Napoleon's domestic character, but on authority which we cannot question.

We are not disposed, however, to consider him as preeminent even in this order of greatness. War was his chief sphere. He gained his ascendency in Europe by the sword. But war is not the field for the highest active talent, and Napoleon, we suspect, was conscious of this truth. The glory of being the greatest general of his age, would not have satisfied him. He would have scorned to take his place by the side of Marlborough or Turenne. It was as the founder of an empire, which threatened for a time to comprehend the world, and which demanded other talents besides that of war, that he challenged unrivalled fame. And here we question his claim. Here we cannot award him supremacy. The project of universal empire, however imposing, was not original. The revolutionary governments of France had adopted it before; nor can we consider it as a sure indication of greatness, when we remember that the weak and vain mind of Louis XIV. was large enough to cherish it. The question is; Did Napoleon bring to this design the capacity of advancing it by bold and original conceptions, adapted to an age of civilisation, and of singular intellectual and moral excitement? Did he discover new foundations of power? Did he frame new bonds of union for subjugated nations? Did he discover, or originate, some common interests by which his empire might be held together? Did he breathe a spirit which should supplant the old national attachments, or did he invent any substitutes for those vulgar instruments of force and corruption, which any and every usurper would have used? Never in the records of time, did the world furnish such materials to work with, such means of modelling nations afresh, of building up a new power, of introducing a new era, as did Europe at the period of the French revolution. Never was the human mind so capable of new impulses. And did Napoleon prove himself equal to the condition of the world? Do we detect one original conception in his means of universal empire? Did he seize on the enthusiasm of his age, that powerful principle, more efficient than arms or policy, and bend it to his purpose? What did he do but follow the beaten track? but apply force and fraud in their very coarsest forms? Napoleon showed a vulgar mind, when he assumed selfinterest as the sole spring of human action. With the sword in one hand and bribes in the other, he imagined himself absolute master of the human mind. The strength of moral, national, and domestic feeling, he could not comprehend. The finest, and after all, the most powerful elements in human nature, hardly entered into his conceptions of it; and how then could he have established a durable power over the human race? We want little more to show his want of originality and comprehensiveness as the founder of an empire, than the simple fact, that he chose as his chief counsellors Talleyrand and Fouché, names which speak for themselves. We may judge of the greatness of the master spirit, from the minds which he found most congenial with his own. In war, Bonaparte was great; for he was bold, original, and creative. Beyond the camp he indeed showed talent, but not superior to that of other eminent men.

There have been two circumstances, which have done much to disarm or weaken the strong moral reprobation with which Bonaparte ought to have been regarded, and which we deem worthy of notice. We refer to the wrongs which he is supposed to have suffered at St Helena, and to the unworthy use which the Allied Powers have made of their triumph over Napoleon. First, his supposed wrongs at St Helena have excited a sympathy in his behalf, which has thrown a veil over his crimes. We are not disposed to deny, that an unwarrantable, because unnecessary, severity was exercised towards Bonaparte. We think it not very creditable to the British government, that it tortured a sensitive captive by refusing him a title which he had long worn. We think that not only religion and humanity, but selfrespect forbids us to inflict a single useless pang on a fallen foe. But we should be weak indeed, if the moral judgments and feelings, with which Napoleon's career ought to be reviewed, should give place to sympathy with the sufferings by which it was closed. With regard to the scruples, which not a few have expressed as to the right of banishing him to St Helena, we can only say, that our consciences are not yet refined to such exquisite delicacy, as to be at all sensitive on this particular. We admire nothing more in Bonaparte, than the effrontery with which he claimed protection from the laws of nations. That a man, who had set these laws at open defiance, should fly to them for shelter; that the oppressor of the world should claim its sympathy as an oppressed man, and that his claim should find advocates; these things are to be set down among the extraordinary events of this extraordinary age. Truly, the human race is in a pitiable state. It may be trampled on, spoiled, loaded like a beast of burden, made the prey of rapacity, insolence, and the sword; but it must not touch a hair, or disturb the pillow of one of its oppressors, unless it can find chapter and verse in the code of national law, to authorize its rudeness towards the privileged offender. For ourselves, we should rejoice to see every tyrant, whether a usurper or hereditary prince, fastened to a lonely rock in the ocean. Whoever gives clear, undoubted proof, that he is prepared and sternly resolved to make the earth a slaughterhouse, and to crush every will adverse to his own, ought to be caged like a wild beast; and to require mankind to proceed against him according to written laws and precedents, as if he were a private citizen in a quiet court of justice, is just as rational as to require a man, in imminent peril from an assassin, to wait and prosecute his murderer according to the most protracted forms of law. There are great solemn rights of nature, which precede laws, and on which law is founded. There are great exigences in human affairs, which speak for themselves, and need no precedent to teach the right path. There are awful periods in the history of our race, which do not belong to its ordinary state, and which are not to be governed and judged by ordinary rules. Such a period was that, when Bonaparte, by infraction of solemn engagements, had thrown himself into France, and convulsed all Europe; and they, who confound this with the ordinary events of history, and see in Bonaparte but an ordinary foe to the peace and independence of nations, have certainly very different intellects from our own.

We confess, too, that we are not only unable to see the wrong done to Napoleon in sending him to St Helena, but that we cannot muster up much sympathy for the inconveniences and privations which he endured there. Our sympathies in this particular are wayward and untractable. When we would carry them to that solitary island, and fasten them on the illustrious victim of British cruelty, they will not tarry there, but take their flight across the Mediterranean to Jaffa, and across the Atlantic to the platform where the Duke d'Enghien was shot, to the prison of Toussaint, and to fields of battle where thousands at his bidding lay weltering in blood. When we strive to fix our thoughts upon the sufferings of the injured hero, other and more terrible sufferings, of which he was the cause, rush upon us; and his complaints, however loud and angry, are drowned by groans, and execrations which fill our ears from every region which he traversed. We have no tears to spare for fallen greatness, when that greatness was founded in crime, and reared by force and perfidy. We reserve them for those on whose ruin it rose. We keep our sympathies for our race, for human nature in its humbler forms, for the impoverished peasant, the widowed mother, the violated virgin; and are even perverse enough to rejoice, that the ocean has a prisonhouse, where the author of those miseries may be safely lodged. Bonaparte's history is to us too solemn, the wrongs for which humanity and freedom arraign him, are too flagrant, to allow us to play the part of sentimentalists around his grave at St Helena. We leave this to the more refined age in which we live; and we do so in the hope that an age is coming of less tender mould, but of loftier, sterner feeling, and of deeper sympathy with the whole human race. Should our humble page then live, we trust with an undoubting faith, that the uncompromising indignation with which we plead the cause of our oppressed and insulted nature, will not be set down to the account of our vindictiveness and hardness of heart.

We observed that the moral indignation of many towards Bonaparte had been impaired or turned away, not only by his supposed wrongs, but by the unworthy use which his conquerors made of their triumph. We are told, that bad as was his despotism, the Holy Alliance is a worse one ; and that Napoleon was less a scourge, than the present coalition of the continental monarchs, framed for the systematic suppression of freedom. By such reasoning, his crimes are cloaked, and his fall made a theme of lamentation. It is not one of the smallest errors and sins of the Allied Sovereigns, that they have contrived, by their base policy, to turn the resentments and moral displeasure of men from the usurper upon themselves. For these sovereigns we have no defence to offer. We yield to none in detestation of the Holy Alliance, profanely so called. To us its doctrines are as false and pestilent, as any broached by Jacobinism. The Allied Monarchs are adding to the other wrongs of despots, that of flagrant ingratitude ; of ingratitude to the generous and brave nations, to whom they owe their thrones, whose spirit of independence and patriotism, and whose hatred of the oppressor, contributed more than standing armies, to raise up the fallen, and to strengthen the falling monarchies of Europe. Be it never forgotten in the records of despotism, let history record it on her most durable tablet, that the first use made by the principal continental sovereigns of their regained or confirmed power, was, to conspire against the hopes and rights of the nations by whom they had been saved ; and to combine the military power of Europe against free institutions, against the press, against the spirit of liberty and patriotism which had sprung up in the glorious struggle with Napoleon, against the right of the people to exert an influence on the governments by which their dearest interests were to be controlled. Never be it forgotten, that such was the honor of sovereigns, such their requital for the blood which had been shed freely in their defence. Freedom and humanity send up a solemn, and prevailing cry against them to that tribunal, where kings and subjects are soon to stand as equals.

But still we should be strangely blind, if we were not to feel that the fall of Napoleon was a blessing to the world. Who can look, for example, at France, and not see there a degree of freedom which could never have grown up under the terrible frown of the usurper? True, Bonaparte's life, though it seemed a charmed one, must at length have ended; and we are told that then his empire would have been broken, and that the general crash, by some inexplicable process, would have given birth to a more extensive and durable liberty than can now be hoped. But such anticipations seem to us to be built on a strange inattention to the nature and inevitable consequences of Napoleon's power. It was wholly a military power. He was literally turning Europe into a camp, and drawing its best talent into one occupation, war. Thus Europe was retracing its steps to those ages of calamity and darkness, when the only law was the sword. The progress of centuries, which had consisted chiefly in the substitution of intelligence, public opinion, and other mild and rational influences, for brutal force, was to be reversed. At Bonaparte's death, his empire must, indeed, have been dissolved; but military chiefs, like Alexander's lieutenants, would have divided it. The sword alone would have shaped its future communities; and after years of desolation and bloodshed, Europe would have found, not repose, but a respite, an armed truce, under warriors, whose only title to empire would have been their own good blades. and the weight of whose thrones would have been upheld by military force alone. Amidst such convulsions, during which the press would have been every where fettered, and the military spirit would have triumphed over and swallowed up the spirit and glory of letters and liberal arts, we greatly fear, that the human intellect would have lost its present impulse, its thirst for progress, and would have fallen back towards barbarism. Let not the friends of freedom bring dishonor on themselves or desert their cause, by instituting comparisons between Napoleon and legitimate sovereigns, which may be construed into eulogies on the former. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with tyranny, whether it bear the name of usurpation or legitimacy. We are not pleading the cause of the allied sovereigns. In our judgment, they have contracted the very guilt against which they have pretended to combine. In our apprehension, a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power. Still we are bound in truth to confess, that the allied sovereigns are not to be ranked with Bonaparte, whose design against the independence of nations and the liberties of the world, in this age of civilisation, liberal thinking, and christian knowledge, is in our estimation the most nefarious enterprise recorded in history.

The series of events, which it has been our province to review, offers subjects of profound thought and solemn instruction to the moralist and politician. We have retraced it with many painful feelings. It shows us a great people, who had caught some indistinct glimpses of freedom, and of a nobler and a happier political constitution, betrayed by their leaders, and brought back, by a military despot, to heavier chains than they had broken. We see with indignation one man, a man like ourselves, subjecting whole nations to his absolute rule. It is this wrong and insult to our race which has chiefly moved us. Had a storm of God's ordination, passed over Europe, prostrating its capitals, sweeping off its villages, burrying millions in ruins, we should have wept, we should have trembled. But in this there would have been only wretchedness. Now we also see debasement. To us there is something radically, and increasingly shocking, in the thought of one man's will becoming a law to his race; in the thought of multitudes, of vast communities, surrendering conscience, intellect, their affections, their rights, their interests to the stern mandate of a fellow creature. When we see one word of a frail man on the throne of France, tearing a hundred thousand sons from their homes, breaking asunder the sacred ties of domestic life, sentencing myriads of the young to make murder their calling and rapacity their means of support, and extorting from nations their treasures to extend this ruinous sway, we are ready to ask ourselves, Is not this a dream? And when the sad reality comes home to us, we blush for a race which can stoop to such an abject lot. At length, indeed, we see the tyrant humbled, stripped of power; but stripped by those who, with one exception, are not unwilling to play the despot on a narrower scale, and to break down the spirit of nations under the same iron sway.

How is it, that tyranny has thus triumphed? that the hopes with which we greeted the French revolution have been crushed? that an usurper plucked up the last roots of the tree of liberty, and planted despotism in its place? The chief cause is not far to seek, nor can it be too often urged on the friends of freedom. France failed through the want of that moral preparation for liberty, without which the blessing cannot be secured. She was not ripe for the good she sought. She was too corrupt for freedom. France had indeed to contend with great political ignorance; but had not ignorance been reinforced by deep moral defect, she might have won her way to free institutions. Her character forbade her to be free; and it now seems strange that we could ever have expected her to secure this boon. How could we believe, that a liberty, of which that heartless scoffer, Voltaire, was a chief apostle, could have triumphed? Most of the preachers of French liberty had thrown off all the convictions which ennoble the mind. Man's connexion with God they broke, for they declared that there was no God in whom to trust in the great struggle for liberty. Human immortality, that truth which is the seed of all greatness, they derided. To their philosophy, man was a creature of chance, a compound of matter, an ephemeron, a worm, who was soon to rot and perish forever. What insanity was it to expect, that such men were to work out the emancipation of their race! that in such hands the hopes and dearest rights of humanity were secure! Liberty was tainted by their touch, polluted by their breath, and yet we trusted that it was to rise in health and glory from their embrace. We looked to men, who openly founded morality on private interest, for the sacrifices, the devotion, the heroic virtue, which freedom always demands from her assertors.

The great cause of the discomfiture of the late European struggle for liberty, is easily understood by an American, who recurs to the history of his own revolution. This issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of the whole people. It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influences, like 'a mighty heart,' through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free. We have here an explanation of a striking fact in the history of our revolution; we mean the want or absence of that description of great men, whom we meet in other countries; men, who, by their distinct and single agency, and by their splendid deeds, determine a nation's fate. There was too much greatness in the American people, to admit this overshadowing greatness of leaders. Accordingly the United States had no liberator, no political saviour. Washington indeed conferred on us great blessings. But Washington was not a hero in the common sense of that word. We never spoke of him as the French did of Bonaparte, never talked of his eagle-eyed, irresistible genius, as if this were to work out our safety. We never lost our selfrespect. We felt that, under God, we were to be free through our own courage, energy, and wisdom, under the animating and guiding influences of this great and good mind. Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities, and not by transcendent talent, which, we apprehend, he did not possess. To him belonged the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit, which reigned in his country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence. In such a revolution as that of France, Washington would have been nothing; for that sympathy, which subsisted between him and his fellow citizens, and which was the secret of his power, would have been wanting. By an instinct, which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence,the Father of his Country, but not its Saviour. A people, which wants a saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under the despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is it to be hoped, that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues, which, we are told, can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom, are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its temples are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How then is the spirit of a wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force; for nothing is gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles, with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say, that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient, by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men, whom God hath inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom, (and such are spread through all Europe,) must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men in masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction of the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit by every channel, which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and stll more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths, which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to proscribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion; we mean, the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us, clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man, who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death.

This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have been baptized, by a true experience, into this vital and allcomprehending truth, must every where be its propagators; and he who makes one convert to it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment, that we place our hope of freedom; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion, we would rather say, a divine power in sublime moral principle This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes, who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honor, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy, before which tyranny is to fall, is that of virtuous, elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature; which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of selfsacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding, as they should be, in God and in their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.

We close our present labors, with commending to the protection of Almighty God the cause of human freedom and improvement. We adore the wisdom and goodness of his providence, which has ordained, that liberty shall be wrought out by the magnanimity, courage, and sacrifices of men. We bless him for the glorious efforts which this cause has already called forth; for the intrepid defenders who have gathered round it, and whose fame is a most precious legacy of past ages; for the toils and sufferings by which it has been upheld; for the awakening and thrilling voice which comes to us from the dungeon and scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have pined or bled. We bless him, that even tyranny has been overruled for good by exciting a resistance, which has revealed to us the strength of virtuous principle in the human soul. We beseech this Great and Good Parent, from whom all pure influences proceed, to enkindle, by his quickening breath, an unquenchable love of virtue and freedom in those favored men, whom he hath enriched and signalized by eminent gifts and powers, that they may fulfil the high function of inspiring their fellow beings with a consciousness of the birthright and destination of human nature. Wearied with violence and blood, we beseech him to subvert oppressive governments, by the gentle yet awful power of truth and virtue; by the teachings of uncorrupted Christianity; by the sovereignty of enlightened opinion; by the triumph of sentiments of magnanimity; by mild, rational, and purifying influences, which will raise the spirit of the enslaved, and which sovereigns will be unable to withstand. For this peaceful revolution we earnestly pray. If, however, after long forbearing, and unavailing applications to justice and humanity, the friends of freedom should be summoned, by the voice of God within, and by his providence abroad, to vindicate their rights with other arms, to do a sterner work, to repel despotic force by force, may they not forget, even in this hour of provocation, the spirit which their high calling demands. Let them take the sword with awe, as those on whom a holy function is devolved. Let them regard themselves as ministers and delegates of Him, whose dearest attribute is Mercy. Let them not stain their sacred cause by one cruel deed, by the infliction of one needless pang, by shedding without cause one drop of human blood.

Art. XIII.—*The Government of God desirable. A Sermon delivered at Newark, N. J., October*, 1808, *during the Session of the Synod of New York and New Jersey.* By Lyman Beecher, A. M. Pastor of the Church of Christ in East Hampton, Long Island. Seventh Edition. Boston, T. R. Marvin, 1827. 8vo. pp. 27.

We take up this Sermon with no disposition to remark upon its general character, or to connect with it any discussion of its leading positions. The author must creditably explain certain extraordinary statements he has incidentally made in the pamphlet, before we can accept his services as a religious teacher, or with cheerfulness hold any controversy with him whatever. The statements to which we refer, are contained in a note which expressly disclaims to have been written in ignorance, or without examination, and which, if it were not so written, must leave a deep stain upon the character of its author. It is as follows.

> 'I am aware that Calvinists are represented as believing, and teaching, the monstrous doctrine that infants are damned, and that hell is doubtless paved with their bones. But having passed the age of fifty, and been conversant for thirty years with the most approved Calvinistic writers, and personally acquainted with many of the most distinguished Calvinistic divines in New-England, and in the middle and southern and western States, I must say, that I have never seen nor heard of any book which contained such a sentiment, nor a man, minister, or layman, who believed or taught it. And I feel authorised to say, that Calvinists, as a body, are as far from teaching the doctrine of infant damnation, as any of those who falsely accuse them. And I would earnestly and affectionately recommend to all persons, who have been accustomed to propagate this slander, that they commit to memory, without delay, the ninth commandment, which is, "Thou shalt not bear false-witness against thy neighbour."' p. 15. *note.*

Such is the statement of Dr Beecher, made as the result of an examination continued for years. We shall now adduce our authorities for asserting, that, notwithstanding this formal, and, considering all circumstances, this solemn disavowal and denial, the doctrine of infant damnation has been expressly maintained by leading Calvinists, and is connected with essential, vital principles of the Calvinistic system.

We begin with Calvin himself. It would hardly be thought sufficiently to the purpose to quote passages which merely show that he regarded 'the whole human race' as subjected to the 'horrible vengeance of God,' in consequence of Adam's sin and before any actual sin of their own, even though no express exception should be made in favor of infants. But what will be said to such language as follows?

'We all, therefore, who spring from an impure seed, are born infected with the contagion of sin; nay, *before* we behold the light of life, we are in the sight of God polluted and defiled.'*— 'The saying of Paul, that "all are by nature children of wrath," can mean nothing but that they are accursed from the very womb.'†—'And so INFANTS THEMSELVES, as they bring their DAMNATION with them from their mothers' womb, are bound, not by the sin of another, but their own. For although they have not yet produced the fruits of their iniquity, they have the seed of it inclosed within them; nay, their whole nature is, as it were, a seed of sin; so that it cannot but be odious and abominable to God.'‡

'The scripture proclaims that all human beings were in the person of one man given over to eternal death.—How has it happened that the fall of Adam has involved so many nations *with their infant children* in eternal death, but because it so seemed good in the sight of God?'—'It is a dreadful decree, I confess.'§

In another work Calvin takes it even indignantly that he should be supposed to entertain any other opinion than that which, in the name of his school, his modern disciple so imprudently disavows.

'As if I denied,' says he, 'that the whole race of Adam was by nature under a curse, so that even infants before being born to light are exposed to eternal death!'||

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* Calvin. Institut. Lib. II. c. ii, § 5. † Ibid. § 6.

‡ Ibid. § 8. The same words are repeated in Lib. IV. c. xv. § 10. with this introduction.—'It has been already maintained,' he says, 'that original sin is the pravity and corruption of our nature, which first exposes us to God's wrath, and then produces in us those works in scripture called works of the flesh.—Thus, being in every part of our nature vitiated and perverse, we are, on account of such corruption only, deservedly condemned *(damnati)* and held convicted before God, with whom nothing is accepted but righteousness, innocence, purity. And thus even INFANTS THEMSELVES, &c.'—as above.

§ Ibid. Lib. III. c. 23. § 7.

|| Append. Lib. de Vera Eccles. Reform. Ratione.

Will Dr Beecher tell us that he has 'passed the age of fifty, and been conversant for thirty years with the most approved Calvinistic writers,' but has 'never seen nor heard' of the writings of Calvin himself?

But to proceed; one small class of infants, Calvin, in several places in his writings, does seem, at first view, to exempt from the unutterable torments which are to be inflicted upon the rest. They are the children of the elect, of the saints, of believers. In his Form of Baptism for the use of the Genevan Church he says;

> 'Our best and most benignant God, not content to have adopted us as his children, and to have admitted us to the communion of his church, has been pleased to extend still further his benignity towards us; promising us that he would be both our God, and truly also the God of our race and posterity, even to the thousandth generation. Wherefore, though the children of the faithful are of the corrupt stock and race of Adam, he nevertheless admits them to himself on account of the covenant entered into with their parents, and holds and numbers them for his children. And for this cause even from the commencement of the rising church he ordained that infants should receive the mark of circumcision, by which mark was then signified and shown forth all those things which now are designed in baptism.'

In his commentary on 1 Corinthians, vii. 14, he answers the question, how the children of a believing parent can be called *holy*, as they are by St Paul, in consistency with the fact of their total depravity by nature. He says;

> 'The state of nature is alike in all, so that all are exposed to sin and eternal death. As to the special privilege which the apostle here ascribes to the children of the faithful, it flows from the benefit of the covenant, by the supervention of which the curse of our nature is done away; and they who were profane by nature are consecrated to God by grace. Hence St Paul, Romans xi. 16, argues that the whole race of Abraham was holy; because God had entered into a covenant of life with him; "*If the root be holy*," he says, "*then are the branches holy.*" And he calls all the descendants of Israel sons of God. Now, the partition wall being broken down, the same covenant of salvation which was entered into with the seed of Abraham, is extended in common to us. But if *the children of believers are exempted from the common fate of the human race to be separated to the Lord*, why should we prohibit them from the sign? If the Lord admits

them by his word into his church, why should we deny them the sign?'

Here certainly, if there be no double meaning in the words, there seems to be a gleam of comfort. The children of the saints are safe. They will escape from the utter wretchedness, to which the most of us are destined, into the gloom of a Calvinistic heaven. So the great master seems to have been understood by some of his followers, and those among the most distinguished. Grotius had represented it as the doctrine of Calvin, that from the breast of the same christian mother, one child was conveyed to heaven and another to hell. His opponent, Rivet, angrily replied to this statement, and maintained that Calvin and Calvinists in general, taught that the infants of believers, dying before they were capable of any moral act, were saved.

This then was the doctrine of Rivet. But what was that of Calvin? When we look again at the passages quoted, and we believe there are no stronger ones to be produced, we find that the infants of believers are put on no better ground than the infants of the Jews, or rather than all Jews, during the whole period of their history, till their final rejection. This alone is startling and may check our exultation at the measure of God's mercy, which seemed to be dealt out by Calvin. But further; what is in fact the doctrine of Rivet, when clearly and fully stated? It is that of hereditary succession to the aristocracy of saints, of the continual transmission of the privilege of election by birthright; of the being born an heir of salvation in virtue of natural descent. When thus stated the doctrine cannot be believed by any one. It is too gross and too inconsistent with obvious facts. What then was Calvin's opinion? It is not *that*, we answer, which has been inferred from such words as we have quoted. He held a doctrine very similar to the doctrine of double justification maintained by the famous Arminian, John Taylor. The holiness which he ascribed to the infants of believers, was not that sanctification which is essential to salvation. At the end of the passage last quoted, he refers us to the tenth and eleventh chapters of Romans and his remarks upon them, for an explanation of the manner, how it is that 'when the children of pious men are holy, still many of them are degenerate.' The remarks to which he particularly refers are found in his comment upon Romans xi. 22. In order to explain this verse consistently with the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, he distinguishes between the outward calling and election of a nation or a body of men, and the special election and effectual calling of individuals. He then proceeds:

> 'But if a question be raised concerning individuals, how any one can be cut off after being grafted in, or how, after being cut off, he can be again grafted in, you must understand that there are three kinds of engrafting in and two of cutting off. The children of believers, who are entitled to the promise of the covenant made with their fathers, are grafted in. Those who receive in themselves the seed of the gospel, which having no root is choked before it bear fruit, are grafted in. And in the third place, the elect are grafted in; those who through the immutable counsel of God are enlightened to eternal life. The first are cut off when they reject the promise given to the fathers, or otherwise when through their ingratitude they do not receive it. The second when the seed dries up and is corrupted.'

It is clear that Calvin did not believe the sort of holiness which he ascribes to the infants of believers, to be such as in itself affords any hope of their salvation.

A little before the passage last quoted, he states as he always does, the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination in such a manner, as to apply it equally to the salvation and ruin of infants, whether those of believers or not, as of all others. His whole commentary on the ninth chapter of Romans, from the sixth to the twentythird verse, is worth reading by such as may have any doubt concerning his views on this subject. We shall quote only a short passage in which he remarks upon the distinction made between Jacob and Esau, 'the children being not yet born, neither having *done any good or evil.*'

> 'That depravity alone which is spread through the human race, before it shows itself in action, is sufficient for damnation. Whence it follows that Esau was deservedly rejected, because he was by nature a child of wrath. But that no doubt whatever might remain whether his condition were not the worse through respect to some fault or vice, it was useful to exclude sins as well as virtues; [i. e. to state that the children had done neither good nor evil.] It is indeed true that the proximate cause of reprobation is this, that we are all under a curse in Adam.'

After Calvin himself, there is no writer of higher authority in regard to the doctrines of Calvinism than Turretin. He has the reputation of having given a more full and complete system of them than even his master. On the doctrine of original sin and the ruin which it brings upon infants, he quotes with approbation some of the most offensive passages in Calvin's writings.* In treating of reprobation, he discusses the question; 'Whether infidelity or incredulity as regards the gospel, is presupposed as a cause in reprobation.' This he denies.

> 'For,' he says, 'it would follow from this, that none are reprobated but infidels and those who obstinately reject the gospel; that is, that none can be damned but those who are called by the gospel. And so Heathens, Turks, and others who have not been called by the gospel, and who have heard nothing of Christ, cannot be reprobated. No sins would be damnable but those committed against the gospel. *And thus the guilt of original sin would not be sufficient for condemnation*, on account of which, however, we are born "children of wrath," Eph. ii. 3, and are said to "die in Adam." 1 Cor. xv. 22.'†

In discussing the question 'Whether Adam was the first man,' he comments upon Romans v. 13, and says that

> 'what is added respecting them "that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression," v. 14, cannot be applied to Præadamites, but should be referred to *infants*, who have not actually sinned after the likeness of Adam, but have been infected with original corruption only, which subjects them to condemnation and death.'‡

In another place he says;

> 'Although infants are not subjects of law as regards action, they are as regards disposition, as being rational creatures, to whom the law prescribes holiness in its whole extent, both in disposition and act.'§

Immediately after he undertakes to prove that it is not essential to sin that it should be voluntary, or that it should be performed with the consciousness and will of the agent. Upon this subject he quotes with approbation, Augustin, as he thus writes against Julian:

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* Institut. Theologiæ. P. I. pp. 686, 691. Ed. 1696.

† Ibid. pp. 430, 431. ‡ Ibid. pp. 508, 509. § Ibid. p. 652.

> 'It is idle for you to suppose, that there is no sin in infants, upon the ground that sin cannot exist without the will, which is not exercised by them. This is correctly said in regard to the individual sin of any one, but not in regard to the original contagion of the first sin.'*

But if Dr Beecher's long familiarity with 'approved Calvinistic writers,' has not introduced him to a single statement of the doctrine in question, it could hardly be expected he should have discovered it in Augustin. But this Father has not only used language which implies it, but has directly asserted it. We may be excused for transcribing from his works, in this connexion; for a quotation from Augustin, whom Calvin constantly cites as of the highest authority, is on many points as good an exhibition of Calvinism as one from Calvin himself. He is speaking of an infant who dies under circumstances which render baptism impossible. His opponents, the Pelagians, he says, would absolve him,

> —'and, against the sentence of the Lord, lay open to him the kingdom of heaven. But he is not absolved by the apostle, who says, "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Justly, therefore, is he excluded, by that damnation which pervades the whole mass, from the kingdom of heaven, because he was not a Christian, even though he had not the power to become one.'†

So much for Calvin, his master, and one of his 'most approved' expositors. How a man ambitious of being considered a leader of the Calvinistic party in this country, could hazard such assertions as those contained in the note under review, it is difficult to imagine. The damnation of infants is a doctrine so revolting to all the better feelings of our nature, a doctrine so 'monstrous,' to use Dr Beecher's own word, that we do not wonder Calvinists are anxious to have it considered a 'slander' to charge it upon them or their system; and, if it were a mere remote inference drawn by their opponents from some acknowledged part of their belief, the denial of it might be accounted for and excused. But in the present instance, it is disavowed in the name of a party, the very head of which preached it, and the 'most approved' apostle of which did not hesitate to advance it, and the case is to us inexplicable. So would it appear should we proceed no further. But it is easy to adduce from 'approved Calvinistic writers' of a later date, passages equally in point with those already cited from elder writers. Nay, more; such passages from eminent men of the party were repeatedly quoted in the very heat of the present Unitarian and Calvinistic controversy, when it is not to be supposed for an instant, or by any stretch of charity, they did not meet the eye or the ear of him who has 'never seen nor heard of any book which contained such a sentiment, nor a man, minister or layman, who believed or taught it.' Surely he has seen or heard of the Christian Spectator, a monthly periodical published at New Haven, and is not unacquainted with the controversy between a writer in that work and a writer in the Christian Disciple, once published in Boston. We cannot well doubt, that he has also seen an article in the Disciple on the State of the Calvinistic Controversy, in which the Spectator's remarks on Professor Norton's Views of Calvinism were reviewed. He certainly has not been so inattentive to the state of parties among us, as to have let those papers escape his notice. Why, then, before making the broad assertions of his note, did he not ransack public libraries, importune his friends, or take whatever means to obtain 'sight' of those rare, but 'approved' works, Calvin's Institutes and Theological Tracts, Edwards on Original Sin, Twiss's Vindication of the Power of Grace and of the Providence of God, and, rarest of all, the Westminster Assembly's Confession?* works in those papers referred to and quoted as maintaining the doctrine in question. But, as we may have overrated the celebrity of the Unitarian side of the controversy, we ask the indulgence of our readers for the following extracts.

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* Ibid. p. 653.

† August. de Nat. et Grat. c. viii.

'It is abundantly evident from the preceding passages, [from Edwards,] that, according to the Calvinistic system, God hates men, and will be their eternal tormentor, in consequence of the nature with which they are born. That he hates them not merely on account of what will necessarily flow from this nature, but on account of the nature itself, is particularly shown by another

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[*] 'In the Westminster Assembly's Confession, (c. x.) *elect* infants are spoken of in contradistinction from others, which implies that there are others who are reprobate.' Views of Calvinism. Chr. Disc. New Series, vol. iv. p. 257.

article of Calvinistic belief, that infants are proper subjects of the eternal torments of hell.'*

Then follow two of the passages from Calvin, which we have given above, and the remark respecting *elect* infants, which stands in our last note. The writer proceeds:

'Concerning the case of these poor reprobates, [*non*-elect infants,] sinners before being moral agents, some more tender-hearted Calvinists have been inclined to believe, that their future condition would not be worse than non-existence. But Edwards, with proper consistency, gives them up to the full torments of hell.

'This former supposition, he says, "to me, appears plainly a giving up that grand point of the imputation of Adam's sin, both in whole and in part. For it supposes it to be not right, for God to bring any evil on a child of Adam, which is innocent as to personal sin, without paying for it, or balancing it with good; so that still the state of the child shall be as good as could be demanded in justice in case of mere innocence. Which plainly supposes that the child is not exposed to any proper punishment at all, or is not at all in debt to divine justice, on account of Adam's sin."'†

Again:

'When Unitarians,' says the reviewer on the State of the Calvinistic Controversy, 'when Unitarians represent Calvinists as preaching the doctrine that innumerable infants will be punished with eternal damnation, solely on account of original sin, without any personal transgressions, it is often said that they colour and exaggerate the statement. It is denied, or at least disputed, that any Calvinist, of respectable standing, and in his sober senses, ever pushed the horrible consequences of his system so far. But if any man has doubts upon this point, we think they will be effectually resolved upon reading the following quotations from Dr Twiss, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, a writer of eminence in his day, and expressly referred to by the Conductors of the Christian Spectator as of authority in determining what Calvinism *was*.

'"In regard to those," says this writer, "who are condemned to eternal death solely on account of Original Sin, their condemnation to eternal death is the consequence of Adam's transgression alone. But many infants depart this life in Original Sin, and consequently are condemned to eternal death on account of

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* New Series, vol. iv. p. 257.

† 'Edwards on Original Sin. Works, vol. vi. p. 462.'

Original Sin alone; therefore, the *condemnation of many* INFANTS *to* ETERNAL DEATH is the consequence of Adam's transgression *solely*."*

'"The sin of Adam, I confess, was not ours as perpetrated by us in our proper persons; but was rather the sin of our nature, than of our persons. But we existed even then in the loins of Adam, as Levi did in those of Abraham, when the latter paid tithes to Melchisedec; and his sin is made ours by the imputation of God; *so that it has exposed* INNUMERABLE INFANTS *to* DIVINE WRATH, *who were guilty of this sin*, AND OF NO OTHER."†

The Reviewer then proceeds:

'There; we ask whether any Unitarian ever attempted to colour or exaggerate a doctrine like this—a doctrine taught in so many words by the Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and by a thousand others—a doctrine, moreover, which follows necessarily from the Calvinistic system, and which would now be insisted on by all real and consistent Calvinists, if they thought their people would bear it. Not that we look upon this doctrine as presenting the very worst feature of Calvinism; for why should it be thought a more horrible idea, that God will punish innumerable infants with eternal damnation for what they *cannot help*, than that he will punish innumerable adult persons with eternal damnation for what *they cannot do?*' * * * *

'Speaking of the punishment of infants, Dr Twiss is pleased to observe:‡ "These judgments of God are tremendous, I confess, but just; nor are they to be brought before the tribunal of human wisdom and justice, nor examined and discussed by the rules of our reason and equity. Especially as it is lawful for God the Creator to treat a creature, *however innocent*, (*quantumvis immerentem*,) in whatever manner he pleases, whether it seem good to God to annihilate him, or *to inflict upon him any torture whatever*."'§

The principles maintained by Twiss, in the passage quoted from him in respect to God's justice, and its consistency with his character to inflict eternal torments upon an innocent being whom he has created, exclude still more strongly any ground upon which an exception can be made in favor of infants, thoroughly depraved as they are, with original sin, so as to afford any hope that their lot may be better than that of the rest of their species. But these are the principles of Calvin, and have been as broadly maintained by some of the most distinguished among his followers as they are by Twiss. They seem indeed to be essential to the system. The learned Theophilus Gale, the author of a book once very famous, the Court of the Gentiles, says:

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* 'Twissi Vindiciæ Gratiæ Potestatis et Providentiæ Dei. Edit. Secund. 4to. Amst. 1631. Lib. I. p. 48.'

† 'Ibid. Lib. III. p. 21.'

‡ 'Ibid.'

§ Chris. Disciple, New Series, vol. v. pp. 220, 221.

> 'So great is the Majestie of God, and so Absolute his Dominion, as that he is obnoxious to no Laws, Obligations, or Ties from his Creature: this Absolute justice or Dominion regards not any qualities or conditions of its object; but God can by virtue hereof inflict the highest torments on his innocent Creature, and exempt from punishment the most *nocent*. By this Absolute Justice and Dominion God can inflict the greatest torments, even of Hel itself, on the most innocent Creature.' *

ABSOLUTE JUSTICE indeed! And this doctrine has been taught by men, and has been received by men; and doctrines founded upon it, and which necessarily imply its truth, are still eagerly inculcated and greedily received; and men's understandings have been so debased, their moral sentiments have been so brutified, that they have not had enough sense or spirit or knowledge of right and wrong, to lead them to ask in what the absolute justice of a Calvinistic God might differ from the absolute justice of the Prince of Hell.

Further; every one who knows any thing of Calvinism has heard of Boston's Human Nature in its Fourfold State; one of the most popular expositions of its doctrines ever published. The edition from which we quote is the thirteenth; and this was printed so long ago as the year 1763. Boston says;

> 'Surely we are not born *innocent*. These chains of wrath, which *by nature* are upon us, speak us to be born criminals. The swaddling-bands wherewith infants are bound hand and foot, as soon as they are born, may put us in mind of the cords of wrath, with which they are held prisoners, as *children of wrath*.' †

Dr Gill was a Calvinistic Baptist, of high reputation among those of his own persuasion, and truly eminent for his knowledge of Rabbinical literature. Between the years 1811 and 1819, the nine quarto volumes of his Commentary on the Scriptures, were republished in this country, accompanied with strong recommendations from about fifteen or twenty distinguished Baptist clergymen. This affords sufficient proof of his celebrity. In commenting upon Romans V. 12, where it is said, that 'by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin,' he observes, that the death meant, is,

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* Part IV. p. 367. † p. 122.

> —'not only corporeal death, but a spiritual or moral one, man, in consequence of this, becoming dead in sin, deprived of righteousness, and averse and impotent to all that is good; and also an eternal death, to which he is liable, *for the wages of sin is death;* even eternal death.'

Having thus explained, in consistency with many other Calvinistic writers, what is meant by *death* in the passage commented upon, he thus gives his view of the sense of vs. 14. 'Death reigned from Adam to Moses even over them who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.'

> 'Death,' says he, 'is represented as a king.'—'The subjects of his government were not only adult persons, who had been guilty of many actual transgressions; but he *reigned even over them who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.* This does not exclude the dominion of death over such as had sinned after the likeness of Adam, but rather confirms its power over them; nor does it intend adult Gentiles, who did not sin in the same manner, nor against the same law, as Adam did; BUT IT DESIGNS INFANTS, not yet guilty of actual sin; and therefore since death reigns over them, who only holds and exercises his dominion by virtue of sin, it follows, that they must have original sin in them; the guilt of Adam's transgression must be imputed to them, and the corruption of nature, from him, derived unto them, or it could not reign over them.'

It is evidently the purpose of Gill to exclude any humane evasion of the force of these texts, which, according to him, teach that death, eternal death, reigns over infants, guilty and corrupt, as they are, through Adam's transgression.

In commenting upon Psalm LI. 5. 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me;' he says:

> 'Hence we learn the earliness of the corruption of nature.'—'And this corruption of nature is the fountain, source, and spring of all sin, secret and open, private and public; and is mentioned here not as an extenuation of David's actual transgressions, but as an aggravation of them; he having been, from his conception and formation, nothing but a mass of sin, a lump of iniquity; and,

in his evangelical repentance for them, he is led to take notice of and mourn over the corruption of his nature from whence they arose.'

The corruption of human nature, then, makes each of us, as soon as born, or rather before we are born, a mass of sin and lump of iniquity. Christ said; 'suffer little children to come unto me; for the kingdom of heaven is composed of those like them.' But whatever may have been the doctrine of our Saviour, there can be no doubt of the opinion of Dr Gill, that such 'masses of sin and lumps of iniquity,' as new-born infants, are fit only for hell. The followng extract is taken from his Body of Divinity, vol. iii. p. 488.

'Others are of opinion, that such as die without actual sin, and are only guilty of original sin, shall only suffer the former, [the punishment of loss,] but not the latter, [the punishment of sense.] But as the scriptures say little of the case of such, it becomes us to say little also, and leave it to the wise and just Disposer of all things: yet if eternal death is the demerit of original sin, it is not easy to say how there can be one sort of punishment without the other; where there is a loss, there will be a sense of it, or else it is no punishment; and a sense of it will give pain; though as there are degrees of punishment of sin, as will be seen anon, it is reasonable to believe, the punishment of such will be comparatively a milder one, as Augustin expresses it; no doubt there were many such among the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, when those cities were destroyed; and yet the apostle says of them in general, that they were *suffering the vengeance of eternal fire*, Jude verse 7.'

In the Connecticut School of Calvinistic Divines, to which Dr Beecher belongs, after Edwards, one of the most distinguished teachers is Bellamy. Edwards was his intimate friend and wrote a preface to his principal work, in which he commends it, among other things, for 'manifesting the mutual dependance of the various parts of *the true scheme of religion*.' We have already given an extract from Edwards directly and completely to our purpose, and, if the Christian Spectator may be believed, his authority alone is perhaps sufficient to decide the point at issue; in so high repute is he, as an orthodox man and a Calvinist. But we have another reason for preferring to occupy the little space we have yet to spare, with citations from Bellamy rather than from Edwards. The edition of his collected works published in 1811, is put forth with 'Recommendations,'* with a list of names attached to them, which wants only those of Dr Beecher and one or two more, to carry with it the whole weight of the Orthodox party of the present day. But Bellamy, certainly an 'approved writer,' maintained, as we mean to show, the doctrine of infant damnation; Dr Beecher, therefore, 'never saw nor heard' of his works. But be that as it may; in his work entitled 'True Religion Delineated,' this writer says:

> 'It is plain and evident from *facts*, that *Adam* was considered and dealt with under the capacity of a public head, and that death *natural*, *spiritual*, and *eternal* were included in the threatening; for all his posterity are evidently dealt with *just as if that had been the case*. They are born *spiritually dead*, as has been proved in the former discourse. They are evidently liable to *natural death*, as soon as they are born. And if they die and go into eternity with their native temper, they must necessarily be miserable.'—'God must necessarily look upon them with everlasting abhorrence.'†

Every one must perceive that the following passage bears closely upon the subject before us; but we quote it principally because it is short, and because it is in itself so *striking*.

> 'So that, to a demonstration, God's thoughts of mercy towards a guilty, undone world, did not in any measure take their rise from any notion that mankind had been hardly dealt with, or that it would be any thing like cruelty and unmercifulness, to damn the whole world for *Adam's* first sin.'‡

Afterwards he says;

> '*Mankind were, by their fall, brought into a state of being infinitely worse than not to be.* The damned in hell no doubt are

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* The first recommendation is introduced as follows:—'The character and writings of Dr Bellamy, have been deservedly held in *high estimation* by the Churches in New England, and by many friends of Evangelical truth in other parts of the Christian world. His ability to illustrate the truths of the Gospel, and to trace them through all their connexions and dependencies, and to impress them on the conscience and heart, has been possessed by few. We consider him as one of the most distinguished and useful writers of the age.'

Signed by 'John Rodgers, D. D. New York, Samuel Miller, D. D. do., Benjamin Trumbull, D. D. North Haven, Jedediah Morse, D. D. Charlestown, Azel Backus, D. D. Bethlehem, James P. Wilson, D. D. Philadelphia, Edward D. Griffin, D. D. Professor of Pulpit Eloquence in Andover College, Moses Stuart, Professor of Biblical Literature in do., Leonard Woods, Professor of Theology in do., Rev. Asahel Hooker, late Pastor of the Church in Goshen, (Conn.) Rev. James Richards, Pastor of the Church in Newark, (N. J.)'

† Bellamy's Works, vol. i. p. 312. ‡ Ibid. p. 321.

in such a state, else their punishment would not be infinite; as justice requires it should be. But mankind by the fall were brought into a state, for substance, as bad as that which the damned are in. For the damned undergo nothing in hell, but what, by the constitution with *Adam*, and the law of nature, all mankind were and would have been, for substance, exposed unto, if mere grace had not prevented.' *

In a note on this passage, he observes; '*For substance*, I say, because it must be remembered that the superadded punishment inflicted upon any in hell, for despising the gospel, must be left out of the account.' By superadded punishment, he means that which is superadded to what we deserve on account of Adam's sin.

This being the case, he anticipates and states the objection; 'But if mankind are thus, by nature, children of wrath in a state of being worse than not to be, and, *even after all that Christ has done*, are in themselves thus utterly undone, how can men have a heart to propagate their kind?' A part of his answer is this;

'As to *godly* parents, they have such a spirit of love to God, and resignation to his will, and such an approbation of his dispensations towards mankind, and such a liking to his whole scheme of government, that they are content that God should govern the world as he does; and that he should have subjects to govern; and that themselves and their posterity should be under him, and at his disposal. Nor are they without hopes of mercy for their children, from sovereign grace through Christ, while they do, through him, devote and give them up to God, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. And thus they quiet themselves as to their souls.' †

The meaning of the writer evidently is, that if children are baptized and BROUGHT UP in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, there are some hopes of mercy for them; godly parents may be '*not without hopes*.' As respects other children, the children of such as are not godly parents, and especially those children who die as infants, Bellamy suggests none whatever. He does not intimate a possibility that they may escape everlasting torments.

We will give but one more passage, from another work of the same author, 'An Essay on the Nature and Glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.' It is as follows:

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* Bellamy's Work, vol. i. p. 333. † Ibid. p. 336.

> 'It was at God's sovereign election,—to give every child of Adam, born in a christian land, *opportunity by living*, to hear the glad tidings, or only to grant this to some, while *others die in infancy and never hear.* Those who die in infancy, may as justly be held under law in the next world, as those that live may in this. God is under no more obligations to save those that die, than he is to save those that live; to grant the regenerating influences of his spirit to them, than he is to these.'*

After these passages, no one can doubt that Bellamy held the doctrine of the damnation of infants. The only question is, whether he did not believe that *all* infants, who die before they are capable of hearing the gospel, must fall into this state. To us the latter doctrine seems strongly implied; and to us it seems also necessarily to follow from the main doctrines of Calvinism, though a contrary doctrine respecting a portion of infants who are *elect*, is found in some Calvinistic creeds and writers.

But we must have exhausted our readers' patience, and shall pursue our revolting task no further. Yet when we look back upon what we have done, and before us at the mass of materials not yet used, our work seems but begun. For the public, we doubt not we have said enough to establish the positions from which we started; and for Dr Beecher, we think he must be satisfied too. At least should he continue to be '*conversant* with the most approved Calvinistic writers,' we hope he will yet live to find a book containing that 'monstrous doctrine,' which he himself doubtless does not believe, but which *if* he does not believe, he is neither a consistent Calvinist, nor, in the judgment of such men as we have quoted, an approved expositor of Calvinism. Even those Calvinists called *moderate*, do not pretend to be so wise beyond what they think written, as to pronounce a decided opinion on this subject. They express a hope, but have no assurance; they earnestly wish, but do not with complete confidence expect, that the doom of infants, for Adam's sin, may be less dreadful than the fires of hell, or that they may be found actual heirs of the kingdom. They are too sure of their native total depravity, have too much regard for absolute justice, and too much respect for the honor and glory of their God, to dare to do more. Dr Emmons, a Calvinist *sui generis*, has such hopes only for *Christian* infants; but for Jewish, Heathen, Mahometan, Deistical, Unitarian* infants, he does not tell us he has more encouragement than for their parents, all of whom he 'turns into hell' without mercy. Now if Dr Beecher had merely told us *he* thought the doctrine of infant damnation a false one, that *he* did not believe it, and that they who say *he* does believe it bear false witness against their neighbour, our remarks and citations would have been spared. But to deny it in the name of a party, whose most accredited organ he would fain be considered; to deny it in the name of the most approved writers of that party, who expressly state it, and, in some instances, seem almost to think it a 'slander' to be said not to hold it; and for him impudently to accuse those who, with us, charge it upon those writers and their system, of a breach of one of the commandments of their God; this, has rendered it our bounden duty to appear in selfdefence, and to exhibit in its naked horrors a system, whose real character is industriously kept from public view, lest the people should not be able to bear it.

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* Bellamy's Work, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370.

With regard to the horrible aggravations with which some Calvinists have been said to set forth the eternal torments of infants, such as 'that hell is doubtless paved with their bones,' we have little to say. Such language and worse, has been reported of Whitefield's earlier preaching in this country, and of the preaching of some living ministers, on such testimony as we can reject only because of our reluctance to admit the possibility of the fact. Let any one, however, look at the elaborate pictures of the torments of hell drawn by Boston or Edwards, and he will hardly think it would add to their horrors, to behold among the writhing millions of the reprobate damned, the body of an infant 'ever burning but never consumed.' Edwards, by the way, seems to have taken particular delight in exhibitions of the kind, and thus to have enjoyed an antepast of his own heaven, the happiness of which he represents as by the sight of them increased and partaken of with a livelier relish.

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* By mere nominal Christians, those who 'deny many, if not all the peculiar and fundamental doctrines of the gospel,' who can doubt that Dr Emmons means Unitarians? It is the cant of the day. See his Sermon on the Hopeless State of the Heathen, in the volume published at Providence, R. I. 1825, p. 45 *et alibi*.

Such is Calvinism pushed to consequences, which not its enemies only, but its ablest and most approved supporters have themselves expressly stated and enforced. Yet to say so, Dr Beecher tells us, is 'to propagate a slander.' But the evidence we have brought forward, (and we have more of it, if needed,) when compared with his assertions and charges, presents a case, which, as we said in the beginning, most seriously affects his character. His assertions are of such a nature; the charges he brings against others are so grave and advanced with such appearance of deliberation, that any equivocation, any paltering with a double sense, ought to be presumed utterly out of the question. We have therefore taken his note in its plain and obvious meaning, and shall be at no pains to hunt for quibbles, or barely possible interpretations. This plain and obvious meaning is this; that the doctrine of infant damnation is no part of the Calvinistic scheme, and has not been maintained in any respectable Calvinistic book, which Dr Beecher may reasonably be supposed to have seen or heard of, though he has been for thirty years *conversant* with Calvinistic writers the most approved. It is for every reader, after examining the evidence now before him, to form his own opinion of Dr Beecher and of Dr Beecher's assertions.

Notices of Recent Publications.

24. Is this Religion? Or a Page from the Book of the World. By the Author of 'May You Like It.' First American from the London Edition. Georgetown, D. C., James Thomas, 1827. 12mo. pp. 240.

Who the author of 'May You Like It' is, we do not know; but we can assure him that we like his present volume very well, and have set him down as a sensible, interesting, and, when he pleases to be, pathetic writer, and a judicious, pious man. He has done, what we presume to be a difficult thing; he has written a religious novel without rancor and without cant. This we presume to be a difficult thing, because we hardly ever read a religious novel yet, which did not either tire us to death with its prosing, or offend us by its narrowness of spirit, or, once in every ten pages at least, sicken us with its affectation and whining. The author of one of this species of novels must, in the first place, write a *good* novel; good as a composition, good according to the standard by which we judge all other novels; and in the next place he must know and feel what true religion is; he must have charity; he must beware of confining all excellences to the limits of his own party, and above all he must bring to the task a most especial share of good sense, and that rarest of all good sense which is not overcome and stifled by sectarian prejudices and partialities. For there is no more obvious truth, concerning human character, than that a person may be very sensible in all the common concerns of life, and yet almost, if not quite, beside himself, or behind himself, on the subject of religion; lucid in every other respect, crazy in this.

We took up this volume with the expectation of laying it down again after reading half a page; but we read it through; and perhaps we think more highly of it than it deserves, because it pleasantly disappointed us. But we can venture to affirm that it abounds in excellent remarks, lessons of practical piety, pretty descriptions of English scenery, and that it contains some entertaining, and we suppose correct exhibitions of high life at the universities. The book is so small, that the characters in it are but sketches, rather than full portraits, and on this account its perusal leaves no very strong and decided impression on the mind; but it promises well, and if its author will write another religious novel, and give himself seriously to the work, we have no doubt that he will secure himself in the favor of the public.

It may be thought that the few words which we have said in approbation of this writer, have been dictated by our Unitarian predilections. But we are certain that this is not the case, because, if his book itself has not widely misled us, he is a sincere member of the Church of England.

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25. The National Reader; a Selection of Exercises in Reading and Speaking, designed to fill the Same Place in the Schools of the United States, that is held in those of Great Britain by the Compilations of Murray, Scott, Enfield, Mylius, Thompson, Ewing, and Others. By John Pierpont, Compiler of the American First Class Book. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, Little & Wilkins, 1827. 12mo. pp. 276.

THIS is one more added to the many fine selections for schools, which have been published within a few years. If the great improvement in this department of books, is any just indication of the improvement in education itself, and the other departments are advancing in any thing like an equal proportion, there is indeed reason for congratulation on the state of our schools. The present Selection is preferable in many respects to the First Class Book of the same compiler. The National Reader contains a suitable proportion of extracts from our own writers, both in poetry and prose, and is manly enough not to think it anti-national to borrow from the stores of England. We do not know that a better book of the kind could be made; and only add our regret that the compiler, in admitting, very properly, a few pieces of his own, should not have been as just to his own fame as to that of others, and given examples only of his best.

26. My Early Days; by Walter Ferguson, Esq. Boston, Hale's Press, 1827. 18mo. pp. 148.

We have seldom seen a book in which so much beauty of style and sentiment are united, as in this little volume. All its charm consists in its being the simple reflection of nature from a pious and poetic mind; and we heartily rejoice that a love of her quiet, unobtrusive beauties, should, in any instance, take place of that taste for intense and bewildered excitement, which has been so fashionable. 'My Early Days' has afforded a strong hope of such a change in public taste; for it has found a sure passage to every heart. All acknowledge its delightful influence; and we would inquire whether this increasing love of tranquil beauty may not be, in a great measure, attributed to the comparative simplicity and purity of religious faith, which characterizes modern times? If the mild spirit of the gospel is habitually with us, surely it will leave its impress on our literature, and form even our intellectual tastes after its own guileless model. Piety is not a thing to be set apart from the interesting pursuits of learning, any more than it is to be separated from the virtues of domestic life. Genius breathing the life giving power of religion, will take a more permanent hold of the human mind, than it can ever do in all the might of eccentricity; for its power will then be founded in nature and in truth.

Walter Ferguson certainly possesses this power in no common degree. His style has the simplicity of childhood, and its witchery too; and over the whole is thrown such a celestial spirit, such delicate shadings of perception, that every heart which knows how to thrill with delight at an infant's smile, or the delicious tones of low breathed music, must love it. Some may think the sentiments and style too simple; but we agree with the writer, where he says, 'I despise the man, who can think lightly of his early days.'—'The pranks and plans of infancy, are the airy effervescence of uncalculating single-heartedness. They are shed from the young spirit's beauty, like the sweet perfume of a flower.'—pp. 66, 67.

The description of Gerald Fitz-Maurice has the peculiar softness and sweetness which characterize 'Lights and Shadows,' and 'Margaret Lindsey.'

> 'He was made to win all hearts. He had at this time passed his fourteenth year, and was of a height rather rare at his age. He inherited the black sparkling eyes of his father, but they were large and laughing with good humor. His brow was a pencilled line of jet, without the perverse trick of flexibility. His lips resembled a parted cherry. The color on his cheeks was so pure and pellucid, that you could have almost fancied the cunning hand of Nature had inserted rose leaves under his transparent skin. The glossy curls of his raven hair clustered on his neck; and he might even have been pronounced girlish and effeminate, had not his healthful form and exuberant animal spirits, keeping him constantly in quest of exercise, added a warm tinge of brown to the natural hues of his eloquent countenance.'—pp. 85, 86.

How much tenderness there is in Walter's description of his mother's illness, which he noticed with all the unconsciousness of boyhood.

> 'My mother's whole frame trembled.—She leaned her head faintingly on my father's shoulder. He kissed her wan cheek as tenderly as he had done when it shone in its first bloom, when the white and the red rose held a divided empire over it. My sister was on his knee, and I by his side. He folded us closely to his bosom. Though he spoke not, his lips moved as in speech. 'What ails thee, father?' There was no reply. He shunned my childish glance of inquisition, inclining his head towards the window, as if to note the aspect of the morning sky. In the heavens there was one clear blue spot. It looked like an opening, through which the parted soul might wing its way to bliss. My father's eye was rivetted upon it. I noted the expression of his countenance well, and I remember it perfectly. I did not then understand its meaning; but I am no stranger to it now. What heart will ask me to explain it?'—pp. 51, 52.

There is exquisite beauty in the following description of his desolate father.

> 'With him life was endured, but not enjoyed. His eye was fixed on something beyond its precincts; and the mournful melody of his touching tones came on the ear, like echoes from the hollow cells that the dropping of a constant grief wears in a breaking heart.'—p. 139.

But there would be no end to beautiful quotations, were we to transcribe all that comes home to our feelings. The poetry breathes the same pure, bland spirit as the prose. The lines accompanying a Mother's Gift of a bible to her son, have uncommon merit. We hope this little volume will be extensively read, for it cannot fail to do good to any mind open to religious influences.

27. A Collection of Facts and Documents relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs in Groton, Mass. occasioned by the Publication of 'The Result of an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Groton, Massachusetts, July 17, 1826,' and intended to correct Misstatements made, and supply material Facts suppressed by the Authors of the Result. Boston, Press of the Christian Examiner, 1827. 8vo. pp. 44.

We hope this pamphlet will be widely circulated and read. The documents on the part of the society in Groton are written with great clearness, force, and propriety. They discover a degree of ability which would not disgrace an official paper on the most important subject. They afford a striking example of the sterling good sense, the information, and right principles, which are spread throughout our community. As regards the well known Result of the Council at Groton, this pamphlet shows, that if its author or authors intended to give a fair statement of facts, they are to be commiserated for their want of skill in executing so laudable a design.

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28. Dunallan; or, Know what you Judge. By the Author of 'The Decision,' 'Father Clement,' &c. &c. Boston, 1827. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 311, 288.

This is a religious novel, containing an equal mixture of high romance and high Calvinism. The plot is in some respects quite original, and in some as extravagant as the most inveterate novel readers could desire. We should be pleased to know whether those who, with Dr Miller, forbid all novel reading, will approve of works like this. There are passages in it of power and beauty, and some affecting representations of religious principle and character, which may be read with pleasure and profit by any one. It is indeed well written and in many respects well conceived. But besides the too near approach to the commonplaces of ordinary fiction, there is too great a mixture of erroneous doctrine and false views of life, to render it a very salutary work. We could not recommend either the essence of the Assembly's Catechism, or the essence of circulating libraries by itself; much less when united in one compound.

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29. An Epitome of History, with Historical and Chronological Charts. By J. E. Worcester. Cambridge, Hilliard & Brown, 18mo. pp. 130.

We have several times had occasion to notice the works of the indefatigable author of this little schoolbook, and have always done it with pleasure. In all his previous publications, as well as the present, there is much to praise and little to find fault with. It is rarely the case that a person of such extensive acquirements and good taste, is engaged in the humble, but most respectable office of providing suitable books for children, and in every instance of his labors, we think Mr Worcester has made a valuable accession to the small stock of them. His object in this has been to furnish a cheap book to supply what he justly looks upon as a deficiency in the course of studies pursued at the common schools. He has therefore made this abstract of his larger work, the 'Elements of History, Ancient and Modern.' In the Preface he says:

> 'This work has been made concise, in order that it might be adapted to the wants of such as have not heretofore been accustomed to attend to the subject while at school, and that the expense might be so small as to place it within the reach of all classes. But though the plan is concise, it is comprehensive; and the Book, together with the Atlas, will be found to contain much important historical information, and will give the pupil a general view of the rise, progress, revolutions, decline, and fall of the principal states and empires, and furnish him with a connected series of many of the most interesting events, from the remotest ages to the present time.'—p. iv.

The use of the Charts which accompany this Epitome will render the study of history much more easy and interesting to beginners than it could be without them. They are very simple, and arranged so as to be understood without difficulty by the youngest who will be set to study them. The facts and events are selected with very good judgment, and are of such importance, particularly those in the Chart of American History, that every child and especially every American child, ought to be made familiar with them. Let any one examine this Chart, and we think he will not hesitate to say that the study of these or similar charts of history might be introduced with advantage into schools of any grade whatever.

The style of the performance is distinguished for neatness, clearness, and absence of all affectation; qualities unfortunately very rare in books written with a similar purpose.

Nearly a third part of the volume is devoted to the history of the United States; and the author has shown his usual judgment in giving an account of recent events, not in the least distorted by party views in politics or religion. This excellence is still more rare than purity of style, and apparently of far more difficult attainment. The manner in which he speaks of battles and victories is not less to be commended. He records them merely as historical facts; without indulging either in ill timed lamentations on the horrors and wickedness of war, or savage exultations over the numbers of killed and wounded in the ranks of an enemy.

It might be objected, perhaps, that an abstract of this kind cannot be very interesting to children; and this is undoubtedly true. But the nature of the work does not admit of the minute and circumstantial descriptions, which are essential to an interesting narrative. It furnishes a store of facts. The beautifully told stories found in the Juvenile Miscellany, may be employed to give an interest to many of those relating to American History, and from the same source we may hope for more of those sketches of revolutionary worthies, which never fail to recommend the history of the times in which they lived to the attention of American children. With such preparation, the Epitome will be very interesting and easily remembered.

30. A Letter to the Trinitarian Congregational Church in Waltham, Mass. By a Layman, Boston, Bowles and Dearborn, 1827. 12mo. pp. 20.

This Letter is a commentary upon the creed of the church in Waltham, which is perhaps a fair representative of the creeds of Orthodox churches generally. Although from its title it would seem to possess only a local value, it may therefore be read with advantage by all who wish thoroughly to understand what Orthodoxy is, and what they are virtually as well as explicitly called upon to believe when they embrace the Orthodox faith. It is written with great plainness and with great force, and if its title-page does not keep it from general circulation, we doubt not it will be found a most useful tract.

Intelligence.

Spirit of Orthodoxy.—The Boston Recorder and Telegraph, a newspaper devoted to the cause of Orthodoxy, so called, exhibits a shamelessness of assertion and an indifference as to the choice of means for effecting its purposes, not surpassed by any the most profligate political print. In proof of this we might quote its statements respecting Harvard University, or indiscriminately from any of its columns in which Unitarians or Unitarianism is spoken of. We fix upon the following, only because it was inclosed to us, and recommended to the Examiner's castigation. We reprint it word for word as it stood in that *religious* paper, and leave it to find its castigation, where it will be sure to meet it;—in the breast of every honest man in this community.

'UNITARIANS.

'From the (Providence) Telescope and Miscellany, and the (Boston) Universalist Magazine.

'*A Letter from a Gentleman in Mass. to his friend in Conn.*

'Dear Sir,—Yours containing several questions touching the opinions and practices of the Unitarians, and their clergymen in

Massachusetts, has been received. I will endeavor to answer these inquiries with the same frankness with which they were made. But I will so far deviate from your arrangement as to notice your last interrogation first. You say you will conclude by proposing *one* question more, and then subjoin—*What do they generally believe and preach relative to the final state of the wicked?* This question shows that you are totally unacquainted with that sect. For the question you call *one* is probably *two.* For they generally believe one thing and preach another. For the most part they believe in Universal Salvation, as may be seen by some of their own writings. In fact many of them have no hesitancy in declaring in confidence, to some of their friends, that they believe in the "restitution of all things," though they give them a solemn charge not to divulge it. They are, however, greatly divided on this as well as on every other doctrine. As to what they preach—this part of the question may be subdivided. For at one time they preach one thing, and at another time another. They generally preach Universalism in principle, that is, they contend for principles which lead directly to that result. But in the same discourse they contend for endless misery; that is, they use language which is generally used, and quote scripture which is generally quoted by the advocates of endless misery; and this is done with the perfect knowledge that their hearers will generally understand them as teaching that doctrine. Consequently most of their people, think them to be believers in eternal punishment. Having sufficiently noticed this, I will now take up your questions in their proper order.

'1. *Do the Unitarians increase?*

'They do; in some parts of the Commonwealth they have become quite numerous and popular; so that gentlemen who have *no religion at all*, but an unconquerable thirst for popularity, generally call themselves Unitarians. This you must know greatly augments their numbers. Their preachers are frequently introduced into a town on the decease or dismission of their former ministers, under the denomination of *liberal* men; and they have not unfrequently obtained a settlement where not one in ten of their hearers ever mistrusted that they were different in sentiment from those they heard heretofore.

'2. *Are their clergymen liberal in their exchanges and intercourse with other denominations?*

'This depends entirely upon circumstances. Where they are the minority, they are very liberal at least in words. But where they are the majority, their tone is changed, and they are quite as illiberal as the Calvinists. However, they will generally exchange with Calvinists; nay, they complain most bitterly whenever the Calvinists refuse to exchange with them. But let a Baptist, Methodist, or Universalist propose an exchange with them, and they will spurn the idea at once. Or let any other denomination ask the privilege of their desks, and they will most assuredly meet with a denial. Some of the more *liberal*, however, will express an entire willingness on their part, but are fearful that it will disturb their people; and then will set themselves immediately at work to prejudice their people against such a measure.

'3. *What are their views relative to inspiration?*

'This question admits of a variety of answers. They believe in all degrees of inspiration from the most full and perfect down to nothing at all. Some believe that the sacred writers are inspired by one thing, and some by another.

'4. *On what ground do they rest salvation?*

'On the works of the creature. But here it must be particularly understood that the works on which they rely, are none of your *homespun*, *every day* acts of goodness, but works of a more *learned*, *philosophical* kind; works of so *sublime* and *refined* a nature that not one in ten thousand can ever perform them. So that upon the whole it is not probable, that there will be half so many saved on their system as there is on the common doctrine of election and reprobation.

'5. *Are they zealous in their public ministry?*

'No, they are generally stoics. The zeal they do possess is generally the zeal of a statesman, and is displayed in the temporal management of their parishes.

'6. *Is Unitarianism now what it was ten years ago?*

'No, it varies according to the state of public sentiment. Camelion-like it conforms to every thing it touches, so as to suit the feelings of the people.

'7. *Are their clergymen at this day leading their people into any new doctrine?*

'This inquiry shews your entire ignorance of the sect. You will perceive by the answer last given, that the people lead them, and not they the people. The people lead the race, and the clergymen follow close in the rear. In fine, you will find them at all times treading close upon the heels of public opinion.

'8. *Are they pious and practical Christians?*

'This question is of too delicate a nature to receive an answer. They are, however, generally men of good moral characters. As to their piety and sincerity, God, and not man, is their judge.

'I have now attended to all your inquiries, and have given you the result of my experience and observation. If you have any doubts relative to the truth of my statements, come to Massachusetts and spend a few weeks, and you will return satisfied.

Should you have any other inquiries to propose hereafter, they shall be attended to, so long as I remain yours in esteem, PHARES.'

The course taken by some of the most noted Orthodox publications, has *of late* been such that we fear we shall be often called upon to republish articles like that above, which, as exhibitions of the spirit of Orthodoxy, are by far too important materials for the religious history of the times to be accessible only to one class of readers.

American Unitarian Association.—The Executive Committee of this Association have lately taken measures to increase the number of its Auxiliaries, and, we are happy to say, with most encouraging success. They have a large supply of new tracts on hand which they only want funds to enable them to publish forthwith. We sincerely hope that their exertions will before long result in the establishment of an Auxiliary in every Unitarian society in the country, which, with very little inconvenience or expense to individuals, would be the means of effecting incalculable good.

Dedication at Framingham.—The new church erected for the 'Saxonville Parish' in Framingham, was dedicated to the service of the One God, on Thursday, September 20th. Rev. Mr Young of Boston, offered an introductory prayer and read appropriate selections from the Scriptures. Rev. Mr Francis of Watertown, offered the prayer of dedication, and Rev. Mr Ware of Boston, delivered a sermon, on the value of the institution of public worship to the community and to individuals, from Revelation xxi. 22, 'And I saw no temple therein.'—The Christian Register of September 29th, contains an interesting abstract of the sermon, for which we regret we have no room. 'We are glad,' says the editor of that paper, 'to see the proprietors of our manufacturing establishments attending thus early to the moral and religious instruction of the people employed in them;'—a course in which they will doubtless find their account in a merely worldly view, but which the character of New England assures us has its origin in an enlightened respect for religious institutions, and a conscientious regard to the obligations of religious duty.

Dedication at Stow.—A new church for the parish in Stow, was, on Monday, October 1st, dedicated to the worship of the One Living and True God, with the usual religious services. Rev. Dr Ripley of Concord, offered the dedicatory prayer, Rev. Dr Thayer of Lancaster, delivered a sermon from Exodus xii. 26.—'What mean ye by this service?'—and Rev. Mr Allen of Bolton offered the concluding prayer.

Dedication at Augusta, Me.—The church erected for the new Unitarian society in this flourishing town was dedicated to the worship of 'the One Living and True God, and the preaching of the Gospel of his Son,' on Thursday, October the 18th, with the following religious exercises: an introductory prayer by Rev. Dr Packard of Wiscasset; a dedicatory prayer by Rev. Dr Nichols of Portland; a sermon by Rev. Mr Lamson of Dedham, Mass., and a concluding prayer by Rev. Mr Brimblecom of Norridgewock. Mr Lamson's sermon was from Ephesians ii. 20th.—'And are built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.' As we understand the sermon is to be published by the society, we regret the less our inability at present to give a more particular notice of the performance or the occasion.

Ordination at Kennebunk, Me.—Mr George W. Wells, from the Theological School in Cambridge, was on the 24th of October ordained as colleague pastor of the first Congregational Church and Society in Kennebunk, (Me) of which the Rev. Mr Fletcher has been for many years the minister. The services were performed by Rev. Mr Frothingham of Boston, who offered the introductory prayer; Rev. Mr Barrett, of Boston, who read select portions of the scriptures; Rev. Dr Lowell, of Boston, who preached the sermon; Rev. President Kirkland, of the University, who made the ordaining prayer; Rev. Dr Nichols, of Portland, who gave the charge; Rev. Mr Ripley, of Boston, who presented the right hand of fellowship; Rev. Mr Ware, of Boston, who addressed the church and society; and Rev. Dr Parker, of Portsmouth, who offered the concluding prayer. Dr Lowell's text was Romans viii. 9; 'If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' The sermon was in the preacher's usual style, sententious, glowing, and impressive. The other performances sustained the reputation of the gentlemen engaged in them. It was peculiarly gratifying to find the venerable President so far recovered from a severe illness as to officiate on the occasion in his accustomed happy manner. There was a novelty and appropriateness in Dr Nichols' Address, which deserves uncommon praise, and the truly noble spirit evinced, by the senior pastor, Mr Fletcher, through all the proceedings, some of which might be deemed embarrassing, was acknowledged and felt by those who witnessed it. The evening was happily and profitably spent by a numerous congregation, in listening to an able defence of Unitarianism in a discourse before the County Association Auxiliary to the American Unitarian Association, by Rev. Mr Ware of Boston, from Ephesians iv. 5, 6. 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.'

Ordination at Brookfield.—On the 31st of October, Mr George R. Noyes, from the Theological School in Cambridge, and late a tutor in Harvard University, was ordained pastor of the Church and Society in South Brookfield. The proceedings of the parish in relation to the dismission of Rev. Mr Stone, their former minister, having, at the request of the church and society, been investigated by the council convened on the occasion, and found satisfactory, the services of ordination were performed as follows; the introductory prayer and selections from the scriptures, by Rev. Mr Allen, of Northborough; sermon by Rev. Mr Ware, of Boston; consecrating prayer by Rev. Dr Andrews, of Newburyport; charge by Rev. Dr Thayer, of Lancaster; right hand of fellowship by Rev. Mr Barrett, of Boston; and concluding prayer by Rev. Mr Hall, of Northampton. The sermon, on the value of doctrines, was from Titus ii. 1. 'Speak thou the things which become sound doctrine.' The preacher could not have selected a subject, or adopted a manner of treating it, better suited to the occasion and the times. The interesting exercises of the day were followed by a sermon in the evening by Rev. Mr Walker, of Charlestown, on the subject of conversion.

Installation at South Boston.—On Wednesday, October 31, Rev. Lemuel Capen was installed pastor of the First Congregational Society at South Boston. The introductory prayer and reading of the scriptures were by Rev. Dr Gray, of Roxbury; the sermon by Rev. Mr Whitney, of Quincy, from Philippians i. 17, 'Knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel;' the installing prayer by Rev. Dr Richmond, of Dorchester; the charge by Rev. Dr Porter, of Roxbury; the right hand of fellowship by Rev. Dr Harris, of Dorchester; and the concluding prayer by Rev. Mr Pierpont, of Boston.

Unitarian Chapels in England, Wales, and Scotland.—Some time since we published an account of Unitarian Chapels in England, Wales, and Scotland, and of Institutions in England under Unitarian Control, which, in so far as it was taken, as it almost entirely was, from a work by enemies, we have now unquestionable authority for pronouncing utterly unworthy of any confidence whatever. We were aware, and expressly stated, that the work alluded to was published by persons unfriendly to Unitarians and their interests; but as it professed to be a collection of facts preparatory to a legal investigation into the management of certain Trusts, we, in our simplicity, presumed the obligation upon its authors to state the truth and nothing but the truth, had been as well considered as if the account had been actually given in a court and under oath. But it seems we most extravagantly overrated their respect, we will not say for the rules of honor in conducting a public controversy, but for the more intelligible ones of common honesty.

Obituary.

It is alike the duty and the privilege of the living to record the virtues of the dead. The subject of this notice, Mr Nathaniel Call, who died August 18th, in the 82d year of his age, possessed many excellent qualities of character. Through a more than ordinary length of years, he discharged the duties and fulfilled the relations of life with commendable fidelity. In early manhood, he left a lucrative employment and the endearments of a happy home, to serve his country in the army of the revolution in which he held the rank of captain. After a long term of military service, he returned to the bosom of his family, and devoted himself for many years to the active, prudent, and successful management of an honorable occupation, in which his transactions were marked by integrity and uprightness, and his social intercourse with frankness and benevolence. He evinced a sincere and decided friendship for religion, and a profound reverence for its institutions. He attended upon the ordinances of the church with scrupulous punctuality, and showed that their influence was not lost upon him, by the faithfulness with which he performed the various duties that distinguish the good husband, father, and citizen. Having passed through life's lengthened and eventful day, grateful for the good he was permitted to enjoy, and resigned under the ills of his lot, he was at last gathered to his fathers, in full old age, leaving behind him a reputation for industry, temperance, honesty, and piety, which will be embalmed in the memory of numerous surviving relatives and friends, and carrying with him to the world of spirits a character, which, as we trust, will receive the reward promised to the righteous. 'Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord; they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'

New Publications.—Matins and Vespers, with Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces. By John Bowring. First American from the Second London Edition. Boston, Hilliard, Gray & Co. 18mo.

Poems, by Mrs Felicia Hemans. Reprinted from the American Octavo Edition. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 2 vols. 18mo.

Discourses on Intemperance, by John G. Palfrey, Pastor of the Church in Brattle Square. Second edition. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn. 18mo. pp. 108.

Tracts of the American Unitarian Association.—No. xii. A Dialogue on Providence, Faith, and Prayer.—No. xiii. A Discourse on Being Born Again. By Mrs Barbauld.—No. xiv. On Experimental Religion. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn.

An Essay on the Importance of Considering the Subject of Religion. Addressed particularly to Men of Education. By John Foster, Author of Essays on Decision of Character, &c. Boston, S. H. Parker. 12mo. pp. 172.

A Discourse on Denying the Lord Jesus. By Bernard Whitman, of Waltham. Fourth Edition. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn. 12mo. pp. 47.

Original Moral Tales, intended for Children and Young Persons. Vols. 1 & 2. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn.

Three Discourses on the Faith once delivered to the Saints. By Simon Clough, Pastor of the First Christian Society in the City of New York. New York, C. S. Francis. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn.

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Poetry.

ON THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

Another year! another year!
The unceasing rush of time sweeps on;
Whelmed in its surges, disappear
Man's joys and hopes, for ever gone.

Oh no! forbear that idle tale;
The hour demands another strain;
Demands high thoughts that cannot quail,
And strength to conquer and obtain.

'T is midnight—from the dark blue sky,
The stars which now look down on earth,
Have seen ten thousand centuries fly,
And give to countless changes birth.

And when the pyramids shall fall,
And mouldering mix as dust in air,
The dwellers on this altered ball,
May still behold them glorious there.

Shine on! shine on!—with you I tread
The march of ages, Orbs of Light!
A last eclipse may o'er you spread;
To me, to me, there comes no night.

Oh! what concerns it him, whose way
Lies upward to the immortal dead,
That a few hairs are turning grey,
Or one more year of life has fled.

Swift years! but teach me how to bear,
To feel, and act, with strength and skill;
To reason wisely, nobly dare,
And speed your courses as ye will.

When life's meridian toils are done,
How calm, how rich, the twilight glow!
The morning twilight of a sun,
That shines not here—on things below.

But sorrow, sickness, death—the pain
To leave, or lose, wife, children, friends
What then? Shall we not meet again,
Where parting comes not, sorrow ends?

The fondness of a parent's care,
The changeless trust that woman gives,
The smile of childhood—it is *there*,
That all we love in them, still lives.

Press onward through each varying hour;
Let no weak fears thy course delay;
Immortal being! feel thy power;
Pursue thy bright and endless way.

THE VOICES OF THE DEAD.

Oh! there are moments when the cares of life
Press on the wearied spirit; when the heart
Is fainting in the conflict, and the crown,
The bright, immortal crown for which we strive,
Shines dimly through the gathering mists of earth.
Then, Voices of the Dead! sweet, solemn Voices!
How have I heard ye, in my inmost soul!
Voices of those, who while they walked on earth,
Were linked unto my spirit, by the ties
Of pure affection—love more strong than death!—
Ye cry, 'Frail child of earth! tried, tempted one!

Shrink not! despond not! strive as we have striven
In the stern conflict—yet a little while,
And thou shalt be as we are—thou shalt know
How far the recompense transcends the toil.'

Sweet sister! thou wert parted from my side,
Ere yet one shade had dimmed thy loveliness—
While still the holy light of innocence
Was radiant round thee—thou hast past away,
In purity unsullied, to his bosom,
Who in his love, said, 'Suffer little children
To come unto me, and forbid them not.'
Mine only sister! thou art calling me—
By all a sister's love, by every hope
Which withered at thy tomb to bloom in heaven—
To that bright home, where all the severed links
Of the dear household band again shall join,
Nor through eternity the silver chain
Of purity, and love, and peace, be broken.

Friend of my youth! how lately in thy beauty
And gladness, thou wert with me! Life's young flowers
Were budding round us;—now, my lips have pressed
Their last, sad kiss upon thy pale, calm brow,
And the delight of many eyes is hid
In the dark house of death. My friend! my friend!—
'Tis thy sweet voice is pleading—shall the hope,
Which tinged, as with a ray of heavenly light,
The clouds which gathered round the parting hour—
The blessed hope of meeting thee again,
Where death is not, be lightly cast away?

My mother! O my mother! thoughts of thee
Come o'er my spirit, like the dews of heaven
Upon the fainting flowers. Best beloved
Of all the dear departed! to thy child
Thine image rises, in thy mournful sweetness,
And touching beauty, fading from the earth.
I hear thy voice as when I knelt before thee,
And thou didst lay thy hand upon my head,
And raise thy tearful eyes to heaven in prayer
To Him, who though the mother leave her child,
Will not forsake the orphan. Thy full soul
Was poured in supplication, dying saint!
Wert thou not heard? surely thou wert! by Him,
Who loving thee, hath called thee to himself!
Surely thou wert!—even now that voice of prayer
Is floating round me, breathing hope and peace.

Thy God has been my God—thy trust, my trust—
His goodness faileth not—Oh! may he grant,
That yet again the mother with her child
May bow to worship Him, the merciful,
In that bright temple where no tone of sorrow
Is mingling in the rapturous burst of praise!

A.

Review.

ART. XV.—1. *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England;—Faithfully pointing out the Things of a Bad and Dangerous Tendency in the Late and Present Religious Appearances in the Land, &c.* By CHARLES CHAUNCY, D. D. Boston, 1743.

2. *The Christian History, containing Accounts of the Revival and Propagation of Religion in Great Britain and America. For the years* 1743 *and* 1744. [Edited by THOMAS PRINCE, Jun. A. B.] 2 vols. Boston.

THOUGH we intend hereafter to go into a full discussion of the principles on which revivals of religion are to be explained, we do not think that the prevailing errors on this subject are so likely to be corrected by general reasonings, however conclusive to an unprejudiced mind, as by a plain and unvarnished statement of facts. It is easy to deny general reasonings, or cast suspicion on them; or if a man's understanding is convinced by them, it is easy to call it his *carnal* understanding, and then conviction itself will go for nothing; but it is not quite so easy to dispose of stubborn facts, considered as illustrating the origin and tendency of the excitements in question. Besides, most of the disputable points respecting revivals, are matters of experiment, and to be decided by fair experiment; but as far as the experiment has been tried, the public have been abused to such a degree by hearing one side only, that, in the present state of their information in regard to facts, it is hardly possible for them to make up a correct opinion on the subject. There is also a manifest advantage in going back to a revival which took place many years ago, as it may be presumed that we can speak of the transactions which attended it with less prejudice on this account; and as it enables us to contemplate in one view its immediate and its remote consequences, the life and promise of its opening scenes, and the final issue, so that we are prepared to judge, whether, on the whole, the great interests of religion were advanced, or retarded.

The history of New England, beginning with Mrs Hutchinson, contains many accounts of local, and sometimes considerably extensive excitements on the subject of religion, resembling in many respects the revivals of the present day; but being generally discountenanced by the more sober and judicious part of the community, they soon died away. Our limits in this review will confine us to some notice of the great revival under Whitefield, commonly known by the name of the NEW LIGHTS, and the awakenings in different places by which it was immediately preceded and introduced.

One of the most remarkable of these took place in New Milford, in Connecticut, and, like most similar excitements, promised well in the beginning, but ended in a painful and mortifying disappointment of the real friends of religion. The facts are given in a letter from the clergyman of the place, published by Dr Chauncy.

'Some time in the year 1726 there appeared a flaming zeal for religion, among a number of our people; the occasion of which, as was said, was the dying counsel of a loose young man to his companions. They set up private meetings, which they carried on by praying, reading good books, singing, &c. The meetings were chiefly of the younger sort of people; of children about five or six years of age, and so upwards to about twenty one, or two; and there were among them two or three of thirty years, or more, though they were mainly of the more youngerly sort. There seemed to appear so much of a spirit of real religion among them, that we were greatly encouraged with the hope, that true Christianity was revived among us; and we were strengthened in this hope by their abundant zeal and warmth in religious things, which was as great as you may any where behold at this day. After a while, they multiplied their meetings to three or four in a week, and I myself frequently met with them, and some elder persons; and were ready to rejoice with them in the seeming appearance of religion. The town was then but small, I suppose under the number of forty families; and yet, there was such a religious progress, that there was added to the church, fifty, or upwards, in about the space of seventeen or eighteen months.

'About the space of a year after they set out, as I remember, things evidently appeared with another face. They first discovered a great degree of spiritual pride, which wonderfully grew and increased in them, and evidenced itself by its fruits; especially, a spirit of discerning and judging the state of others, so that there were scarce any that escaped their censure, either among the living or the dead, in their memory. Upon this they began to purge their meetings, to use their language, and disallow the unconverted, as they termed them, to meet with them; for they gave out, that there were false brethren and betrayers. And they shifted from place to place that they might have none but converts among them. By this time, we began to be much alarmed, elder persons withdrew from their meetings, and restrained their children; yet notwithstanding, there remained a wonderful itch in many to be with them, and sundry did follow them; and they allowed them so to do, in hope of proselyting them.'—*Chauncy*, pp. 203, 204.

Soon after this they opened a correspondence with other enthusiasts scattered throughout the country, began to speak slightingly of some books of scripture, particularly of the Psalms of David, and took every opportunity to denounce the regular ministers, and the magistrates. To the 'civil rulers they gave no better style than the BEAST,' and thought them unfit 'to set at the helm of government, being unconverted.'

'However, this is remarkable, that as they began with spiritual pride, so this confounded them; for it was their contention about their officers that divided them. Part are returned to their own sheepfold, part gone over to the Church of England, and about six or seven still remain under the influence of the same spirit, and in the same errors, unless, as in the case of all error, there may be a variation in some things; though I must add, that even these six or seven seemed, of late years, to be more moderate and sociable, and there was a prospect of their returning back to us, before the appearance of the New Light; for now they seem to think, they are the stone cut out of the mountain, that shall fill the whole earth.'—*Ibid.* p. 206.

'I must not omit observing to you, that as several of these persons have, at times, renounced their errors, and confessed the spirit of delusion they were under, so some of each of the three parties, i. e. of those who have returned to us, or gone over to the Church, or still retain their former spirit, do, to my knowledge, assert, that much of the spirit that is produced by the itinerants

> and their preaching, is the same with theirs. And some of the standing Quakers particularly, for such are the small remnant of this sect remaining, will gladly hear some of these itinerant preachers; and say, they have the same spirit they have, but don't know it; for they themselves did not know at first, whither they were going.—*Ibid.* p. 208.

Meanwhile a strong dissatisfaction with the prevalent dulness in religion, began to show itself in several towns in Massachusetts; particularly in Northampton, under the energetic ministry of the justly celebrated Jonathan Edwards. Under his grandfather and immediate predecessor, Stoddard, there had been no less than five revivals, or 'harvests,' as he called them; but their effect on the morals of the place does not appear to have been perfectly satisfactory, if we may judge from the account which Edwards himself gives of the state in which the parish was left at his grandfather's death, in 1729.

> 'Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town; they were many of them very much addicted to night walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics; and they would often spend the greater part of the night with them, without any regard to order in the families they belonged to; and indeed family government did too much fail in the town. It was become very customary with many of our young people to be indecent in their carriage at meeting, which doubtless would not have prevailed to such a degree, had it not been that my grandfather, through his great age, though he retained his powers surprisingly to the last, was not so able to observe them.'—*Edwards' Works*, vol. 3. pp. 11, 12. Ed. 1808.

Towards the close of the year 1733, a sensible amendment and growing seriousness began to be manifest in Mr Edwards' flock, and,

> 'in the April following,—there happened a very sudden and awful death of a young man in the bloom of his youth, who, being violently seized with a pleurisy, and taken immediately very delirious, died in about two days; which, together with what was preached publicly on that occasion, much affected many young people. This was followed with another death of a young married woman, who had been considerably exercised in mind, about the salvation of her soul, before she was ill, and was in great dis-

tress, in the beginning of her illness, but seemed to have satisfying evidences of God's saving mercy to her, before her death; so that she died very full of comfort, in a most earnest and moving manner warning and counselling others. This seemed much to contribute to the solemnizing of the spirits of many young persons; and there began evidently to appear more of a religious concern on the people's minds.

'In the fall of the year, I proposed it to the young people, that they should agree among themselves to spend the evening after lectures, in social religion, and to that end to divide themselves into several companies to meet in various parts of the town; which was accordingly done, and those meetings have been since continued, and the example imitated by elder people. This was followed by the death of an elderly person, which was attended with many unusual circumstances, by which many were much moved and affected.

'About this time began the great noise, that was in this part of the country, about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion here. The friends of vital piety trembled for fear of the issue; but it seemed, contrary to their fear, strongly to be overruled for the promoting of religion. Many who looked on themselves as in a Christless condition, seemed to be awakened by it, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to heterodoxy, and corrupt principles, and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past; and many, who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of a trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths, to their eternal undoing.'—*Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.

No man then living was so well qualified to take advantage of such a crisis as Mr Edwards; uniting, as he did, to great piety, a singular credulity in regard to facts which made him perfectly honest in his most extravagant assumptions, and an almost unequalled ingenuity in reasoning on these assumptions. Grant him his premises, and you are led on step by step to the conclusion; the mind struggles in vain, and is obliged to submit; and then comes the terrible application. To be sure, this application is often of a kind to confute the position from which he started, by reducing it to a practical absurdity; but the mind has been bewildered and crazed by the process, and cannot find its way back, and has lost, moreover, its faculty of discrimination. There are many passages in the published sermons of this distinguished theologian, which, to us, are simply revolting, and sometimes positively disgusting; but we can easily conceive of a mind gradually wrought up to a state, in which they would come upon it with an overwhelming power. Besides, Mr Edwards was as remarkable for his abilities in managing a revival, as in getting it up in the first instance. With a strong natural turn for metaphysical investigation, he had considered the operation of his system on the human mind, with great care; and when the subjects of the excitement consulted him, as a spiritual adviser, he found it easy to gain the same sort of ascendancy over them, which a physician gains over his patients, by entering at once into all their secret feelings, and appearing to know more about their aches and pains than they do themselves. We suspect that no minister ever possessed so much influence over his people in time of a revival, and that none, on the whole, ever exerted it with more judgment and discretion, considering the objects he had in view. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that the revival now under consideration, should have been attended in the beginning with uncommon success.

> 'I am far from pretending to be able to determine how many have lately been the subjects of such mercy; but if I may be allowed to declare any thing that appears to me probable in a thing of this nature, I hope that more than three hundred' souls were savingly brought home to Christ in this town, in the space of half a year, (how many more I don't guess) and about the same number of males as females; which, by what I have heard Mr Stoddard say, was far from what has been usual in years past, for he observed that in his time, many more women were converted than men. Those of our young people that are on other accounts most likely and considerable, are mostly, as I hope, truly pious, and leading persons in the way of religion. Those that were formerly looser young persons, are generally, to all appearance, become true lovers of God and Christ, and spiritual in their dispositions. And I hope that by far the greater part of persons in this town, above sixteen years of age, are such as have the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.' * * * * * *
>
> 'It has heretofore been looked on as a strange thing, when any have seemed to have been savingly wrought upon and remarkably changed in their childhood; but now, I suppose, near thirty were to appearance so wrought upon between ten and fourteen years of age, and two between nine and ten, and one of them about four years of age.'—*Ibid.* pp. 23, 24.

Mr Edwards appears to have been delighted with the effect which the revival had on the 'doctrinal notions' of his people; but its effect on their morals and piety is not represented as so considerable. We confess we were not a little startled at the concessions in the following paragraph, which, if we understand it rightly, admits that the new converts retained but for a short time, the practical advantages they supposed themselves to have gained.

'I think that the main ground of the doubts and fears that persons, after their conversion, have been exercised with about their own state, has been that they have found so much corruption remaining in their hearts. At first their souls seem to be all alive, their hearts are fixed, and their affections flowing; they seem to live quite above the world, and meet with but little difficulty in religious exercises; and they are ready to think it will always be so. Though they are truly abased under a sense of their vileness by reason of former acts of sin, yet they are not then sufficiently sensible what corruption still remains in their hearts; and therefore are surprised when they find that they begin to be in dull and dead frames, to be troubled with wandering thoughts in the time of public and private worship, and to be utterly unable to keep themselves from them; also, when they find themselves unaffected at seasons in which, they think, there is the greatest occasion to be affected; and when they feel worldly dispositions working in them, and it may be pride, and envy, and stirrings of revenge, or some ill spirit towards some person that has injured them, as well as other workings of indwelling sin; their hearts are almost sunk with the disappointment, and they are ready presently to think that all this they have met with, is nothing, and that they are mere hypocrites.'—*Ibid.* p. 55.

Though looking with distrust on these awakenings, we are not insensible to their good effects, even when proceeding, as in the case now under consideration, on mistaken views of religion; but we think that these good effects are counterbalanced, and often much more than counterbalanced, by accompanying evils. It is said of speculative errors, even the grossest and most shocking, that they are counteracted in practice, for the most part, by common sense, a regard for public opinion, and their obvious inconsistency with acknowledged obligations which can be, and will be, enforced. And this is true, when men's minds are not excited in regard to these errors, and opportunity is given for cool reflection and prudence; but let the whole community become heated and inflamed, and very little reliance can be placed on these securities. Of course, it is to be presumed that such men as Edwards, must wish from interested motives, if from no better, to prevent the revivals, which they have succeeded in getting up, from running into scandalous excesses; but let the passions of men become excited inordinately, and it is often as much beyond their power to do this, as to control the storms when they are wildest. Passion is power; and hence the extreme danger of exciting men's passions without at the same time enlightening and *liberalizing* their understandings. It is putting a deadly weapon into the hands of a maniac. Besides, it is while the whole community is in this excited state, that strange and unaccountable vagaries often seize on the best minds, and propagate themselves, like an epidemic, through large masses; the consequences of which are most disastrous, alike to the individuals who are the subjects of the delusion, and the world who look on, and come to the conclusion that religion is a phantasy. Mr Edwards' letter to Dr Coleman, from which we have taken our extracts, was written in 1736, and long before that time he had found occasion to deplore the justice of most of these reflexions. But on this subject we choose that he should speak for himself.

'In the latter part of May it began to be very sensible that the spirit of God was gradually withdrawing from us, and after this time Satan seemed to be more let loose, and raged in a dreadful manner. The first instance wherein it appeared, was a person's putting an end to his own life, by cutting his throat. He was a gentleman of more than common understanding, of strict morals, religious in his behaviour, and an useful, honorable person in the town; but was of a family that are exceeding prone to the disease of melancholy, and his mother was killed with it. He had, from the beginning of this extraordinary time, been exceedingly concerned about the state of his soul, and there were some things in his experience that appeared very hopefully; but he durst entertain no hope concerning his own good estate. Towards the latter part of his time, he grew much discouraged, and melancholy grew amain upon him, till he was wholly overpowered by it, and was, in great measure, past a capacity of receiving advice, or being reasoned with to any purpose. The devil took the advantage, and drove him into despairing thoughts. He was kept awake a-nights, meditating terror, so that he had scarce any sleep at all, for a long time together. And it was observed at last, that he was scarcely well capable of managing his ordinary business, and was judged delirious by the coroner's inquest. The news of this extraordinarily affected the minds of people here, and struck them, as it were, with astonishment. After this, multitudes in this and other towns seemed to have it strongly suggested to

> them, and pressed upon them, to do as this person had done. And many that seemed to be under no melancholy, some pious persons, that had no special darkness nor doubts about the goodness of their state, nor were under any special trouble or concern of mind about any thing spiritual or temporal, yet had it urged upon them, as if somebody had spoken to them, *Cut your own throat, now is a good opportunity.* Now! Now! So that they were obliged to fight with all their might to resist it, and yet no reason suggested to them why they should do it.—*Ibid.* pp. 77, 78.

Our attention is now called away to other scenes, but we intend to return to the subject in the sequel, and notice the melancholy issue of Mr Edwards' labors at Northampton.

Whitefield had been in some of the southern provinces in 1738, and after a short visit to his native country had returned in the following year. He landed at Philadelphia in the autumn, and soon afterwards proceeded southward to Savannah, his former place of residence, and where he had established his Orphan House; preaching at the principal cities and villages on his way. In September, 1740, he was induced to visit New England, partly by the pressing invitations he had received from this quarter, and partly by the necessity he was under to collect additional funds for the support of his Orphan House; and sailed accordingly from Charleston, S. C. for Newport, in Rhode Island. If we may credit his Journal,* his arrival off the last mentioned place was signalized by a miracle.

> 'Almost all the morning the wind was contrary; but I found a very strong inclination to pray that we might arrive time enough to be present at public worship. Once I called the people, but something prevented their coming; at last, finding my impression increase upon me, I desired their attendance immediately. They came with a strong assurance we should be heard. We prayed the Lord that he might turn the wind that we might give him thanks in the great congregation, and also that he would send such to us as he would have us to converse with, and who might show us a lodging. Though the wind was ahead when we begun, yet when we had done praying and came out of the cabin, it was quite fair; with a gentle gale we sailed most pleasantly into the harbor, got into public worship before they had

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* In reading Whitefield's Journal of his tour, it should be remembered, that it was not a private one, intended merely as a record of his first impressions, and to assist his memory; but was designed for immediate publication, and sent to the press as soon as the tour was finished, that it might have its effect on the public mind.

finished the psalms, and sat, as I thought, undiscovered. After service was over, a gentleman asked me whether my name was not Whitefield. I told him, Yes. He then desired me to go to his house, and he would take care to provide lodgings and necessaries for me and my friends. I went silently, admiring God's goodness in answering my prayers so minutely.'—*Whitefield's Journal at New England*, pp. 38, 39.

Here he stayed a few days, and received every possible mark of attention, and then continued his journey to Boston; where he was also received with great honor, not only by the clergy generally, but by the governor, secretary, and other principal men. It is to be observed, however, that though Whitefield was in orders in the Episcopal Church, all the three Episcopal clergymen in this town treated him with so much coolness in an interview he had with them, that he resolved not to give them the opportunity of denying him their pulpits, and, while he continued here, preached only with the Congregationalists. His labors, as a preacher, were immense, and could not have been sustained by him, if it had not been for the physical effects of living in a state of continued mental excitement, or if his efforts had been of a kind to require much preparation. Scarcely a day passed on which he did not preach in public at least once, and occasionally three times; and besides this, he almost always in the evening exhorted the crowd that collected in the house, or gathered round the doors of his lodgings. He is also careful to mention in his Journal the numbers drawn together by his eloquence, from which we learn that he often had an audience of six thousand persons in the churches, and when he preached on the Common, it was repeatedly in the presence of fifteen thousand, and, in one instance, of near thirty thousand. So eager were the multitude to hear him, that the churches where he was expected to preach, were thronged to overflowing, many hours before the services began; and this often led to serious accidents, one of which he mentions himself, with a comment on his own presence of mind that might have been spared; for we do not esteem this quality very highly, when it consists merely in the equanimity with which a person in his situation could bear other men's terrors and sufferings.

'In the afternoon I went to preach at Mr Checkley's meetinghouse; but God was pleased to humble us by a very awful providence. For when the meetinghouse was filled with people, though there was no real danger, on a sudden the people were all in an uproar, and so unaccountably surprised, that some threw themselves out of the windows, others threw themselves out of the galleries, and others trampled upon one another so that some were actually killed, and others dangerously wounded. I happened to come in the midst of the uproar, and saw two or three lying on the ground in a pitiable condition. God was pleased to give me presence of mind, so that I gave notice I would immediatety preach on the Common.'—*Ibid.* p. 53.

Our readers will be pleased to know what impressions were made on Whitefield by this visit; and a few more extracts from his Journal will not only gratify them in this respect, but do as much as any thing to give an insight into his character and policy.

'Boston is a large populous place, very wealthy; has the form kept up very well; but has lost much of the power of religion. I have not heard of any remarkable stir in it for these many years. Ministers and people are obliged to confess, that the love of many is waxed cold. Both, for the generality, seem too much conformed to the world. There's much of the pride of life to be seen in their assemblies. Jewels, patches, and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex; little boys and girls I observed commonly dressed up in the pride of life; and the little infants that were brought to baptism, were wrapped in such fine things and so much pains taken to dress them, that one would think they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. There are nine meetinghouses of the Congregational persuasion, one Baptist, one French, one belonging to the Scotch-Irish; there are two monthly and one weekly lecture, and that, too, but poorly attended; several ministers complained to me of it, I mentioned it in my sermons, and I trust God will stir up the people more frequently to tread the courts of the Lord's house. One thing Boston is remarkable for, the external observation of the sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The governor encourages them, and the ministers and magistrates seem to be more united than in any other place where I have been. Both were exceeding civil to me during my stay. I never saw so little scoffing; never had so little opposition. But one might easily foresee much would hereafter arise, when I come to be more particular in my application to particular persons; for I fear, many, many rest in a head knowledge, are close Pharisees, and having only a name to live. It must needs be so when the power of godliness is dwindled away, and the form only of religion is become fashionable amongst a people.'—*Ibid.* 76, 77.

'*Wednesday*, *Sept.* 24. Went this morning to see and preach at Cambridge, the chief college for training up the sons of the prophets in all New England. It has one president, four tutors, upwards of one hundred students. It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges in Oxford; and as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with, and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at too low an ebb. Bad books are become fashionable amongst them. Tillotson and Clark are read instead of Sheppard, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers, and therefore I chose to preach from those words, "We are not as many who corrupt the word of God;" and in the conclusion of my sermon, I made a close application to tutors and students.'—*Ibid.* p. 55.

At another time in Boston:

'When I came into the pulpit, I saw a great number of ministers sitting around and before me, and when I came to those words, "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" the Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded the generality of preachers talk of an unknown, unfelt Christ. And the reason why congregations have been so dead, is because they have had dead men preaching to them. Oh! that the Lord may quicken and revive them, for his own name's sake. For how can dead men beget living children? It's true indeed, God may convert people by the Devil if he pleases, and so he may by unconverted ministers. But I believe he seldom makes use of either of them for this purpose. No, the Lord will choose vessels made meet by the operations of the blessed Spirit for his sacred use; and as for my own part, I would not lay hands on an unconverted man for ten thousand worlds. Unspeakable freedom God gave me while treating on this head.'—*Ibid.* 70, 71.

On leaving this section of the country he gives the following as the sum of his reflections and observations.

'But here I think it proper to set up my Ebenezer, and before I enter into the province of New York, to give God thanks for sending me into New England. I have now had an opportunity of seeing the greatest and most populous parts of it; and take all together, it certainly on many accounts exceeds all other provinces in America, and for the establishment of religion, perhaps all other parts of the world. Never, surely, was so large a spot of ground settled in such a manner, in so short a space as one hundred years. The towns through Connecticut, and eastward towards York, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, near the river side, are large and well peopled, and exceeding pleasant to travel through. Every five or ten miles you have a meeting-house, and I believe there's no such thing as a pluralist or non-resident minister in both provinces. Many, nay, perhaps most that preach, I fear, do not experimentally know Christ, yet I cannot see much worldly advantage to tempt them to take upon them the sacred function.'—'But I think the ministers preaching almost universally by notes, is a certain mark they have in a great measure lost the old spirit of preaching. For though all are not to be condemned that use notes, yet it is a sad symptom of the decay of vital religion, when reading sermons becomes fashionable, where extempore preaching did once almost universally prevail. When the spirit of prayer began to be lost, then forms of prayer were invented, and I believe the same observation will hold good as to preaching. As for the universities, I believe it may be said, 'Their light is now become darkness; darkness that may be felt,' and is complained of by the most godly ministers. I pray God those fountains may be purified, and send forth pure streams to water the city of our God. The Church of England is at a very low ebb, and as far as I can find, had people kept their primitive purity, it would scarce have got footing in New England. I have many evidences to prove that most of the churches have been first set up by immoral men, and such as would not submit to the discipline of their congregations, or were corrupt in the faith. But I will say no more about the poor Church of England. Most of her sons, whether ministers or people, I fear hate to be reformed.'—*Ibid.* pp. 94—96.

Nothing appears to have given Whitefield more pleasure than the attentions which he received from governor Belcher; and the Journal is full of notices of the several instances in which his Excellency invited him to dinner, or gave him a seat in his coach, or kissed him. We shall give, as an example, their parting interview.

'*Wednesday, October* 15. Perceived the governor to be more affectionate than ever. After morning prayer, he took me by myself, kissed me, wept, and exhorted me to go on stirring up the ministers. For, says he, reformation must begin at the house of God. As we were going to meeting, says he, Mr Whitefield, do not spare rulers any more than ministers; no, not the chief of them. I preached in the open air to some thousands; the word fell with weight indeed; it carried all before it. After sermon, the governor said to me, I pray God I may apply what has been said to my own heart. Pray, Mr Whitefield, that I may hunger and thirst after righteousness. Dinner being ended, with tears in his eyes he kissed and took his leave of me. Oh! that we may meet in heaven! I have observed, that I had greater power than ordinary when the governor has been at public worship.'—*Ibid.* pp. 79, 80.

In reading the Journal one is surprised at the liberty which the writer takes, in publishing his opinion of the domestic circumstances of his friends; and not less so, at his manner of obtruding on the world his own private concerns, strangely mixed up with religion and prayer.

> 'The night was both dark and rainy; but He, with whom the darkness is no darkness, brought us in safety to Hampton, where I was pleased to see more plainness in Mr Cotton's house than I had seen in any minister's house since my arrival. His wife was as one that serveth. Oh! that all ministers' wives were so; for there is nothing gives me more offence than to see clergymen's wives dressed out in the pride of life; they bring a reproach upon religion; they generally live up to the utmost of their income, and being above working after their husbands' decease, they are of all women the most miserable. From such a wife, good Lord, of thy infinite mercy deliver my soul.'—*Ibid.* 62.

And again at Northampton:

> 'Felt wonderful satisfaction in being at the house of Mr Edwards. He is a son himself, and hath also a daughter of Abraham for his wife. A sweeter couple I have not yet seen. Their children were dressed not in silks and satins, but plain, as becomes the children of those who in all things ought to be examples of christian simplicity. She is a woman adorned with a meek and quiet spirit, and talked so feelingly and solidly of the things of God, and seemed to be such a helpmeet for her husband, that she caused me to renew those prayers, which for some months I have put up to God, that he would be pleased to send me a daughter of Abraham to be my wife. I find upon many accounts it is my duty to marry. Lord, I desire to have no choice of my own. Thou knowest my circumstances. Thou knowest I desire to marry only in and for thee. Thou didst choose a Rebecca for Isaac; choose one for me to be a helpmeet for me, in managing that great household committed to my charge. Lord, hear me; Lord, let my cry come unto thee.'—*Ibid.* p. 83.

It was while his mind was in this state that he wrote home to England a very characteristic letter, soliciting the hand of a young lady, who 'had often been impressed on his heart as the person appointed by God for him;' but stating, at the same time, 'I bless God, if I know any thing of my own heart, I am free from that foolish passion which the world calls love.' This negotiation failed; but he was afterwards wedded to a widow lady, whose attractions, by his own account, did not consist in riches or beauty, but in being 'a despised follower of Jesus.' Unhappily, however, Whitefield was no judge of character; the union was not blessed, and her death, according to one of his friends, 'set his mind much at liberty.'

On the whole, the more we have studied Whitefield's character the less respect we feel for it, notwithstanding the wonderful effects of his preaching. His friends admit that we look in vain in his published remains, for indications of a higher order of intellect, or genuine eloquence; and the truth is, he had neither. It was his manner and nothing else; and much of the success of this is to be imputed to the heavy and jejune style of preaching which then prevailed, almost universally, and made any thing, in comparison, interesting and exciting. We ought also to consider, in this connexion, the propensity of the multitude to exaggerate the powers of a popular orator, by ascribing to them much that might be referred more properly to the state of mind in which he is heard, and to the influence which a crowded audience have on one another by sympathy, when assembled under such circumstances. Vanity, excessive vanity, appears to have been Whitefield's master passion; and he had as much virtue and piety as was compatible with this, and no more. We do not mean that he really had no religion, when we say he was vain of it, any more than we should mean that a man had no learning, if we said he was vain of it. At the same time, it must be confessed that vanity is a trait of character not likely to consist with very high religious attainments. It is said of Napoleon that he loved France, merely because France was identified with his own glory; and yet that he really loved France. We suspect that much of Whitefield's zeal for religion, is to be explained in the same way, and yet we believe that his zeal was sincere; for though there is a great deal of delusion about such persons, they commonly begin by deluding themselves.

And let it not be said, that in these observations we have been defaming the dead. On the contrary, they enable us to account for defects and vices, which, on any other theory of Whitefield's character, we should find it necessary to refer to worse motives. It was vanity, and nothing worse, which made him speak, at one time with so much presumption of his spiritual communications, and at another, in such exaggerated language of his vileness; for men may be vain of their humility, as well as of any other grace. It was vanity, and nothing worse, which induced him to be continually parading *himself* as the principal figure, and which prepared him to receive and enjoy the fulsome, and sometimes almost impious, adulation lavished on him by his admirers, and, if occasion required, to use not a little of this adulation himself, in his intercourse with the great, whom he could persuade to come into his measures. In fine, it was vanity, and nothing worse, which led him to denounce his elders and betters in the ministry, as unconverted men, and to endeavour to destroy their influence, and even to entertain, for a time, the project of displacing them, that he might make room for an importation of his own creatures from England.* Wesley was remarkable rather for his ambition, and took more care, therefore, to establish and perpetuate his ascendency, while the vanity of Whitefield was satisfied, for the most part, in seeing the impression he could make by a single effort; a success to which this very vanity also contributed, by the selfconfidence it inspired.

However this may be, it is certain that his preaching produced a sensation, which was felt from one end of the continent to the other.

'He was strangely flocked after by all sorts of persons, and much admired by the vulgar, both great and small. The ministers had him in veneration, at least in appearance, as much as the people; encouraged his preaching, attended it themselves every day in the week, and mostly twice a day. The grand subject of conversation was Mr Whitefield, and the whole business of the town, to run from place to place to hear him preach. And, as he preached under such uncommon advantages, being high in the opinion of the people, and having the body of the ministers hanging on his lips, he soon insinuated himself still further into the affections of multitudes, in so much that it became dangerous to mention his name, without saying something in commendation of him.

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* See several Letters which passed between Mr Clap, the Rector of Yale College, and Mr Edwards, and were published at the time. They relate to a private conversation which these gentlemen had with one another, and which Clap divulged. Edwards wrote for the purpose of contradicting it, and yet was obliged to confess, 'It's possible I might say to you, that I believed Mr Whitefield did aim at people's forsaking unconverted ministers, and to endeavour that there should be a supply of converted ministers, as far as in him lay; or something to that purpose. In the same discourse it's possible I might mention what Mr Whitefield told me of his design of bringing over a number of young men from England, to be ordained by the Tennents in the Jerseys.'

'His reception, as he passed through this and the neighbouring governments of Connecticut and New York, till he came to Philadelphia, was after much the same manner; save only, that he met with no admirers among the clergy, unless here and there one, any where but in Boston; and, whether the ministers here in general, really thought better of him than they did elsewhere, I will not be too positive to affirm. 'Tis possible, they might act as though they had a great veneration for him and so as to lead people into such an apprehension, from cowardice, affectation of popularity, or a rigid attachment to some sentiments in divinity they might imagine there was now an advantage to establish and propagate; and I would not undertake to prove, that they might none of them be under an undue influence from some or other of these motives.' *

The ministers of Boston seem to have been alarmed at the inroads which Arminianism and Arianism had already begun to make in this vicinity, to withstand the further progress of which but two courses presented themselves. One was, to encourage inquiry, and meet the supposed errors in discussion and by fair argument; but they were wary men, and experience had taught them that Calvinism seldom throve by such means. They were determined, therefore, to put their doctrines under the protection of a popular enthusiasm; not an enthusiasm naturally inspired by the circumstances or the subject, but an enthusiasm gotten up by artificial means, and so directed and controlled, by its contrivers and managers, that it might answer their purposes, without bringing itself into discredit by its excess, or turning back its fires on those who kindled them. This expedient, considering the emergency, was wisely chosen; for while it served, for the time at least, to revive a zeal for religion and greater seriousness, it also had the effect to recommend their peculiar doctrines, with which they took care that this increased zeal and seriousness

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* A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston to Mr George Wishart, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, concerning the State of Religion in New England. Edinburgh. 1742, pp. 6, 7. This is the testimony of a cotemporary and eye-witness, whose authority is on many accounts entitled to great weight. The Edinburgh minister did not feel at liberty to give the name of the writer, but says that he knows him to be distinguished for his understanding and integrity, a religious man, and a Calvinist.

should be associated in the minds of the people. To be sure no such connexion really existed, for while Whitefield was producing these effects by preaching Calvinism, Wesley was producing the same or still greater effects, by preaching Anti-calvinism. They knew, however, that the less enlightened part of the community were ignorant of this, and would associate the good effects of the excitement with the high Calvinism of its principal movers; and they would be able to point to the 'glorious work' as being at the same time the fruit of Calvinism, and a divine attestation to its truth. A new argument would not really be adduced in support of their system, nor any persons, properly speaking, be convinced of it, or led to examine it; but many would be induced to assume it as true without examining it. We may presume that in all this the ministers of Boston were actuated by honest intentions; and if Calvinists in other places did not imitate the policy, it may have been because they did not feel their doctrines to be losing their hold on the public mind; or because they dreaded the evils of making the religion of a people depend on enthusiasm, which, under the best management, will be fitful and intermittent, like the heats and chills of a fever, both alike indicative of disease.

Having resolved to follow up the blow Whitefield had given, his friends in Boston immediately set in motion the machinery necessary for this purpose; the same, in general, with that employed in such cases at the present day. It is remarkable that 'the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world' was instituted on this occasion.* Every thing succeeded, in the outset, according to their most sanguine expectations; and it is instructive to compare the language of vaunting and exultation in which they then indulged, with that of mortification and disappointment, wrung from them after experience had made them wiser. It was another Pentecost; the millennium had begun; and the 'herd of heretics' were confounded.

> 'I am now to inform you, that since my last our exalted Saviour has been riding forth in his magnificence and glory through divers parts of our land, in so triumphant a manner as hath never been seen or heard among us, or among any other people, as we know of, since the apostles' days. He is daily making his most resolute opposers to fall down under him; and almost every week we hear of new and surprising conquests, and even almost all at once, and in a manner over whole congregations, where whole

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* See the Christian History for 1744, p. 382.

assemblies lay as congregations of the dead; the day of the power of Christ comes at once upon us, and they are almost altogether, both whites and blacks, both old and young, both profane and moral, awakened and made alive to God. It is astonishing to see some who were like incarnate devils, thrown at once into such extreme distress as no pen can possibly describe, or absent mind imagine, and in two or three days time turned into eminent saints, full of divine adoration, love, and joy unspeakable and full of glory.'*

When sensible and good men could express themselves so, we cannot wonder that enthusiasts should take advantage of the ferment; and many soon appeared on the stage, among whom the most remarkable were the Tennents, Whelock, Pomroy, Barber, and Davenport. Most of these had received some previous training under David Ferris, a noted fanatic, of whom some account is given in a letter to Dr Chauncy.

'I cannot better describe the man, than by relating what he said to me. He told me, he was certain not one in ten of the communicants in New Haven Church would be saved, but would go directly down to hell when they died. He said it was a call from Heaven, his coming to college; that it was revealed to him when he was sick, that he should recover; that when he died, he knew he should have a higher seat in the kingdom of heaven than Moses, which knowledge was from the illumination of God's spirit; that he knew God's will in all things, and lived agreeable thereto to that perfection, that if he were to die that night, he would not desire to have an alteration made in one article of his life for six years, for he had not been guilty of any sin in that time. He was, to be short, filled with imaginary revelations. He had a proud and haughty spirit, and appeared strongly desirous of applause. He was blind to his own faults, and other men's virtues; but quick to spy out some things amiss in his neighbours, and would judge and condemn all but his own party and enthusiastic zealots like himself. He would do all in his power to advance his own opinions, and loved to head a party, to whom he could dictate, and on whom he could impose his principles as certainties. And as he would have it, so it happened; for, by hiding himself under a cloak of zeal, some gloomy persons among the students were ensnared by him, who, having mixed something of devotion with their melancholy tempers, became his admirers, and had his person in admiration to that degree, that they believed all he said to be true, and entertained such an opinion of his worth, that they drank in all his errors without examination. His word to them was demonstration. Verily, they seemed to think, he could neither deceive, nor be deceived. They endeavoured to imitate him in all things, as far as they could. Mr Davenport, Whelock, Pomroy, and others, were those who lived with this Ferris most familiarly, and have since divulged his errors, and filled places where they have preached, with the superstitions and groundless opinions they learned from him, who was their father and dictator, as to their belief. *Chauncy,* pp. 210—212.

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* Letter of Rev. Mr Prince appended to Whitefield's Vindication and Confirmation of the Remarkable Work of God in New England. Glasgow, 1742.

It is one of the evils incident to a a highly excited state of the public mind, that the more judicious and discriminating soon fall under suspicion, and gradually lose their influence and authority, being supplanted in the confidence of the people by men of warmer temperaments, who are willing to feed more freely, the growing passion with the stimulants it craves. If the subjects of this awakening would have followed, in all respects, the counsel of such men as the Boston ministers, or Mr Edwards, we must presume it would have prevented many of the revolting scenes which ensued; but this ought not to have been expected. For a while, all thought, and felt, and acted together; but men are differently constituted, and the more excitable soon outstripped the others in their zeal, and any attempts to check their excesses were construed into an opposition to the whole work, and were watched with the same jealousy. The more temperate and judicious among the promoters of the revival were reduced, therefore, to the alternative of conniving, at least for a time, at the extravagances committed daily by their coadjutors, or losing their influence over them altogether. Considering, then, that the whole community, in the highest possible state of excitement in many places, was abandoned to the devices of such men as are described in our last extract, fanatics by nature and education, we may regret, but we cannot wonder at the delusions and outrages of which the histories of the time are full.

'Moreover, the way in which these terrors spread themselves, is a circumstance that does not much favor their Divine origin. They seem to be suddenly propagated, from one to another, as in a great fright or consternation. They often begin with a single person, a child, or woman, or lad, whose shrieks set others a shrieking; and so the shrieks catch from one to another, till the whole congregation is alarmed, and such an awful scene, many times, opened, as no imagination can paint to the life. To this purpose is that in the Boston Post Boy, when after an account of the terrible language made use of by the itinerants, 'tis added, 'This frequently frights the little children, and sets them a screaming; and *that* frights their tender mothers, and sets them to screaming, and by degrees spreads over a great part of the congregation. And forty, fifty, or an hundred of them screaming all together, makes such an awful and hideous noise as will make a man's hair stand an end. Some will faint away, fall down upon the floor, wallow, and foam. Some women will rend off their caps, handkerchiefs, and other clothes; tear their hair down about their ears, and seem perfectly bereft of their reason.'—*Ibid.* pp. 105, 106.

'Another bad thing, I must not omit to mention, is, the confusion that has been so common, of late, in some of our houses for worship; I mean not only on account of the screamings and shriekings of the people, but their talking, and praying, and exhorting, and singing, and laughing, and congratulating one another by shaking hands, and sometimes kissing; and all at the same time, and in the same assembly; on which things their hearts have been so zealously set, that the same houses have scarce been emptied for a week together, night or day. It may seem incredible simply to relate these facts; but they are the real truth. Says a friend, in giving an account of some things he was himself a witness to; 'Half a score of them would be exhorting all together, and more, many times, and some would be praying; some again would do nothing but sing, and that for an hour, or more. And thus there would be exhorting, praying, singing, all at the same time, by those different persons; whereby the noise was so confused and loud, that a person could scarce speak to another so as to be heard.' And a little onwards; 'The meeting was carried on with what appeared to me great confusion; some screaming out in distress and anguish; some praying; others singing; some again jumping up and down the house, while others were exhorting; some lying along on the floor, and others walking and talking; the whole with a very great noise, to be heard at a mile's distance, and continued almost the whole night.' And yet again; 'Many of the young women would go about the house praying and exhorting; then they would separate themselves from the other people, and get into a corner of the house to sing and rejoice together; and then they would break forth into as great a laughter as could be, to think, as they expressed it, that they should go hand in hand to heaven. Then they would speak it over again, and shout out into a great laughter, laughing and singing, jumping up and down, and clapping their hands together; and some would be so filled with joy, as they pretended, that they could not stand nor walk. And all this, when, at the same time, there are threescore persons lying, some on the floor, some across the seats, while others were held up and supported in great distress.' And after some other things upon the times he adds ; 'Thus they spent more than seven days. The meetinghouse was scarce empty, but some or other were there, the whole of the time, both night and day.' Agreeable whereto is another account from another part of the country ; 'They had a public exercise every day, and for nine nights successively. Numbers of the people continued the greatest part of the night, in the utmost disorder. They were groaning, crying out, fainting, falling down, praying ; exhorting, singing, laughing, congratulating each other, which they did by shaking hands and embraces ; the latter was commonly practised by different sexes, and by the fifth night, there were almost three hundred thus affected, who were acting their different parts at the same time ; which occasioned inexpressible confusion, and rendered it impossible to make a just observation upon all that passed ; but I evidently found—.' To the like purpose is what we have printed in the Boston Post Boy,—'He (Mr Davenport) and some other ministers, and young gifted brethren, held forth every day on the Commencement week, and generally continued till ten or eleven at night, and then a great part of their carryings on was, not by praying, singing, and preaching upon a text, as usual ; but one would make a short prayer, then another give a word of exhortation ; then one would propose a psalm, then another a prayer, then another a word of exhortation, and so on, without any certain order, or method ; so that in one meeting of two or three hours, there would be, it may be, twenty or thirty distinct exercises carried on, by five or ten distinct persons ; some standing in the pulpit, some in the body of the seats, some in the pews, and some up gallery ; and oftentimes, several of them would speak together. So that some praying, some exhorting, and terrifying, some singing, some screaming, some crying, some laughing, and some scolding, made the most amazing confusion that ever was heard.' *Ibid.* pp. 239—241.

We lament, as much as any one can, that a faithful sketch of the period could not be given without reminding our readers of these scenes, on which no serious person can dwell without extreme pain, and it is proper to say that this consideration has induced us to keep back many statements, unquestionably authentic, which are still more offensive. Indeed, things had come to such a pass, that the Boston ministers, and others, perceived it to be necessary that something should be immediately done to reconcile sober men to the idea, that the hand of God was visible in these disturbances. With this view they attempted to make a distinction between those effects of the revival which were to be ascribed to the effusion of the Spirit, and those which were to be regarded as mere human appendages, or the delusions of the devil; and as Mr Davenport had distinguished himself by his fanatical practices, they were induced, in July, 1742, to publish a declaration against his errors and irregularities.* This miserable man, after having been pronounced *non compos mentis* by the General Assembly in Connecticut and by a Suffolk jury, was persuaded himself, in 1744, to make a Confession and Retractations, and allow them to be printed. A person unacquainted with the tendency of enthusiasm to pervert men's moral judgments, may be amazed that this lunatic was countenanced so long, and had such influence, and that such an opinion was entertained of his sanctity.

'Mr Whitefield declared in conversation, that he never knew one keep so close a walk with God as Mr Davenport. In one of his Journals he stigmatizes the town of Stanford after this manner; that it was a place where Mr Davenport, a dear minister of the blessed Jesus, was slighted and despised. And, doubtless when he hears of, or sees what the Association have done lately, he will take up the same lamentation concerning Boston. Mr Tennent, in my hearing, affirmed Mr Davenport to be one of the most heavenly men he ever was acquainted with. Mr Pomroy, who is acquainted with both, thinks he doth not come one whit behind Mr Whitefield, but rather goes beyond him, for heavenly communion and fellowship with the Father and with the Son Jesus Christ. Mr Parsons of Lyme, told me the other day, that not one minister whom he had seen was to be compared with Mr Davenport, for living near to God, and having his conversation always in heaven. Mr Owen also of Groton said lately, that the idea he had of the apostles themselves scarcely exceeded what he saw in Mr Davenport. In brief, there is not one minister in all Connecticut that is zealously affected in the good cause of God at this day, but instead of slighting him, is apt to think more highly of him than we ought to think of men, and to receive him almost as if he was an angel from heaven. God grant that Mr Davenport may get no harm by these high commendations, which for the glory of God, I have forced myself to bestow upon him; but may he always have such a sense of his remaining corruptions, as that he may loath himself before an infinitely holy God; and be a worm and no man in his own eyes!' †

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* See the Christian History for 1744, p. 407.

† Mr Croswell's Reply to the Declaration of a number of the Associated Ministers in Boston and Charlestown, with regard to the Rev. Mr James Davenport and his Conduct, p. 8, 9.

It is a memorable fact that this distinction between the essentials of the revival, and its incidental and vicious appendages, instead of restoring it to general favor, gave the fatal blow from which it never recovered, by creating schism and discord among its friends and promoters. From the beginning the proceedings in Boston had been viewed with disapprobation by many of the clergy in the country, and by the clergy in Connecticut almost universally. The opposition gathered strength daily, as the bad and dangerous tendency of the measures of the revivalists became more and more apparent, and we are sorry to add that their conduct was not always marked, particularly in Connecticut, with a due regard to justice, seriousness, and christian liberty. Harvard College came out with its Testimony against Whitefield and his errors signed by all the Faculty, in 1744; and this gave rise to a controversy in which the college found an able champion in the author of one of the most spirited and caustic publications of the day. It was in reply to William Hobby of Reading, who had said, that unless real and substantial godliness was better understood and practised within a few years after he left the college, than when he was there, Whitefield had not calumniated the institution.

'But endeavour, if you can, impartially to recollect the state of the college while you was there; and then, if shame and sorrow will suit a constitution liks yours, be covered with confusion for what you have wrote. The gentleman at the head of the society, when you entered, was a staunch Calvinist in principle, of strict morals, and exercised the severest discipline. His successor was renowned through the whole land for his piety; his name is, upon that account, mentioned among us with the utmost honor, and his memory will live forever. The tutors and professors were, while you belonged to the society, of virtuous lives and conversations, and of unblemished characters; and all of them, except the two discarded by the college, do, at this day, make a distinguished figure in church or state. Morning and evening prayers were constantly kept up; the holy scriptures read, and a strict attendance required. None were allowed to absent themselves from the public worship on Lord's days, without some necessary hindrance. Vice and immorality of all kinds were forbidden upon the severest penalties, and when detected were sure to be punished. And now, what sign of darkness in all this? Why, say you, "we dwelt much upon the shell of religion, but little regarded the pearl of great price." That is, in other words, the students did not, as the fashion is among some sort of people at this day, tell one another how often they said their prayers, and how good they felt themselves. What pity is it, that a practice, so suited to gratify a vain temper, was not then in vogue? If it had been, I doubt not we should have had a much earlier date to your conversion.'*

Every thing now indicated the disrepute into which the revival had fallen among all sensible men, whose ambition, pride, or regard for consistency was not implicated. In the Annual Convention in 1743, the clergy of the province drew up and printed their united Testimony against the Disorders in the Land; which had great influence in fixing public sentiment. It is true the friends of the revival had a separate meeting on the day after the following Commencement, to give in a counter Testimony; but though ninety are said to have been present, only sixty-eight voted, and fifteen of these clogged their vote with a condition, which clearly showed that they had begun to be ashamed of their party.† To show how utterly desperate their cause soon became, it is only necessary to add, that, on calling a similar meeting in 1745, though all New-England was represented, they could muster but twenty ministers. The declension of the excitement, as might be expected, was more or less rapid in different places; but it began to decline every where from the moment when the excesses of a few made it necessary for the rest to admit, that a part, at least, of the pretended influences of the Spirit were to be referred to the machinations of Satan. The step was inevitable perhaps, but it was nevertheless a fatal one; a fact in which the writers on both sides appear to have been perfectly agreed. As to the use which the ministers of Boston were endeavouring to make of Davenport's recantations, it was said:

'If Mr Davenport or his friends hope to reestablish the credit of the chief workers in the late work, as really sent of God, they must necessarily be disappointed. The confessing and giving up such things as were indisputably owing to the false Spirit will never establish the rest. Enthusiasts must never retract any thing any more than the Pope; if they once give up their infallibility they are infallibly gone. And from thence it came to pass, that ever since the fatal distinction of appendages and essential parts, the whole work has been at an awful stand.*

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* Twig of Birch for Billy's Breech. Boston, 1744, p. 10. Published anonymously, but known to have been from the pen of Richard Pateshall, a layman of Boston, who graduated at Cambridge in 1735. Professor Wigglesworth's Letter to Whitefield is one of the most valuable papers which the occasion drew forth.

† See the Christian History for 1743, p. 155, *et seq.*

The language of Mr Prince is still more striking, especially when contrasted with that he had used on former occasions, of which we have given a specimen.

'And thus successfully did this divine work, as above described, go on in town, without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation either in this town or province, for above a year and half after Mr Whitefield left us, viz. the end of June 1742, when the Rev. Mr Davenport of Long Island came to Boston. And then through the awful providence of the sovereign God, the wisdom of whose ways is past finding out, we unexpectedly came to an unhappy period.'——'Now a disputatious spirit most grievously prevailed among us; and what almost ever attends it, much censoriousness, and reflection; which had a further tendency to inflame and alienate, and whereof many of every party were sadly guilty.'——'The Sovereign spirit in his awakening influences in the unconverted, and his enlivening efficacy in the hopefully renewed, in this town, has seemed these two last years in a gradual and awful manner to withdraw.'——'Of those who were in the late effusion wrought on, diverse are sometimes repairing to me with sad complaints of their spiritual dulness, darkness and decays.'—*Christian History for* 1743, pp. 406, 408, 414.

This was the state of things in Boston, and in other towns it was no better. It will be recollected that before Mr Whitefield's visit to New England, there had been a great revival at Northampton; in which, according to Mr Edwards's account, almost every person of any consequence in the place who had arrived to years of discretion had become a subject of the sanctifying influences of the Spirit. The revival in 1740 and 1741, was also felt here, especially among the young. On one occasion Mr Edwards tells us, that 'the children were there very generally and greatly effected with the warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome; and the room was filled with cries, and when they were dismissed, they, almost all of them, went home crying aloud through the streets, to all parts of the town.'† He also thinks that the work, these last years, 'seemed to be much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture than in the former great outpouring of the spirit in 1735 and 1736.'* Here, then, was a town which had been visited by more revivals than any other, and was under the vigilant and active ministry of the most renowned manager of revivals; and some may therefore be expecting to learn that it long continued the chosen abode of peace and virtue, so that in all after time, if any one durst lisp a syllable against revivals, men might say, 'Look at Northampton.'

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* An Impartial Examination of Mr Davenport's Retractations, p. 5.

† 'The Christian History for 1743,' p. 370.

Let us then look at Northampton. In 1744, after the lapse of only two years, disclosures were made, which, according to Mr Edwards' biographer, revealed the diseased and rotten state of the morals of the church.

'Mr Edwards was informed that some young persons in town who were members of the church, had books in their possession which they employed to promote lascivious and obscene discourse among the young people. Upon inquiry, a number of persons testified that they had heard one and another, from time to time, talk obscenely; as what they were led to, by reading a book or books which they had among them. Mr Edwards thought the brethren of the church ought to look into the matter; and in order to introduce it, he preached a sermon from Heb. xii. 15, 16, "Looking diligently, lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled: Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, &c.' After sermon, he desired the brethren of the church to stay, and told them what information he had got; and proposed, whether they thought proper to take any measures to examine into the matter.—*Edwards' Works*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

It soon appeared that most of the considerable families in the town, were implicated; and though they consented, in the first instance, to the investigation, they afterwards altered their minds, and the authority of the church was openly defied and insulted. The dispute gathered heat as it went on, until the whole town was in a blaze; and from that moment the influence of Mr Edwards was at an end, and the men who had been accustomed to consult their passions rather than their reason in religion, continued to do it in every controversy that arose. After a few years spent in divisions and strifes that were a scandal to the whole country, it was apparent that a separation must take place, and with this view a Council was convened in the summer of 1750.

'After they had made some fruitless attempts for a composition between the pastor and church, they passed a resolution by a majority of one voice only, to the following purpose: "That it is expedient that the pastoral relation between Mr Edwards and his church be immediately dissolved, if the people still persist in desiring it." And it being publicly put to the people, whether they still insisted on Mr Edwards's dismission from the pastoral office over them? a great majority, above two hundred against twenty, voted for his dismission; and he was accordingly dismissed, June 22, 1750.'—*Ibid.* p. 69.

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* See the Christian History for 1743, p. 379.

These facts are of a nature to make comment unnecessary; but it is worthy of remark that the opposition to most of Mr Edwards' measures was headed by Joseph Hawley, one of the ablest, certainly one of the most disinterested, patriots of the Revolution. It is true, ten years afterwards, in a letter to a member of the Council abovementioned, this gentleman speaks of the folly and wickedness of his conduct on that occasion, in the strongest terms of selfabasement and selfloathing; but there are internal marks that the letter was written in one of those fits of constitutional melancholy to which he was subject,* and we can hardly reconcile it with fairness to bring forward the moanings of a disordered mind, and parade them as an authority.

The account of the revival in Brookline, which appeared at the time in the Christian History, was republished, not long ago, in one of the orthodox journals as a remarkable testimony in favor of revivals generally.† Probably the editor was ignorant of the fact that Mr Allen, the author of that account, and the minister of the place, told his people from the pulpit, about six months afterwards, that having often recommended the work and endeavoured to promote it, as the work of God, he now felt constrained publicly to declare, that further inquiry and experience had convinced him it was the work of the devil. A few of his church, who were too much infected with the fever of the times to listen to reason, immediately withdrew, handing in at the same time a memorial of their grievancies and their reasons for separation. One of these was : ‘ We think Mr Allen’s preaching had a tendency to settle persons down upon works ; for he said, speaking to persons out of Christ, that if they used the means, as praying and attending public worship and ordinances, and refrained from all sin as much as they could, they might humbly hope to be saved.’ This memorial was signed by six persons, one of whom was Elhanan Winchester, father of the celebrated Universalist of that name. He afterwards renounced his Newlightism, and adopted his son’s sentiments ; and again, in his old age, was led away by the Shakers, and is reported to have said on his death bed, ‘ When I was a Calvinist and when I was a Universalist, I *thought* I was right, but now I *know* I am.’ Of the other five, one was afterwards detected in stealing faggots, another was frozen to death in a fit of drunkenness, and of the rest nothing is known.

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* 'With all those powerful talents and noble feelings he [Hawley] was not exempt from a misfortune that occasionally threw its dark shadows over them. He was subject at particular times to a hypocondriac disorder, that would envelope him in gloom and despondency. At these seasons he was oppressed with melancholy and would lament every action and exertion of his life. When his mind recovered its tone, the recollection of these sufferings was painful, and he disliked to have them remembered.' *Tudor's Life of Otis*, p. 259.

† The Boston Recorder and Telegraph, December 3, 1825. The account is abridged.

We might go on to mention the unhappy consequences of the revival in other towns, after the minds of men, already in a state of high excitement, became soured and estranged ; but it would be painful and invidious, and we forbear. No doctrine is more popular at the present day, than that a man’s orthodoxy is tested by his favoring religious excitements as commonly conducted, connected with the insinuation that none but Unitarians ever oppose them. It happens, however, that in the time of Whitefield, an immense majority of the New England churches and ministers were Calvinists, strict Calvinists, and the trinity had never been impugned in the provinces ; and yet it was here, that one of the most remarkable revivals ever known was discountenanced and put down. The following estimate of its results, drawn up, too, before the worst of them had been fully developed, is from the pen of a cotemporary and a Calvinist.

‘ For myself, I am among those who are clearly in the opinion that there never was such a spirit of superstition and enthusiasm reigning in the land before ; never such gross disorders and barefaced affronts to common decency ; never such scandalous reproaches on the Blessed Spirit, making him the author of the greatest irregularities and confusions. Yet I am of opinion also, that the appearances among us, so much out of the ordinary way, and so unaccountable to persons not acquainted with the history of the world, have been the means of awakening the attention of many ; and a good number, I hope, have settled into a truly christian temper. Though I must add, at the same time, that I am far from thinking, that the appearance, in general, is any other than the effect of enthusiastic heat. The goodness that has been so much talked of, 'tis plain to me, is nothing more, in general, than a commotion in the passions. I cannot see that men have been made better, if hereby be meant their being formed to a nearer resemblance of the Divine Being in moral holiness. It is not evident to me, that persons, generally, have a better understanding of religion, a better government of their passions, a more christian love to their neighbour, or that they are more decent and regular in their devotions towards God. I am clearly of the mind, they are worse in all these regards. They place their religion so much in the heat and fervor of their passions, that they too much neglect their reason and judgment; and instead of being more kind and gentle, more full of mercy and good fruits, they are more bitter, fierce and implacable. And what is a grand discriminating mark of this work, wherever it takes place, is, that it makes men spiritually proud and conceited beyond measure, infinitely censorious and uncharitable, to neighbours, to relations, even the nearest and dearest; to ministers in an especial manner; yea, to all mankind, who are not as they are, and don't think and act as they do. And there are few places where this work has been in any remarkable manner, but they have been filled with faction and contention; yea, in some, they have divided into parties, and openly and scandalously separated from one another.'—*Letter to Wishart*, pp. 21, 22.

A quaint writer has said, that to exchange the vices of levity and sensuality for those of uncharitableness and spiritual pride, is but laying down the sins of a man to take up the sins of a devil. This, by the consent of all parties, seems to have been in many places almost the only fruit of the revival; and the remarks of Dr Chauncy on this point are universally applicable.

'I know, in some cases, it may admit of dispute, what is uncharitable judging; and so it may, what is intemperance, or injustice, or oppression, and the like. But this does not argue but that in other instances, the intemperance or injustice may be so evident, as to leave no room for debate upon the matter. And this is the case with respect to the judging that now prevails. If there is any such vice, it now takes place: nor can it easily be imagined wherein men could be more grossly guilty of it. This prohibition of our Saviour was never, I believe, more outrageously trampled upon than it now commonly is, by multitudes of those who call themselves good Christians. In respect to many, it is as plain they live in the breach of this law of God, as that any do in the breach of the law of temperance or righteousness. And it ought to be considered with all seriousness, that uncharitable, censorious judging is a sin as well as intemperance or injustice; and perhaps as bad a sin, if not a worse. And it ought not therefore to be excused. The same lawgiver and judge who has said, Thou shalt not steal, or get drunk, has also said, Thou shalt not judge; and the law is guarded with the like sanction of death and hell. It is therefore dangerous to men's souls to speak of this mischievous vice as a human frailty only, a mere imprudence that will well enough consist with a work of God in their hearts. It is true, good men may be betrayed into this sin; and so they may into drunkenness, or injustice; but if they allow themselves in it, if they live in the habitual practice of it, it will as certainly damn them as if they lived in the practice of any other sin.'—*Chauncy*, pp. 173, 174.

He is also completely successful in repelling the objection that the evils originating in the revival were merely accidental.

'It has been suggested concerning the bad things of the present day, taken collectively, that they are only accidental effects of a good work. But how do we distinguish between accidental effects and those that are natural? Is it not by the frequency, and uniformity of their production? If such and such effects are found, in experience, to be the common and general attendants of such and such causes, at one time and another, in this place and the other, don't we always speak of them as natural, and never as accidental only? Yea, is not the doctrine of causes and effects wholly founded on this kind of observation and experience? And if in this way we judge of the bad things prevailing in these times, can it be thought they are nothing more than accidental effects of a good cause? Will any pretend, that they are rare productions? or, that they have been peculiar to here and there a person, in here and there a particular place? Is it not a known, undeniable fact, that they have appeared in all parts of the land; yea, in every place upon the whole continent, in a greater or less degree; and this among persons of all ranks, ages, sexes, and conditions, who have been wrought upon in these days? And have not these effects been most remarkably visible in those, who have been spoken of as the most remarkable subjects of the present operation? These are truths that cannot be disowned. They are as evident as the light shining at noonday. And is it possible, if these effects were merely accidental, that they should be thus uniform and almost universal? We must give up our understandings before we can entertain such a thought of them.' —*Ibid.* pp. 307, 308.

To protect ourselves against misconstruction, it is necessary to observe, once for all, that in what we have said of revivals of religion, we have not used that word in its literal, but only in its common and popular acceptation. In the prayers and endeavors of Christians every thing must yield to a desire to increase in the minds of men a reverence for religious principle, and a practical conformity to the truth as it is in Jesus. If we have succeeded in connecting together the testimonies we have given, so as to give the reader some idea of the manner in which cotemporaries thought and spoke of the greatest and most extensive movement ever felt in our churches, our design, an humble one, has been accomplished. It will be seen that its friends and promoters were disappointed in every one of their expectations. They expected it would promote vital piety; but it began by occasioning strife and separation, and ended in inducing a distrust of all pretensions to uncommon sanctity, and the coldness and deadness which follow, almost necessarily, seasons of unnatural excitement. They expected it would give currency and popularity to their peculiar tenets; but no event in the ecclesiastical history of this country ever did so much to bring them into disrepute, and give an impulse to contrary opinions; and from this time, Arminianism and Arianism may be considered as firmly established in New England. They expected it would bring into favor a new mode of elevating the tone of moral and religious feeling in the community; but it only served to expose its bad and dangerous tendencies, until all were convinced of them; as was sufficiently apparent in the avidity and satisfaction with which Dr Chauncy's book was read, throughout the country, and in the remarkable fact that the preachers before the Convention, for several years, were chosen from among those, who had distinguished themselves in their opposition to the delusions which had prevailed.

Art. XVI.—*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. In two Volumes.* By Moses Stuart, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature, in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Vol. I. Andover, 1827. 8vo.

The question respecting the author of the Epistle, as it is called, to the Hebrews, is one of much importance in its various bearings. In modern times, the opinion that it is the work of St Paul, has been acquiesced in by the generality of Christians without much examination. It is only as his work, that it can have claim to canonical authority. But the truth of the common supposition respecting the authorship of the Epistle, has been doubted or denied by a large portion of critics best qualified to judge of its correctness. We are, however, unacquainted with any work in which the arguments against it are fully stated; and there is none in English which gives even a tolerably correct view of them. It is our purpose, therefore, to adduce those proofs, which seem to us to establish the conclusion, that the Epistle was not written by St Paul.

Before doing so, however, it will be proper to premise some facts respecting the work in question.

1. In the first place, it is a very ancient work, written before, probably not long before, the destruction of Jerusalem. In the epistle of Clement of Rome, written probably in the latter part of the first century, there are passages which strikingly correspond to others in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and show that the mind of the writer was imbued with what he had read in that work. But he does not ascribe it to St Paul as its author. The circumstance just mentioned, therefore, only goes to prove the admitted fact of the antiquity of the epistle.

2. In the second place, if the author were not St Paul, he had no intention of assuming his character, and passing off the Epistle as the composition of the apostle. It is, in no case, therefore, a fraudulent or spurious work.

3. Lastly, the original language of the Epistle was Greek; not Hebrew, as was supposed by some of the ancient fathers, who believed St Paul to have written it in Hebrew, and regarded the work which we now possess, as only a translation. The fact that it was written in Greek, is of importance in determining whether St Paul was its author. It might be necessary, therefore, to state at length the proofs which make this fact evident, if they had not been often adduced by others; and if there were not at the present day a general consent of the learned in admitting it. The internal marks of the original language of the Epistle are decisive. Writing in Greek, the author quoted, not the Hebrew of the Old Testament, but the Septuagint. He has quoted this version where it varies in sense from the original, and connected his reasoning with the mistake of the translator.* In a striking

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* Ch. x. 5. Comp. LXX. Ps. xxxix. 7.—See also Ch. i. 6, compared with LXX. Deut. xxxii. 43.

instance, likewise, his remarks depend upon the double sense of a Greek word, which may mean either *covenant*, or *testament*. The corresponding Hebrew word has the sense only of *covenant*. In our language there is no word which combines both meanings. As the passage, therefore, is, strictly speaking, intranslatable into our language, so it never could have existed in the Hebrew. The passage referred to is in chapter ix. 15—20.

We will now proceed to the proof, that St Paul was not the author of the Epistle. It will be proper first to attend to the testimony and opinions of the ancients, and then to consider the evidence afforded by the Epistle itself.

Irenæus, who flourished during the last quarter of the second century, is a most important witness respecting the reception of the books of the New Testament among Christians. But there is no ground for supposing that he believed St Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; nor do his writings afford any evidence that this was the common belief of Christians before and during his time. We have proof from Eusebius that he was acquainted with the Epistle; but he does not ascribe it to the apostle, nor quote it as of authority. Considering the frequency with which he quotes St Paul's acknowledged epistles, referring them to him, these facts show that he did not consider him as its author.

Tertullian, about the year 200, was acquainted with the Epistle; but he expressly speaks of Barnabas as its author. He does not quote it as a work of canonical authority; though in the single passage in which he does quote it, his purpose in doing so would have led him to ascribe to it such authority, if it had been commonly supposed to possess it. He contrasts its reception among Christians with that of another work, of which he speaks contemptuously, the Shepherd of Hermas, and says that it was better received among the churches than that book.* His meaning is that it was in more general circulation, and in higher esteem.

Irenæus spent a considerable part of his life in Asia Minor, and was afterwards bishop of Lyons in Gaul. Tertullian was a presbyter of Carthage. Their cotemporary, Clement, resided at Alexandria, as the head of the principal school which then existed for the instruction of Christians. He quotes the Epistle as the work of St Paul. In a fragment, preserved by Eusebius, of one of his writings not now extant, he expressly says that it was his work; adding that 'Paul wrote to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, but that Luke carefully translated it for the use of the Gentiles. Hence it is that we find the same complexion of style in this epistle as translated and in the Acts.' * He afterwards states a reason which, he says, was suggested by a person, who has been supposed to be Pantænus, his predecessor in the school at Alexandria, why Paul did not call himself an apostle, in this work.

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* De Pudicitia, c. 20.

The circumstance of his having derived this reason from some one a little older than himself, has been thought to give additional value to the evidence of Clement of Alexandria. But it does not. At the time when he wrote, he could not have asserted, upon his own knowledge, that the epistle was written by St Paul. His belief must have rested upon some preceding belief, opinion, or supposition; whether that of Pantænus or not, is a matter of small importance. To whomever Clement may refer, we are ignorant whether that individual regarded it as any thing more than a probable conjecture, that St Paul was the author of the epistle.

But, on the other hand, there are considerations which greatly invalidate the evidence of Clement. He was a very extensive reader, but he was careless of inquiring into the genuineness and authority of the books which he quoted. He trusted too much to their titles, or to the reports concerning them which might happen to reach him. Some of the facts which he states are manifestly inaccurate. The Epistle was not written in Hebrew. It, therefore, was not translated by St Luke. But when we find him in error respecting these two main particulars, we can place but little reliance on his account of its author. In addition to this, the Epistle is throughout suited to the taste of the Alexandrine writers. It is a work which Clement would be likely to value highly, and would thus be led readily to adopt a supposition that St Paul was its author. The favor which it found with the Alexandrine school, and the high authority of the christian writers of this school, were probably the causes of its being, in process of time, generally received by the Greek churches as a canonical book, and the work of the apostle.

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* Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi. c. 14.

No other preceding or cotemporary writer ascribes the Epistle to St Paul. On the contrary, it was denied to be his by Caius, a distinguished writer at Rome, about the year 210;* and by Hippolytus, about the year 220. † Nor is it ascribed to the apostle in the famous account of canonical and apocryphal books, discovered in manuscript and published by Muratori, which was probably written about the close of the second century.

The three writers, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, are those on whom we principally rely for the earliest direct evidence, concerning the reception and authority of the books of the New Testament among Christians. In regard to the Gospels, the Acts, the thirteen epistles of Paul, the first of Peter, and the first of John, their evidence is joined by that of preceding, cotemporary, and subsequent writers, till the proof becomes decisive, that those books were universally received by catholic Christians during the first two centuries, as the works of the authors to whom they are ascribed. This is the main external evidence on which we rest for their genuineness. They had accompanied the religion as it spread itself over the world, had been received with it, and were acknowledged by the great body of Christians as its authentic records. When we attend to the full force of this argument, we shall find that the proof of the genuineness of the more important books of the New Testament, differs, not only in degree, but in kind, from the proof of the genuineness of any other writings. It is the testimony of a whole widely spread community, to their belief, that certain works of the highest interest to them were the productions of the individuals to whom they are ascribed; it being understood that these works would be of comparatively little, or even of no value, if they were not the productions of those individuals. It is the proof which the early fathers afford of the general reception of certain books as sacred books, throughout the christian community, which is the point to be regarded in our investigations respecting the genuineness of those books. Where this proof is wanting, the individual opinions of the fathers are comparatively of little value. In common with other ancient writers, they were liable to mistakes concerning the authors and history of books, to a degree, which, with our incomparably greater facilities for obtaining information on all subjects, it is difficult for us to estimate justly. Accordingly, they fell into many errors.

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* See Lardner's Works, vol. I. pp. 482—484. 4to. Lond. 1815.

† Ibid. p. 497.

Proceeding upon these principles, we find that the evidence is wanting, which is required to prove or to render it probable, that St Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It clearly was not generally received as his work during the last half of the second century. It had not been handed down as such to the cotemporaries of Irenæus and Tertullian; and we have nothing in favor of the supposition that it was written by St Paul, except the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, a writer particularly incautious on subjects of this sort, and who, in consequence, has repeatedly fallen into mistakes respecting the authors of different works.

But this deficiency of evidence not only leaves us without satisfactory ground for believing the Epistle to be the composition of St Paul; it assumes the character of a strong objection to this hypothesis. It is highly improbable, that an epistle really written by St Paul, so elaborate, and so pregnant, as its admirers have believed, with the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, should not have been universally received as his work. No satisfactory answer can be given to the question, why, if written by him, it did not obtain equal reception with his other epistles. If it were not his work, we can easily explain how it came to be considered so; as those by whom it was valued, would be ready to ascribe it, even upon slight grounds, to an individual so distinguished. If it were his work, we do not perceive that any probable account can be given of its not being generally received as such.

No show of subsequent evidence, if such existed, could in any degree supply the deficiency which has been pointed out. The value of passages in the later fathers, respecting the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, great as it sometimes is, consists solely in the light which they throw upon the state of opinion concerning those books during the first two centuries. At a subsequent time, no facts could be known or rendered probable, by testimony, which were not known during that period. But as regards the Epistle to the Hebrews, in proceeding to the later fathers, we only find confirmation of the conclusion to which we have arrived.

Origen, the disciple of Clement of Alexandria, and the most eminent christian writer of his age, did not feel such confidence, that the Epistle was written by St Paul, as seems to have been expressed by his master. In a passage preserved by Eusebius, he says; 'The style of the Epistle does not show that want of skill in composition which is characteristic of the apostle, who professed himself to be unskilled in eloquence, that is, in style. But every one who has knowledge enough to judge of the differences of style, will allow that the Epistle is composed in somewhat elegant Greek; and on the other hand, every one who has read attentively the apostolic writings, will acknowledge the truth, that its thoughts are admirable, and not inferior to those in the undisputed writings of the apostle.' Afterwards, says Eusebius, he subjoins; 'In giving my own opinion, I should say, that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the style and method those of some one who recorded the discourses of the apostle; making notes, as it were, of what had been said by his instructer. If then any church receive this as an epistle of Paul, it is to be approved for doing so; for it was not without some reason, that the ancient men have handed it down as Paul's. But the truth as to the writer of the Epistle, God knows. Different accounts have reached us; some saying that it was written by Clement, who was made bishop of Rome, and others by Luke, who wrote the Gospel and Acts.' *

It is clear that Origen wished to ascribe as high authority as possible to the Epistle; but that, with this feeling, he did not believe St Paul to have been the writer of it. The thoughts he considered worthy of him; and upon this ground, he advances the conjecture that the writer derived them from the apostle, so that St Paul might, in a certain sense, be considered as the author of the work. Any church, therefore, which received it as his, was to be commended. By 'the ancient men,' of whom he speaks, he, probably, meant his predecessors at Alexandria, such as Clement and Pantænus; for the passage is taken from a homily delivered in that city, when he himself was about sixty years old. Referring to his own estimate of the apostolical character of the Epistle, and to the different modes that had been suggested in which its thoughts might have been derived from the apostle, he says that it is not without reason, that the ancient men had regarded it as St Paul's. But about the writer of it he professes entire ig-

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* Ap. Euseb Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. c. 25.

norance. No tradition which he thought worth notice had reached him that the writer was St Paul. According to Origen, it was reported to have been written by Clement of Rome, or Luke. To these names we may add, on the authority of Tertullian, that of Barnabas. But there is no reason to suppose that the opinion that Clement of Rome, or Luke, or Barnabas, was the writer of the Epistle, was connected with the supposition, that its thoughts were derived immediately from St Paul, which Origen mentions as his individual conjecture. The accounts to which he refers, related, without doubt, to the proper author of the work; not to the writer as distinguished from the author in conformity to the hypothesis which he had advanced. It appears, therefore, that Origen did not believe St Paul to have been the writer, that is, in any proper sense of the term, the author of the Epistle. He did not believe him to have been its author in any sense which bears upon our present inquiry. He conjectured that its thoughts were derived from him. But neglecting the account of his predecessor, Clement of Alexandria, that it was originally written by the apostle in Hebrew, he mentions no probable account which ascribed it to him. It is further evident that Origen, like Clement, perceived that there was too great a difference between the style of this Epistle as extant in Greek, and the style of St Paul, to admit of the supposition, that the apostle composed it in that language. The one father believed that he furnished the thoughts in a Hebrew original; and the other, that the writer of the Epistle gathered them from his oral discourses.

There is still another fact which we learn from Origen. It is, that the Epistle was not generally received as a canonical book by the *Greek* churches at the time when he wrote, about the middle of the third century. This evidently appears from the whole turn of expression in the sentence; '*If any church receive this as an epistle of St Paul*, it is to be approved for doing so.' Origen himself, however, thought highly of the Epistle; he regarded it as in some sort proceeding from St Paul, and he repeatedly in his writings quotes it under his name. For more than a century after his death, Origen's authority was deservedly higher than that of any other christian writer. 'Next after the apostles,' says Jerome, 'he was the instructer of the churches.' His authority, therefore, and that of Clement of Alexandria, were probably among the principal means of giving it credit among the Greek churches. It seems to have been pretty generally received by them as a work of St Paul, during the first half of the fourth century. By the Latin churches, it was not so received till a much later period.*

Here again we might close our inquiry into the external evidence respecting the author of the Epistle. After what we have seen to be the state of the case, nothing further can be adduced which ought essentially to affect our judgment. But some curiosity may be felt to know the opinions of later writers, and we will therefore proceed.

Between Origen and the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, who flourished during the first forty years of the fourth century, there are no facts relating to the history of the Epistle which require particular notice. † In coming down to Eusebius, we have arrived at the commencement of a period, when an essential change took place in the condition of Christians; and men acquired distinction among them, who were of a very different character from such as had been eminent before. Christianity was now supported and patronized by the despotic power of the Roman emperor. The qualities of the more eminent Christians of the first three centuries, were not only intellectual power and learning, but integrity, conscientiousness, religous zeal, strong faith, and readiness to sacrifice themselves in the cause of truth and duty. To be eminent then, was to be a more conspicuous mark for persecution. But in consequence of the great revolution which took place when Constantine professed Christianity, individuals of that class were superseded by those of another. They were followed by men striving for influence at court; ambitious of honors in the church and the state, and ready to practise the vulgar arts of rising in the world. Some of them were the leaders of parties, who contended for distinction and power, to be obtained through the number of their followers and the triumph of their doctrines. The eminent of former times had been martyrs and confessors, the successors of the apostles. Of the distinguished of later times, many were courtiers, and intriguers; individuals under whose show of religious zeal were to be found the common vices and passions of the world; men whose predecessors and followers have existed in every age. The distinction just pointed out is important to be attended to in the study of ecclesiastical history, and the topics connected with it. The race of the ancient fathers expired, perhaps, in Lactantius, certainly not in Eusebius; for he was not of their class.

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* In Origen's Letter to Julius Africanus, in defence of the authenticity of the story of Susannah and the elders, there is a passage relating to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is of little importance, and which we should not notice, except that we think its meaning has been misstated, and that it is incorrectly rendered by Lardner. Its purport, as we conceive, is as follows; 'But it is probable, that some one, pressed by this argument, will bring forward the opinion of those who reject this Epistle, as not written by St Paul. In regard to such a one, we need to enter into a distinct argument, in order to show that the Epistle is Paul's. For the present, therefore, we will adduce from the Gospel, &c.' Comp. Lardner, Vol. I. pp. 518, 535, 538.

† According to Lardner, beside the writers abovementioned, the following are known, or have been supposed, to have noticed it, or expressed an opinion concerning it, during the third century. It was quoted as Paul's by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, about A. D. 247. An expression apparently taken from it, was used by Theognostus, about A. D. 282. It is probable, in Lardner's opinion, that Methodius, about 292, received the epistle as St Paul's; and there is some very uncertain evidence, that it was so received by Pamphilus, about 294. It was not received as canonical by Cyprian, nor by Novatus, otherwise called Novatian. See Lardner, Vol. III. pp. 329, 330, and consult the references there given to the preceding volumes. It is not improbable, likewise, that before the close of the third century, it was translated into Syriac. But this circumstance affords no ground for any conclusion in regard to the opinions concerning its author, entertained by those Christians who used this version.

He quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul, and affirms it to have been written by him. 'Of Paul,' he says, 'there are fourteen epistles manifestly and certainly his.' Eusebius, however, proceeds; 'But yet it ought to be known, that some reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is objected to by the Latin church as not the work of Paul.' *

In his famous account of the canonical books of the New Testament, and of other writings, not to be admitted of their number, † he mentions 'the epistles of St Paul' among the books 'universally acknowledged,' without specifying any thing particularly concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In another place, he expressly reckons it among the books which were objected to. 'Clement of Alexandria,' he says, 'quotes as of authority passages from those writings which are objected to; as that which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement [of Rome,] and Jude. ‡

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* Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 3.

† Ibid. c. 25.

‡ Ibid. Lib. IV. c. 13.

Again, speaking of the epistle of Clement of Rome, he says, that 'he inserted in it many thoughts taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, sometimes using its very words, and has thus clearly shown that it is no modern composition. Hence it has seemed probable that it should be reckoned with the other writings of the apostle. For Paul having written a homily to the Hebrews in their own language, some suppose that it was translated by the evangelist Luke, and others, by this Clement; which last seems the most likely, on account of the resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews.' *

We see here, as before, how uncertain and erroneous were the accounts respecting the history of the Epistle, and how little proof there could have been, that St Paul was the author. We have further evidence to show how clearly the difference between its style and that of the apostle, was recognised by those best capable of judging on the subject. And we again perceive, that in consequence of this difference, it was thought necessary, in ascribing it to him, to adopt a supposition concerning its original language, which may be proved to be incorrect.

We come next to a Latin writer, Philaster, bishop of Brescia, about A. D. 380, the author of a work, On Heresies.

He gives a catalogue of the books of the New Testament, in which he omits the Epistle to the Hebrews, mentioning only thirteen epistles of St Paul. A little after he says; 'Some assert that the Epistle of St Paul to the Hebrews is not his, but the work of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement bishop of Rome. Others say of the evangelist Luke.' He then mentions another composition, ascribed to St Paul, that passed under the name of an Epistle to the Laodiceans. 'This,' he says, 'is not read in the church, though it is read by some individuals. In the church are read to the people only his thirteen epistles, and sometimes that to the Hebrews. This has been thought not to be the work of the apostle, because he has written it rhetorically, in a style adapted to be popular. And it is not read, because he says in it that Christ was *made*. Likewise, on account of what is said of repentance, [ch. vi. 4; ch. x. 26,] which the Novatians make an advantage of.' *

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* Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 38.

About the close of the fourth century, Augustine gives us to understand that the Epistle was not generally received by the Latin Christians, and appears himself to have been in doubt respecting its author. †

The fathers, at this period, were not scrupulous of asserting what they thought it well to have believed. Such was the character of Augustine; and such, too, was the character of his cotemporary Jerome, the last writer whom we shall quote. He often mentions the Epistle, but the following passages are all which it is important to adduce.

In his letter to Evangelius, he says; 'All the Greeks receive the Epistle to the Hebrews, and some of the Latins.' ‡

In his account of St Paul, contained in his book, Of Illustrious Men, after mentioning the thirteen epistles of the apostle, he says; 'The Epistle to the Hebrews which is in circulation, is not believed to be his, on account of the difference of the style and language; but either the work of Barnabas, according to Tertullian, or of Luke the evangelist, according to others, or of Clement, afterwards bishop of Rome, who, they say, being associated with Paul, arranged his thoughts in a proper method, and expressed them in elegant language. Otherwise, we must suppose that Paul, because he was writing to the Hebrews, omitted his own name in the salutation, on account of the ill will towards him which existed among them; and wrote as a Hebrew to Hebrews, in Hebrew; that is, in his own tongue, with great fluency; so that what was eloquently written in Hebrew, might be more eloquently rendered into Greek; and this is perhaps the cause of the difference between this and the other epistles of Paul.'

The next passage is from a letter to Dardanus, supposed to have been written about A. D. 414. After quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews, in proof of a proposition for which he is contending, he says; 'We must tell Christians, that the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, is received, not only by the Eastern churches, but by the whole succession of catholic writers in the Greek language, as if it were an

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* We have no copy of Philaster at hand, except one in the old Bibliotheca Patrum, edited by La Bigne, Paris, 1575. The passages referred to and quoted are there to be found, vol. V. p. 27. See Lardner, II. pp. 522, 523.

† Lardner, II. pp. 585—587.

‡ Opp. Tom. II. col. 571. Ed. Mart.

epistle of Paul's; although very many think it to have been written by Barnabas or Clement. And it is of no importance whose it is, as it is the work of a catholic man, and is daily read in the churches. But if it be not the custom of the Latin churches to receive it among the canonical scriptures, nor that of the Greek churches, using the same liberty, to receive the Apocalypse of St John, yet we receive both, not following the custom of this age, but the authority of the ancients, who, for the most part, quote passages from both, not as they sometimes do from apocryphal writings, (in the same manner as they occasionally adduce even heathen authors,) but as if they were canonical and catholic.' *

It would be useless to proceed to a later period than that of Jerome. It appears, as we have seen, from examination of the historical evidence, that the proof is wholly wanting, which alone could afford satisfaction, that a composition of such size and importance as the Epistle to the Hebrews, was written by St Paul. It was not generally received as his work during the first two centuries. Evidence not known during that period could not have afterwards existed. In proceeding to later times, we find no appearance of any sufficient ground for the opinion that the Epistle should be ascribed to St Paul. The great difference between its style and that of his undisputed epistles, is admitted by the writers who advert to the point. They seem to consider it an objection, which must in some way be removed. Origen has his own conjecture concerning it; and other fathers have adopted an hypothesis of a Hebrew original, which is not only false, but which proves their ignorance respecting the composition and history of the Epistle. But this want of evidence that St Paul was its author, is to be considered, as has been remarked, not merely under the obvious view which first presents itself, but still further, as creating a strong presumption that he was not the author.

Such is the state of the historical evidence. Let us now consider what may be inferred from an examination of the Epistle itself.

It has been objected to the supposition that St Paul is the author, that it wants his usual form of salutation, with his

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* Opp. Tom. II. col. 608.

own name, and a designation of those addressed. This objection seems, however, without weight. Epistles generally were commenced with a salutation from the writer to the individual or individuals addressed, the name or designation of each being given. The practice therefore was not peculiar to St Paul; and the want of such salutation at the commencement of this composition, has no direct bearing to prove that it was not written by the apostle. It goes to prove merely that the work is not properly speaking an epistle, but a discourse or homily, which the writer originally composed with reference to the Hebrews generally, without intending to address it, as a letter, to any particular church or individuals. Afterwards, as it seems, he determined to send it from Italy to some certain community or communities of Christians. Upon this occasion, it may appear probable that he added the last four verses, and perhaps accompanied his work by a short epistle. To this separate epistle, rather than to the work itself, the words in chapter xiii. 22, may be conjectured to refer; 'I exhort you, brethren, to bear with this hortatory discourse; for I have written you but a short epistle.'

We are not disposed to insist on another objection; namely, the great number of words used by the writer to the Hebrews, which are not found in the epistles of St Paul. The vocabulary of a writer varies, not only with his topics, but with the changes that take place in his own mind and feelings, with the character and intellectual state of those for whom he writes, with their relation to himself, and their acquaintance with his modes of thinking and feeling. His manner of expressing himself will probably be very different in a letter to a familiar friend, from what it is in a composition intended to be more generally read. His very familiarity with certain words and turns of expression, may lead him to adopt others, which from their novelty may appear more forcible, or at least adapted to present his thoughts under a new aspect. We have too few writings of St Paul, to afford sufficient ground for judging of the extent of his vocabulary.

We have, however, examined the subject sufficiently to satisfy ourselves, that the peculiar words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when it is compared with the thirteen epistles of St Paul, are considerably more numerous in proportion to its size,* than those in any one of St Paul's epistles, excepting his private letters, when it is compared with the remaining twelve. But if we group together his two epistles to Timothy, and that to Titus, we shall find that in the three, taken collectively, the peculiar words are still more numerous than in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

These epistles were probably written at a later period of St Paul's life than any of his others; namely, after his first confinement at Rome. They were private letters, addressed to friends with whom he had long been familiar; and there is comparatively but little in common between their topics and those of his other epistles. These considerations do not apply to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It has been further remarked, that in this Epistle, some words and modes of expression are repeatedly used by the author, and seem familiar to him, which do not occur, or occur much less frequently in St Paul's epistles. Yet if familiar to the apostle, there seems to be no reason why they should not be found in his acknowledged works. Some examples have been adduced which are striking; and the fact would deserve more attention than we shall give it, if there were not, as it seems to us, other arguments furnished by the Epistle itself, more decisive respecting its authorship. But such being the case, we will, without dwelling upon this fact, now proceed to the considerations, which seem to us of the most weight.

I. There are certain forms of expression relating to the doctrines and facts of Christianity, very familiar to St Paul, as appears from his thirteen epistles, which are not found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. *Now if these forms of expression are general in their character, not relating to, nor suggested by, any particular topics; and if no reason can be conjectured, why, upon the supposition that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by him, they should not be found in this as well as in his other epistles,* then a probability arises, which may amount to a moral certainty, that the epistle was not written by St Paul. The conditions just laid down must be strictly regarded. If the expressions about to be adduced should not answer to them, then the reasoning is of no force; if they do, the conclusion is sustained.

1. The words ἐν Χριστῷ, verbally, *in Christ*, occur, in dif-

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* They amount to nearly three hundred, exclusive of those found in quotations.

ferent senses, about 77 times in the epistles of St Paul. They signify sometimes 'with,' or 'by,' or 'by means of,' or 'through Christ;' and often their primary meaning is equivalent to the adjective, 'Christian.' They are found in all his epistles except that to Titus; which, in regard to the space occupied by its contents, bears to the remaining twelve the proportion of 1 to 44. They are not found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the original matter of which, exclusive of quotations, bears to the original matter of the thirteen epistles somewhat more than the proportion of 1 to 7.

Let us then estimate the probability of their occurrence, supposing that this work was written by St Paul, and that the words answer the conditions before laid down. If they occurred only 7 times in the thirteen epistles, the chance would be equal of their occurring, or of their not occurring once, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But if they were found 14 times in the thirteen epistles, then the probability that they would be found at least once in the Epistle to the Hebrews, would be as 3 to 1; if 21 times, as 7 to 1; if 28, as 15 to 1; if 35, as 31 to 1,* and so on. Thus occurring 77 times in St Paul's epistles, the probability that they would be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, if this work were his, is as 2047 to 1. The same proportion represents the improbability that it is the work of the apostle, as the words in question do not occur in it.

This result is striking. But one unaccustomed to mathematical reasoning may perhaps feel more strongly the amount of the improbability, if another analogous case be stated. Let us suppose, then, an ancient Greek manuscript containing the epistles of St Paul with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and that we are required to determine whether the latter Epistle was transcribed by the same hand as the other thirteen. Let us suppose that to this end we are not permitted to examine the manuscript, but are told only, that in the transcript of the thirteen epistles, there are 77 instances of wrong spelling, arising from that confusion of different Greek letters, which is called Iotacism, and not one in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and that no reason is known or can be conjectured, why this error should not occur equally in the copy of that work, if written by the same transcriber. The confidence that any would feel from these circumstances, that the

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* That is, the increasing series of improbabilities would be represented by the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, $\frac{31}{32}$, &c.

Epistle was transcribed by a different hand, would be hardly distinguishable from moral certainty.

2. Again, in the epistles of St Paul, there are about 39 instances in which God is called 'The Father,' or 'Our father.' This mode of expression, which seems not so much characteristic of the style of St Paul as of Christianity itself, is found in all his epistles; but it does not occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is the more remarkable, as the writer, in several passages, is led to regard Christians as standing in a filial relation to God. In one place, Chap. xii. 9, after quoting a passage from the Proverbs in which the chastisements of God are compared to those of a father, he calls God, the 'Father of Spirits,' by way of antithesis to the 'fathers of our bodies,' whom he had just before mentioned. It is the only passage in which he approaches to the language of St Paul on this subject. As, however, it is wholly unnecessary to press the argument, it may be admitted, though there seems no reason for doing so, that he *once* calls God 'Father,' in the manner familiar to St Paul. We will then only consider the probability, that this use of language would occur a second time if the Epistle were written by St Paul. If it was found but 35 times in the epistles of St Paul, it would be as 15 to 1.

The absence of this use of language from the Epistle to the Hebrews, may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that its writer was as thoroughly imbued with Jewish feelings and conceptions, as was possible for an intelligent Christian. The title 'Father,' is but rarely applied to God in the Old Testament; not so frequently in the whole volume as in the epistles of St Paul; and usually, if not always, from being suggested by some particular occasion.

3. The words Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, *Lord Jesus Christ*, connected together, with or without the personal pronoun, 'our,' or 'my,' and with a variety of arrangement, are found in every one of St Paul's epistles, and occur in the whole about 83 times; but they are not in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The probability of their occurrence in that Epistle, if it had been the work of St Paul, is nearly as 4095 to 1.

The only form of expression resembling that just mentioned, which is met with in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, *our Lord Jesus*, which is used once, ch. xiii. 20. But this particular form of words is no where found in the epistles of St Paul. His habit, as appears in frequent instances, is, to use the terms Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, *Lord Jesus*, without interposing the pronoun between them; that is, where they stand alone, Χριστὸς, *Christ*, not being added.

4. The distinctive name of Christianity, ευαγγέλιον, *good news*, *the gospel*, is used by St Paul in all his epistles except that to Titus. It occurs 61 times. It is not in the Epistle to the Hebrews. If it occurred only 56 times, the probability from this circumstance that the epistle was not written by St Paul, would be as 255 to 1.

5. The title '*apostle*,' as descriptive of an apostle of Christ, is used by St Paul 34 times, being in all his epistles except that to Philemon. It is not thus used by the writer to the Hebrews, who on the contrary once applies this title to Christ himself, ch. iii. 1. which is never done by St Paul. The improbability that he was the same person with St Paul is, in consequence, about as 31 to 1.

But it is unnecessary to proceed further in producing examples. Other words might easily be added. For instance, the word εκκλησία, *assembly*, *church*, used to denote the whole body, or a particular community of Christians, is of very frequent occurrence in St Paul's longer and public epistles, but is not used by the writer to the Hebrews. The words, however, which we omit to mention, present, individually considered, less striking cases than those which have been adduced. But those adduced are abundantly sufficient for the purpose. From those alone it appears, that the improbability that St Paul was the author of the Epistle, is about equal to the ratio of a million of millions to unity.*

II. We will now consider the general difference of style between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the epistles of St Paul. In what does this difference consist?

We answer, that the style of St Paul is that of one orally discoursing with much earnestness, in a language of which he is far from being completely master; and discoursing to those who, from their familiarity with his topics, his character, his trains of thought, manner of feeling, and use of language, will understand him, even if he express himself imperfectly. His style is harsh, abrupt, rapid, unequal, digressive, energetic. He seizes upon those expressions which will forcibly

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* This result is obtained by taking the product of the preceding improbabilities, thus:

$$2047 \times 15 \times 4095 \times 255 \times 31 = 993\,950\,787\,375.$$

convey his feelings without much regard to their literal or exact meaning. His style is sometimes so elliptical, that his words are little more than stepping stones, enabling us with due care to follow the path which his thoughts have pursued. Or they may better, perhaps, be compared to those hints and half sentences, by which two persons engaged in the same design may comprehend each other's meaning, though they are unintelligible to a bystander. At other times, his language is redundant. A thought is dwelt upon and repeated, even with very little change of the aspect under which it is presented. In some cases, this appears to be done for the purpose of enforcing it by mere repetition; and in other cases, the apostle seems to have been dissatisfied with the manner in which it was first expressed, and to have endeavoured to present it with more clearness or strength. His style is full of Hebraisms; and has scarcely any thing of that general character in the construction of sentences, which belongs to composition in classic Greek. The rules of rhetoric are constantly violated, and even those of grammar not always observed. Figurative language abounds in the writings of St Paul; but in his use of it, he is singularly negligent of rhetorical correctness. In the same connexion he repeats the same metaphorical word in very different senses. He blends together topics of comparison inconsistent with each other. He intermixes literal and metaphorical conceptions. His figures, generally, are broken, and, considered with reference to the use of language, incongruous.

Above all, it is characteristic of St Paul's mode of writing, to present himself individually to the reader. No writer has left upon his works a deeper impression of his personal character. The intense earnestness, the ardent affections, the unconquerable resolution of the apostle, his disinterested, vigilant, and anxious zeal in the cause of truth and goodness, his entire selfdevotion, and his sense sometimes of the deeprooted prejudices, and sometimes of the mean motives and unworthiness of those by whom he was opposed and thwarted, all appear in his writings. No one who understands them can doubt that the feelings expressed are real, that what the writer says, he believes, that what he appears, he is. They present the workings of his mind with a force and distinctness, which seem to belong rather to eloquence poured unrestrained from the lips, than to the comparative coldness of artificial, written composition; rather to the living voice, than to the dead letter of a book.

But all these characteristics are wanting in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It discovers nothing peculiar in the moral qualities of the writer. For whatever is shown of them, it might have been written by any sincere Christian of the times, excepting one whose strong character, like that of St Paul, would certainly manifest itself in his writings. On this ground alone, we cannot object to any individual, except the apostle himself, to whom it has been assigned. It might have been written, as far as we have any means of judging of their moral characteristics, either by Barnabas, or Luke, or Clement of Rome, or Apollos, or Silas; but not by St Paul. It is composed by a person acquainted with composition as an art; practising upon its rules, and of a somewhat rhetorical taste. It is difficult to be understood, at the present day, partly because it requires much study to acquaint ourselves with the modes of conception familiar to the writer, and partly because, in aiming at an elegant and learned style, he, as many other writers have done, sometimes employs unusual, and consequently obscure terms, when his meaning, as far as appears, might have been expressed with propriety and clearness in more common language.* Its sentences are well constructed after the idiom of the Greek language. Its style is neither elliptical, nor negligently redundant. There are comparatively but few Hebraisms; for we must not reckon as such the modes of expression, necessary to convey the peculiar conceptions connected with Christianity, which, of course, were unknown in the Greek of profane writers. The Epistle does not abound in figures; and those which occur have the air of being carefully labored. They present, in general, no violation of the rules for their construction. The author, throughout, shows a command of equable and flowing language. He is never negligent, and never trusts himself to the strong unpremeditated expressions of natural feeling. He is evidently ambitious of writing in a somewhat elaborate, eloquent, and ornate style.

In general, these characteristics, after having been pointed out, must be left to be observed by each reader for himself. Most of them do not admit of being much illustrated by the citation of single passages. It may be worth while, however, to adduce a few, to show the regard paid, by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to preserving the consistency of his figures, and to adapting his words to each other, so as to accommodate all the expressions of a long passage to the leading thought.

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* As for instance, in the words πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως in the first verse of the Epistle, neither of which, probably, were ever elsewhere connected with λαλέω; in the use of αιων immediately after, in a manner which has given occasion, we think, to great misunderstanding of the meaning of the writer; and in the epithet ψηλαφωμένω in a passage to be quoted, as applied to ὄρει. Many more examples might easily be quoted.

Heb. vi. 4—8. 'For it is impossible to excite again to a new reformation those who have been once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have partaken of the holy spirit, and have tasted the good doctrine of God, and the miracles of the age to come; and have fallen away; crucifying anew with their own hands the Son of God, and exposing him to public insult. For the earth that drinks in the rain that comes often upon it, and yields produce useful to those by whom it is tilled, receives a blessing from God; but that which bears thorns and briars is rejected, and near to being accursed, and will at last be burnt.'

In the final clause, the writer refers to the ancient practice of burning sterile lands, which is mentioned by Virgil.* The whole passage is in a style quite different from any thing in St Paul's writings; and the same is the case with those which follow.

In the eleventh chapter, the writer gives a striking view of those, who, in ancient times, had been animated by the principle of faith. He then, in the beginning of the twelfth, represents them as interested in Christians, and looking down upon their course. The expression '*cloud* of spectators,' is borrowed from the language of poetry.

'Wherefore, let us also, being surrounded by such a cloud of spectators, lay aside every weight and whatever sin is likely to entangle us, and run steadily the course marked out for us; fixing our eyes on Jesus, the author and perfecter of the faith, who, for the joy proposed to him, endured the cross, despising the ignominy, and is now seated at the right hand of the throne of God.'

Again, in the twelfth chapter, verses 18—25, where the writer compares the assembly of Christians as a part of the great community of the blessed, on the confines of heaven, from which they received their law, to the assembly of the Jews round Mount Sinai.

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* Sæpe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros,
Atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.
Georg. I. 84. 85.

'For you have not come to a palpable mountain, and blazing fire, and clouds, and darkness, and tempests, and the resounding of a trumpet, and an articulate voice, which those who heard entreated should no longer be addressed to them;—for they could not bear the command that even if a beast should touch the mountain, it should be stoned—and so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I am full of fear and trembling;—but ye have come to Mount Sion, and to the city of the blessed God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to myriads of angels, the solemn convocation and assembly of the first-born enrolled in heaven, and to God who rules over all, and to the spirits of good men, made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to a sprinkling with that blood which speaks something better than the blood of Abel.'

Christ and Abel were both cruelly murdered; but the blood of Abel called for vengeance, that of Christ announces mercy. The antithesis, however striking in itself, does not seem to be naturally suggested by the connexion. If this be so, it is another proof of the somewhat too rhetorical taste of the writer. Whoever aims too sedulously at elegancies and striking effects in style, will break the natural train of thought, and mar the expression of natural feeling.

Many more examples might readily be given of the same kind as those adduced. But with these let us now compare one or two from St Paul. The Epistle to the Ephesians appears to have been written with more attention to the language, than any thing else he has left us. From this, therefore, we will take our specimens. The first may be found in Ch. ii. verses 19—22. The apostle is addressing the Gentile converts.

'So then, ye are no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and members of the household of God; being built on the foundation of the apostles and teachers, Jesus Christ himself being the corner stone; through whom the whole building, fitly put together, is growing up to be a holy temple of the Lord; through whom ye also have been built up in common, to form a spiritual dwelling place of God.'

Here the Gentile converts are represented as fellow citizens of the saints, and members of God's family, and, at the same time, as the materials, in part, of a building, the corner stone of which is Christ, who, in immediate connexion, is spoken of as a person.

In the fourth chapter, the apostle says that the ministers of Christ are given for the edification of the body of Christ—

'Till we all attain to one faith in the Son of God, and one knowledge of him, becoming perfect men, attaining to the full measure of the stature of Christ; so that we may be no longer little children, tossed by the waves, and blown about by every wind of teaching, through the dishonest tricks of men and their cunning in the arts of deception; but, having true love, may grow in all things to be like him who is our head, Christ, from whom the whole body, well put together and compacted by means of every necessary joint, each part working in its proportion, is adding to its growth, so as to improve itself in love.' vv. 13—16.

The question respecting the difference between the style of the writer to the Hebrews, and that of St Paul, could any doubt exist, would be settled by the decision of the Greek fathers. The cases are extremely rare, in which, on subjects of this sort, one to whom a language is not vernacular, can with any propriety oppose his judgment to that of a well informed individual, to whom it is, especially if the decision of the latter be contrary to his own prejudices. But respecting this difference, there has also been in modern times an agreement of the learned, holding opposite opinions concerning the doctrines of Christianity, which is uncommon on any subject connected with theology, that may admit of controversy.

Calvin says; 'I cannot be brought to acknowledge that Paul was the author of this epistle.'—'The method and style of teaching sufficiently prove that the writer was a different person from Paul.'—'I know what is said respecting the style, that the Epistle was translated from the Hebrew into the Greek, by Luke or some other person. But it requires no labor to show that this conjecture is false.' *

'Many,' says Grotius, 'in later times, have ascribed this epistle to Paul. But that opinion is very easily refuted; because the epistles of Paul are allied to each other by like characteristics and modes of speaking; but this clearly dif-

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* In Epist. ad Hebræos. Argument. Opp. VII. 516.

fers from them, being more select in the choice of Greek words, in a more flowing style, and not broken and difficult with short elliptical turns of expression. In addition, some modes of speech, which are familiar to Paul, no where appear in this epistle, but on the contrary we find others not used by him.'*

Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History of the two first Centuries, argues against the supposition that St Paul was the author of this Epistle,† with the clearness and good sense which distinguish all his works. He refers to Limborch as having, in his Prolegomena to the Epistle, confuted the arguments brought in its support. 'It is,' says Le Clerc, 'obvious to all well acquainted with the Greek language, and conversant with the writings of Paul, that the style of this epistle is not similar to that of his epistles, but neater and more elegant.'

It would be easy to produce many more authorities, but we will add only that of Valckenaer, one of the most learned scholars of his age, particularly in the Greek language. He observes,‡ that 'difference of style has always afforded to those skilled in a language, a valid argument for distinguishing authors from each other. Paul and the writer to the Hebrews have composed indeed in the same language; they both use Greek words; and yet the dissimilarity is immense, in the coloring of their style.' After some further remarks upon this topic, he concludes that 'it is in the highest degree probable that Paul was not the author of this epistle.'

III. In the arrangement and method of his work, the writer to the Hebrews is equally unlike St Paul, as in his style of expression. In his epistles, St Paul pursues no settled plan. He passes suddenly from one subject to another, without marking their relation in his own mind, or giving assistance to the reader in following him in his transitions. Topics which accidentally present themselves, excite his thoughts and feelings, and divert his attention from what he had before in view. He digresses, he returns to his first subject, or perhaps resumes it in another part of the epistle. He repeats himself. He appears to write almost extempore, from strong feeling and a mind full of ideas on various connected topics. It is impossible to state, in a few words, the specific object of any one of his longer epistles, except in the most general terms. It is difficult to give an analysis of any one of them, showing the connexion of the parts with each other. His course, compared with that of the writer to the Hebrews, is like the natural flow and windings of a river, compared with the regular line of a canal, which is bent from a straight direction only to secure some advantage before calculated. The design of the writer to the Hebrews, in the main body of his work, is to show, that answering to all which was glorious in Judaism, there was something far more glorious in Christianity. On this purpose every thing has a bearing. It is kept steadily in view. There are, properly speaking, no digressions. What have been called such, are merely exhortations, founded upon something which the writer has just been saying, or preparations for what he is about to say. The truth of these remarks will be most clearly perceived by him who has the clearest perception of the meaning of the writings under consideration ; but the characteristics, both of the method and style of the two writers, might in great part be perceived by all, if we had a tolerably intelligible and correct version of the Epistles of the New Testament, accompanied with a few explanatory dissertations and notes, giving that information which is necessary to understand them.

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* Procemium in Annotatt. in Ep. ad Hebræos.

† Hist. Eccles. duorum primorum Seculorum. Ann. LXIX.

‡ Selecta e Scholiis Valckenarii, Tom. II. p. 350.

There are other considerations of much weight to which we have not adverted. It was our intention to finish this article in the present number of the Examiner ; but we have found it out of our power. We hope to resume and conclude it in the next number.

Art. XVII.—*History of Armenia, by Father Michael Chamich ; from B. C.* 2247, *to the Year of Christ* 1780, *or* 1229 *of the Armenian Era. Translated from the original Armenian*, by Johannes Avdall, Esq. Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c. *To which is appended, a Continuation of the History, by the Translator, from the Year* 1780, *to the Present Date.* Calcutta.—Bishop's College Press, 1827. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 414, 556.

This book is somewhat of a curiosity. We think it probable that we have before us the only copy which has reached our country;* and we presume our readers may be gratified by some account of it. It is a translation from an Armenian original, by a native Armenian. It is written in good idiomatic English, with very few peculiarities of expression to indicate that it came from the hands of a foreigner. It appears, however, that the translator was assisted, no doubt pretty liberally, by two English gentlemen. The original is by Father Michael Chamich, member of a society of Armenians established at Venice, whose object seems to be the cultivation of Armenian literature. We have in the introduction, an account of the authors from whom he drew his materials; from which it appears that the Armenians have many historical works, some of which were written as early as the fourth century of the christian era. The object of the translator, as expressed in his preface, in making an English version of the history of Chamich, was, to interest the learned of Europe in the condition of his country; a country of Christians under the yoke of Mussulmans. The history, however, is too dull to excite much interest about the country of which it treats. It is a very dry abstract of the events which have taken place in Armenia, since the time of the universal deluge, beginning with the wanderings of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and interspersed with superstitious stories, as credible as the legends of the Roman Catholics.

The founder of the Armenian nation, it appears from the work before us, was Haicus, great grandson of Japheth. He withdrew from the dominion of Belus, in Mesopotamia, and settled in Armenia, whither Belus pursues him at the head of an army. Haicus, hearing of his approach, advances to meet him, after addressing his followers in a short speech, much in the manner of a Grecian general, telling them that death is preferable to servitude. Belus and his guards are represented as completely cased in iron armour. Haicus, nevertheless, mortally wounds him with an arrow, and his troops take to flight. This remnant of traditionary fable is the beginning of Armenian history, the first item of our author's chronological table; for his work has little claim to a higher title. The tabular list of wars and successions, is, however, as we said before, occasionally enlivened by a superstitious legend. A few of these stories we have extracted. The supposititious letter of king Abgar to Jesus Christ, is given as a piece of true history, with the following addition. Abgar had sent a painter with the messengers who carried his letter, 'in order that if the Blessed Saviour would not come, he might possess a portrait of him.

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* It was furnished by the kindness of the Rev. Mr Adam of Calcutta.

> 'It is related that as the painter—was endeavouring to take the features of our Lord, Christ took a handkerchief, and passing it over his sacred face, miraculously impressed on it an admirable likeness of his countenance, and giving it to Ananey the courier, desired him to take it to his master as a reward for his faith.'—*Vol. I.* p. 106.

Eusebius, who gives an account of the interchange of letters between Abgar and our Saviour, lived too early for the remainder of this unedefying legend, the counterpart of the story of St Veronica. It can be traced back, we believe, to no earlier writer than Evagrius, about the end of the sixth century.

St Mesrop and St Isaac, in the year of our Lord 401, were very desirous to form an alphabet for their countrymen, 'who till this period, were accustomed to use the characters of other nations in their writings.'

> 'Having found their exertions unavailing, they sought to gain, by prayer from God, what they conceived human ingenuity, unassisted by him, unequal to supply. St Mesrop, about this time, with a few disciples, went to Mesopotamia, and thence to Samosata; and at this latter place, in time of prayer, as it is related, received from the Almighty the object of his incessant supplications. Having arisen from his knees, he at that place and moment invented all our characters in exquisite perfection, and forthwith began to translate the book of Proverbs from the Greek, as a test of the character, in which he was assisted by two of his pupils, Johan of Ekeliaz and Joseph of Palin. This invention of the Armenian letters took place in A. D. 406, in the seventeenth year of the pontificate of St Isaac, and fifteenth of the reign of Viramshapuh.'—*Ibid.* pp. 237, 238.

A Turkish army being about to invade Armenia, Isaac, the Armenian pontiff, then a prisoner at Damascus, requested permission to accompany it, with a view of mediating between the Turks and his countrymen. His request was granted, but he fell sick and died before he could join the army.

> 'Before he expired, however, he wrote with his own hand a supplicatory letter to the Saracen general, praying him to spare the Armenians. He directed his deacon, that when he heard his last sigh, he should put this letter in his right hand. When Mohmat heard of the death of the holy pontiff, he sent directions that his remains should not be interred until he had seen them. "For," said he, "if Isaac were alive, he would come to me, and since he is dead, I will go to him." He then repaired to the place where the pontiff lay. On his arrival he approached

the body of the deceased and saluted it with words and gestures as if it were alive. The body of the pontiff then, wonderful to relate, returned the salutation, and stretching forward its right hand, offered to the astonished Saracen the letter which it held. Mohmat became exceedingly terrified at this miracle, yet took the letter and after reading its contents exclaimed, "Yes, thou man of God, thy desires shall be fulfilled." '—*Vol. I.* pp. 377.

Gregorius Narekensis, a holy man who had given offence to his countrymen by endeavouring to unite the Armenian and Greek churches, was summoned before a meeting of the chiefs and clergy, to answer for his religious opinions.

' On the arrival of the messengers at the convent of Narek, Gregorious received them with kindness, and ordered a repast to be prepared of roasted pigeons. The day being Friday, the messengers were offended when the pigeons were set before them, and addressing the abbot they said, " Doctor, this day is a fast, for it is Friday." Upon which Gregorious replied, " Excuse me, brothers, for I had forgotten." Then addressing the roasted birds, he said, " Arise ye and depart, for this day is a fast." The pigeons then, wonderful to relate, expanded their wings and flew away. The messengers observing this miracle, were struck with shame, and falling at the saint's feet implored his forgiveness.—' *Vol. II.* p. 94.

The absence of a philosophical spirit throughout this work, the hard and sterile character of the narrative, only relieved occasionally by such fables as the preceding, which appear like spots of rank luxuriance in a desert, throw this history far in the rear of its European cotemporaries. Some excuse for its tediousness, perhaps, may be found in the fact that it is an abstract of a larger work. If this be the fact, the translator would have shown more judgment had he selected the most interesting parts of the larger work, and rendered them into English without abridgement, instead of making the compend which he has given us. The history of a nation with whose rise, growth, and decline we are wholly unacquainted, cannot be interesting unless it be minute. We attach no associations to the men and events spoken of. A compend of Roman history may be read by us with pleasure, and so may the table of contents of a book which we have already perused ; because in both cases a thousand facts are suggested with which we are already familiar. But an abstract of Armenian history is as dull as the table of contents belonging to a book, that treats of subjects about which we know nothing. But we strongly suspect that there is no material difference between the extended history of Chamich and the abridgement. He seems to be essentially a chronicler of names and dates, and the shorter work probably differs from the longer only in containing fewer of these items.

The country, whose history we have been considering, was in former days a kingdom of considerable extent and power. Tigranes extended his sway over Syria, Phœnicia, and Media; but after his defeat by Lucullus, he was confined within the limits of Armenia Major, lying between Persia and the Euphrates. One of his successors, king Artavesdes, was taken prisoner by Mark Antony and sent to Rome in golden fetters. Trajan reduced the whole country into a Roman province. It afterwards recovered its liberty and was governed by its own kings in the reign of Constantine the Great. In 687 Armenia was subdued by the Saracens. These held it till the irruption of the Turks, or Turcomans, out of Scythia, who seized the country and gave it the name of Turcomania. This happened, according to some authorities, in the year 755, but according to others not till 884. Whilst the Turks were employed in other conquests, the Armenians took the opportunity of regaining their independence, and set up some new kings of their own. They were soon after subdued by the Tartars. In the year of our Lord 1472, a native Armenian succeeded to the throne of Persia, and made his country a province of that kingdom. But it was again partly conquered by the Turks under Selim I. in 1515, so that the western part has ever since continued subject to the Turks, and the eastern to the Persians.

The present inhabitants are Christians, of the sect of Eutychians. They are an industrious race, engaged in manufactures, particularly the weaving of tapestry. Being much oppressed at home, they take every opportunity of leaving their wretched country, and are found in many parts of Asia and some parts of Europe, employed in commerce. As Russia is the nearest christian country, many of them resort thither, and are treated by the Czars with as much kindness as their native subjects. They intermarry very little with other nations.

Art. XVIII.—*Matins and Vespers: with Hymns and occasional Devotional Pieces.* By John Bowring. First American from the Second English Edition. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, and Co. 18mo. pp. 252.

We are rejoiced to find this little volume placed before the religious community of this country, and recommend it to our readers as a delightful companion for their closets and hours of devotion. It is the work of one of the most ardent and indefatigable men of the times; the more valuable, in our estimation, as coming from one who is not a secluded scholar, nor a religious teacher by profession, but who is active in the busy scenes of the world, pressed by the engagements of business, foremost in the bustle of politics and the charities of philanthropy, a frequent writer in the journals of the day, and a translator of the poets of all modern languages; yet having the disposition, and finding the time to cherish and express the deepest and most spiritual sentiments of devotion by the composition of hymns and other religious poetry. When a man retires from the stirring interests of life for the sake of such an occupation, we are made to feel that his heart is in it. It is not a business, but a pleasure. It is not the task of a drudging penman, who writes for bread or fame, but the spontaneous expression of a mind that seeks to give vent to its fulness of feeling. And the example may show how possible it is, to sustain a religious interest and to have the thoughts strongly engaged in devotion, amidst the active duties of life.

Mr Bowring has been extensively known in this country by means of his Specimens of the Russian Poets, which we had the privilege of pointing out to the notice of the public before the work was reprinted in this country.* It was a work of rare felicity of execution, and has been followed by translations on a similar plan, from the Spanish, Batavian, Servian, and Polish poetry—not equal in interest perhaps to the first, but exhibiting the same talent of presenting in his own language the peculiarities of foreign tongues. It is rarely that a translator possesses, in equal degree, the power of transfusing the spirit of the original into the copy, and of preserving, not only the outline and the features, but the whole air and complexion. We do not speak from a comparison of the translations with the originals. But as there are some portraits of whose fidelity we have no doubt, though we never have seen the persons who sat for them, so there is oftentimes that in the air of a translation which announces at once its faithfulness. It carries its own testimony with it. It bears the stamp of truth on its forehead.

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* Christian Disciple for 1821, p. 369.

Yet the very variety and quantity of Mr Bowring's labors, have had an unfavorable effect on their character. His original compositions frequently want that finish, that last touch of the revising pen, which is necessary to the best effect. The beautiful pieces of the volume before us, for example, have the warmth and glow of the first conception, mingled with the carelessnesses and weaknesses of rapid execution. This, however, is a literary defect, which, with many, will do nothing to injure their usefulness as aids to devotion. In this point of view they are of high interest, and we welcome their republication. They breathe throughout a spirit so true and elevated, they bring home to the feelings so exalted and delightful views of God and his government, and the power and peace of childlike trust and spiritual communion, that they cannot fail to be acceptable to those who are cherishing and exercising a pious frame of mind. There is in them, to borrow the just eulogy of the Christian Observer, 'a frequent display, or rather the presence without the display, of a tenderness and pathos, an elegant simplicity and devotional feeling, which win upon the heart, and sometimes touch it as with strains from unearthly worlds. There is no drama, no tale, no controversy, in these poems; they are truly "Matins and Vespers." They charm by their modesty and sensibility, and by a deep veneration of, and an ardent expression of gratitude towards, our Almighty Creator, Preserver and Benefactor. Many of the pictures in them of the love and compassion of God towards his creatures, are truly beautiful and affecting.'*

We cite this tribute to their merits the more readily, because it has a peculiar weight in being the sincere and hearty language of a writer, who goes on to lament, bitterly, certain doctrinal deficiencies in the book, and especially that it is not devoted to 'the worship of the holy, undivided Trinity in Unity.' We might have feared that our own partiality for the author, had led us to exaggerate to ourselves the merit of his works; but when we find such a writer expressing himself in such terms of praise, we are sure that the volume is full of beauty and piety; and we trust that all who love the expression and excitement of devotional sentiment, will be induced to acquaint themselves with its contents. But a stronger recommendation still may be found in a few specimens. The first we shall give is a 'Hymn to the Deity.'

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* The Christian Observer for 1823, p. 698.

'The heavenly spheres to thee, O God! attune their evening hymn,
All-wise, all-holy, thou art praised in song of seraphim;
Unnumber'd systems, suns, and worlds, unite to worship thee,
While thy majestic greatness fills space—time—eternity.

Nature,—a temple worthy thee, that beams with light and love,
Whose flowers so sweetly bloom below, whose stars rejoice above;
Whose altars are the mountain cliffs that rise along the shore,
Whose anthems, the sublime accord of storm and ocean roar:

Her song of gratitude is sung by spring's awakening hours,
Her summer offers at thy shrine its earliest, loveliest flowers;
Her autumn brings its ripen'd fruits, in glorious luxury given,
While winter's silver heights reflect thy brightness back to heaven!

On all thou smil'st—and what is man, before thy presence, God?
A breath but yesterday inspired,—to-morrow but a clod:
That clod shall moulder in the vale,—till kindled, Lord, by thee,
Its spirit to thy arms shall spring—to life,—to liberty.'

pp. 235, 236.

The next is in a different tone, and every word will find a sincere response from the hearts of all who have at times caught the brief happiness of elevated devotion.

'Happy is he who knows not solitude!
The hour when to the world he seems alone,
Is spent with God!—all cares, all passions lost
In most sublime abstraction. Then his soul,
Too joyous to be bound to earth, upsoars
And wings its glorious passage to an orb
Beyond philosophy's proud ken,—the throne
Where the Divinity sits clad in light,

And gives his spirit welcome! he forgets
That he is wrapt in mortal clay—becomes
A presence all etherial, lifts his eye
Undazzled towards the smiles of heavenly love,
And takes his seat with angels.—
Oh! the ineffable beatitude,
Could it but last!—But no! too soon opprest
With the vast blessedness, and dragg'd, alas!
By mortal weakness from its height of joy,
The soul sinks down to this substantial world,
And is a clod again!' p. 247.

These extracts have been made from the second part of the volume, which consists of hymns and miscellaneous pieces of devotional poetry. The first part consists of the Matins and Vespers, which are arranged into a series of poems for the mornings and evenings of four weeks, corresponding to the four seasons. The author has not availed himself of this arrangement to give that variety and interest to the composition, which would have resulted from images and illustrations peculiar to the several seasons, and in which nature is inexhaustibly rich. We are a little surprised at this, in one who is evidently a lover of nature, and accustomed to view its objects and its changes with a devout reference to their Author. In this particular, and in some others, we think he has not given that scope to his mind in the choice and illustration of topics, which his materials clearly admit of; a circumstance as clearly not owing to a want of power—as lines like the following abundantly prove.

'O Night! how beautiful thy golden dress,
On which so many stars like gems are strew'd;
So mild and modest in thy loveliness,
So bright, so glorious in thy solitude!
The soul soars upwards on its holy wings,
Thro' the vast ocean-paths of light sublime,
Visits a thousand yet unravell'd things,
And, if its memories look to earthly time
And earthly interests, 't is as in a dream—
For earth and earthly things but shadows seem,
While heaven is substance, and eternity.
This is thy temple, Lord! 't is worthy thee,
And in it thou hast many a lamp suspended,
That dazzles not, but lights resplendently;

And there thy court is—there thy court, attended
By myriad, myriad messengers—the song
Of countless and melodious harps is heard,
Sweeter than rill, or stream, or vernal bird
The dark and melancholy woods among.
And golden worlds in that wide temple glow,
And roll in brightness, in their orbits vast;
And there the future mingles with the past,
An unbeginning, an unending *now.*'—pp. 60.—61.

The following is of a different character.

'Thou, whose high praise in heaven and earth is sung,
Each heart pervading, tuning every tongue;
Thou, whom my soul devoutly would confess
In joy's bright hour—nor in affliction's less;
Whose mercy in the sunshine and the storm
Alike is active—whose invisible form
Rides in the hurricane;—thou, whose depths profound,
And heights sublime, not earth nor heaven can sound,
Infinite power, and goodness without bound!
Thou unseen cause, conductor, end of all,
We know thee not—yet God and Father call.
We know thee not—but know and feel thou art!
Our eye can see thee not—but, Lord! our heart
Is touch'd as with thy Spirit—and even now
I feel thee—feel thee in this holy glow.
A peace which none but thou couldst give inspires
My bosom; heavenly aspiration fires
My towering thoughts. O God! what breath but thine
Could kindle aspirations so divine!
Benignant condescension! that thy ray
Should send its brightness through a clod of clay,
And raise to thy abode—to heaven—to thee—
The poor, weak children of mortality!
Thus privileged, let my spirit-rousing thought,
Which vainly seeks to praise thee as it ought,
Pour forth its humble strains. Eternal Lord!
Thy majesty might crush the embryo-word
With its gigantic presence; but thy love
Gives it a voice and wafts its tones above.
Grant me, Eternal One! thy light to cheer,
Thy hand to guide me while I journey here;
Thy grace to help, thy peace my soul to fill,
And sorrow's storm may thunder if it will.
I am supported by thy holy arm—
The cloud may burst—but Oh! it cannot harm.

I say not, 'Shield me, Father, from distress,'
But, 'Wake my heart to truth and holiness.'
I ask not that my earthly course may run
Cloudless—but, humbly, 'Let thy will be done.'
The peace the world can give not, nor destroy,
The love which is the greatest, and the joy
That 's given to angels—to perceive and own,
That all thy will is light and truth alone
And bliss-producing;—these, and such as these,
Be mine;—the vain world's fleeting vanities—
Pomps, pleasures, riches, honors, glory, pride,
Idols by man's perverseness deified,
I envy not.—Do thou my steps control—
Erect devotion's temple in my soul;
And there, my God! my King; unrivall'd sway:
So let existence, like a sabbath day,
Glide softly by, and let that temple be
A shrine devoted all to truth and thee.'—pp. 13—15.

Our readers must perceive that there is beauty and piety in these extracts, and be persuaded that a volume made up of such pieces may be a delightful aid to their devotions. They will perhaps regret, as we do, the limited range of topics, and especially that subjects drawn from the scriptures, and illustrations of sentiments peculiarly christian, are not more frequently employed. But for what they find they will be grateful; and all who read, as they should read, for the cultivation and enjoyment of a devout spirit, will find much here 'to assist its exercises, to administer to its wants, and to accompany its heavenly aspirations.' This the author designed to effect, and this he has had the satisfaction to accomplish.

Notices of Recent Publications.

31. Hymns on the Works of Nature, for the Use of Children. By Mrs Felicia Hemans. Now first published. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1827.

We have already expressed at some length our high opinion of Mrs Hemans' poetry; and the public voice is so well in unison with what was said on this subject in a former number of our Journal, that no further recommendations of ours can be required. Whatever this lady has written has been received among us with peculiar interest. Her smaller pieces, especially, have been read with great delight. The maternal spirit that appears so beautifully in most of her productions, must give new attractiveness to this little book, composed, as it is, of pieces that were prepared for the use of her own children. These pieces partake of that delicacy of thought and expression, which so distinguishes her other works. They are not so much hymns, as descriptions of some of the most striking objects in nature, connected with appropriate religious reflections. Although not sufficiently plain and simple for very young children, they may be put with advantage into the hands of those who are of riper years, and have formed some acquaintance with the powers of language.

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32. Sketches: by N. P. Willis. Boston, S. G. Goodrich. 1827. 8vo. pp. 96.

Those who have been accustomed to read and admire the occasional pieces which have adorned the public prints, for a few years, under the signature of Roy, will be glad to find them collected together, and united with others from the same hand, in the beautiful volume before us. Mr Willis, their author, has obtained a reputation with the lovers of verse, which has rarely been reached, and still more rarely deserved, by so young a man. They doubtless may be discovered to have something of youthfulness about them; there are glimpses, for instance, of Mrs Hemans and Wordsworth, which show that the writer is yet a learner, and unconsciously catching the peculiarities of his teachers; and there are some passages too shadowy and indistinct, which give music to the ear, rather than a well defined image to the mind; and some which are prosaic in their rhythm. But withal, he is a poet; one who thinks, feels, and writes for himself, with a quiet and delicate beauty, and occasional touches of deep pathos, which give most encouraging promises of future eminence.

This is not the place, nor have we room in a brief notice, for a critical examination of these poems; else we could easily point out their faults, and caution the author against the dangers to which he is exposed. Let him guard especially against the seductive influences of popularity, and not allow himself to be tempted into selfconfidence and presumption. He has yet a great deal to do. Let him aim high. Let him keep in view the *aliquid immensum infinitumque*. Then he may enjoy the satisfaction of doing something, by and by, for the poetry and the religion of his country.

33. Secondary Lessons; or the Improved Reader; intended as a Sequel to the Franklin Primer. By a Friend of Youth. Greenfield, 1827. 18mo. pp. 198.

THIS seems to us a valuable book. We do not pretend to determine between all the works on education, published in this book-making age, which are decidedly the best of all. It would be extremely difficult and arrogant to do so. But in regard to this little volume, we think that it deserves recommendation as a highly valuable auxiliary to an attentive parent or instructer, well calculated to facilitate the labor of teaching, and to engage the interest, as well as promote the progress of young children. It is compiled, in a great measure, upon a new plan, having the excellent advantage of compelling both teacher and pupil to a more active exercise of the mind, than is required in many books for reading. A main object is to teach the meaning of words; which is done by a series of conversations between a mother and her son, in which many important terms in common use, are defined with great simplicity, perspicuity and exactness. Definitions also accompany the other lessons, which are selected with a judicious regard both to entertainment and instruction. Directions are given for right emphasis and inflection in reading. Upon the whole, the plan seems to be a good one, and it is well executed. It is designed to make intelligent and thorough readers, and to remedy the ancient evil of children toiling through book after book, and at last reading like machines, without intelligence or grace. It is the introduction and use of school books like this, which is to rid the land of automaton teachers and parrot pupils.

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34. Selfconquest; or the Sixteenth Birthday. A Tale for Youth. Boston, Bowles & Dearborn, 1827. 18mo. pp. 82.

35. The Prize; or, The Three Half Crowns. By the Author of 'Self Conquest.' Boston, Bowles & Dearborn, 1827. 18mo. pp. 112.

THESE unpretending little volumes are particularly deserving of notice for their admirable moral tendency. We regret that among the works of the same class continually offered to those who have the care of youth, many are not unexceptionable in this respect. Some are made to inculcate doctrines, not only unsuitable for the purposes of mental and moral improvement, but utterly unintelligible to youthful minds; while others profess merely to amuse the fancy. The former give the young reader a distaste for serious subjects, and the latter are not so useful playthings as the battledore or the hoop, because they benefit neither the intellectual nor the physical system.

The stories before us were written with a particular view to the moral improvement of the young. The scene, in each instance, is laid in our own country, and the moral instruction is carefully interwoven with the tale, or rather is that upon which the whole conduct of the narrative turns—and this, in a manner rather to increase than diminish the interest. Such is precisely the kind of juvenile books most needed. There is an abundance of fairy tales and fictions, which excite the imagination and mislead the heart; and we are pleased to find some of the most gifted of our writers devoting their talents to so laudable a purpose, as that of guiding the young into the paths of religion, by the agency of fiction carefully written; and we cordially recommend these volumes to such as feel the importance of extending the benefits of education to the heart as well as to the intellect.

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36. Fruit and Flowers, a Religious Story for Children. By the Author of 'A Dialogue on Providence, Faith, and Prayer.' Boston, Cottons & Barnard, 1827. 18mo. pp. 76.

They who have read the Dialogue on Providence, Faith, and Prayer, with which the Directors of the American Unitarian Association enriched their series of tracts, will probably take up this story with expectations of pleasure and benefit. Such at least was the case with us, and we were not disappointed; we were indeed gratified. It is a successful attempt to explain to children the foundation and nature of love to God; a sentiment which it is often difficult for them to define, since its object is invisible, spiritual, and infinite. The only proper method is here adopted, by showing the resemblance between the religious and the social affections. By leading her daughter to examine the grounds of her gratitude and attachment to an absent friend, who has sent her a valuable gift, Mrs Melville convinces her that she can, and ought to love God for the same reasons; because he is good and does good; and that love to him may be shown in the same way as love to earthly friends, by doing what we think will please him. The story is chiefly thrown into the form of a dialogue, for which the author seems to us to have a singularly happy talent. Some readers may object that the conversations are too protracted, but they are sustained with so much spirit and *nature*, that we felt no disposition to complain of their length. The writer, where children are introduced, gives us their language and thoughts; and this is, or has been till of late, an uncommon excellence. The moral effect of the book must be excellent. It illustrates a subject on which confused or unpleasant ideas are often held, even after the years of childhood, and will give instruction to parents as well as to the young, by teaching them how to present the sublime truths of religion in an intelligible and interesting manner. We believe that more caution should be used in recommending books for children than for adults. When, therefore, we place this among those which every child would be the better, if not the wiser, for reading, we express no light opinion of its merit. We wish, too, that when such writers employ themselves for the benefit of the young, their services should not be unnoticed or undervalued. A good religious story is a gift to the public, humble in appearance, but of greater value than many of the volumes which arrogate to themselves far higher importance.

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37. Selections from Scripture, designed as Lessons in Reading, for the Use of Adults; with Lessons in Spelling. Cambridge; printed by Hilliard, Metcalf & Co. 1827. 12mo. pp. 132.

The leading purpose and general character of this volume, may be best learned from the following Introductory Note.

> 'The number of adults in Boston, principally foreigners, unable to read and desirous of learning, has been found to be greater than may generally be supposed. The Selections in this book are intended to give the most simple and elementary instruction in morals and religion. The learner, in using it, will at the same time be employing his new acquisition to the best purpose.
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> 'In printing these Lessons, it has been an object of particular attention to use a large, fair type, and to divide the words in such a manner as might most facilitate a just pronunciation.'

Though compiled and arranged for a particular class of learners, we are acquainted with no elementary book of the kind which can with better advantage be put into the hands of all. Indeed, those who have already learned to read will be pleased and profited by the selections from scripture, than which we know not any that are made with better judgment or taste. The plan of the book, too, is excellent. We have first the alphabet, then numerals and single syllables, followed by short monosyllabic Reading Lessons, at the head of which, as of all that follow them, the more difficult words that occur in each, are given in columns. Next come Lessons on the Character of God, who made all things; is a spirit and we cannot see him; is every where present, and knoweth all things; is eternal, and changeth not; ruleth over all the world; is powerful, and to be feared; is wise, just, and hath respect unto the lowly; is faithful and good; taketh care of all; heareth prayer, and forgiveth sins, and is to be loved—is love itself. Each description is the subject of a lesson. Short Practical Lessons, relating to personal and social duties, as well as the duties we owe to God and to Jesus Christ, follow; these are succeeded by Concluding Lessons upon

Death, the Resurrection, Judgment, the Punishment of the Wicked and the Reward of the Righteous. The book is then closed, with an appropriate Final Lesson, embracing the exhortations naturally suggested by the whole series. We hope this exhibition of its contents, will induce our readers to examine the work for themselves.

Intelligence.

The Unitarian.—Two numbers of a periodical work have been published in New York by Messrs D. Felt & C. S. Francis, under the title of 'The Unitarian; devoted to the Statement, Explanation, and Defence of Unitarian Christianity.' The plan and general objects of the work, are thus stated in the 'advertisement,' which introduces the first number.

'The work, of which the first number is now presented, will be issued at irregular intervals during the present winter. It will be printed, uniformly, on good paper, and with a new type. A titlepage will be furnished, at the end of the season, for such as may wish to preserve their numbers in a volume. The numbers will be of various sizes, according to the quantity of matter which the editor may find leisure to prepare. Subscription papers are not offered; but the work, as it shall appear, will be for sale at different shops throughout the city, with the price of each number printed on the cover. As it is intended that the numbers shall be small, not exceeding thirty or forty pages, such as the editor will himself be enabled to fill, with the occasional aid, he hopes, of a few friends, communications to the work are not solicited. Valuable extracts of important works may sometimes be given in the place of original matter. If the sale should be such as to defray the expenses of publication, and its reception should be sufficiently encouraging, it will be resumed the next winter.

'The design of this work is, to state in as plain and popular a manner as may be, the principles of Unitarianism; by which is meant Christianity, as understood and interpreted by Unitarians. It is maintained by Unitarians, that the religion of Jesus, rightly understood, contains none of the dogmas comprehended under the general term of Orthodoxy. It will accordingly be one main object in conducting this little work, to make it appear, by various statements, discussions, and criticisms, that those dogmas do not exist in the gospels, but are human inventions, and melancholy corruptions of the simple and rational faith, which proceeded from the lips of the Saviour, and has been recorded by his disciples. This, as a principal object, will always be kept in view. At the same time, however, the editor would have it understood, that he binds himself by no minute or particular rules, to a certain course, but leaves himself at liberty to fill the numbers, as shall be at the time most agreeable and convenient, yet in such a manner, that they shall always serve the general interests of religion and morals.'

The leading articles of the numbers before us, are written with great plainness and ability. We cordially welcome our new fellow laborer in the vineyard of truth, and are confident that we shall find in him a valuable coadjutor.

Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance.—The following is the official account of the late meeting of this Society. The Annual Report, of which an abstract is here given, has been published.

'A public meeting of this Society was held at Julien Hall, on Monday evening, November 5, at seven o'clock. Beside the members of the Society, this meeting was attended by a large number of other citizens friendly to its objects.

'The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr Palfrey; after which the Annual Report of the Society was read. The principal object of this Report was, to present a sketch of the principles and policy which should govern the friends of temperance in the measures they may adopt for the promotion of their purposes.

'After noticing a variety of circumstances, which indicate a favorable change in the public sentiment with regard to the use of ardent spirits, the Report went on to consider the influence which the habit of moderate drinking has in producing immoderate drinking; and it was urged that the only sure way of preventing the one, was to relinquish the other. The abolition of the practice of moderate drinking during labor, under exposure, &c. must be brought about, by convincing mankind not only that it is useless, but injurious; and it was particularly urged that the most effectual method of doing this, was, by impressing early on the minds of the young the important truth, that the use of ardent spirits is always both useless and injurious, even in the smallest quantities.

'The propriety of recommending total abstinence from the use of wine, was next considered; and it was remarked, that although some arguments might be brought in support of its prohibition, yet that, on the whole, it was unreasonable and impolitic; since, although in excess it may be injurious, still it holds out but little comparative temptation to excess, and by the introduction of some of its milder kinds, it may be made an important instrument in promoting the suppression of intemperance.

'Some account was next given, of the effects which have attended the application of the various medicines which have been prepared for the cure of intemperance, of the degree of efficacy which is to be expected from their use, of the manner in which they should be managed when administered, and of the various means by which their favorable effects are to be supported and rendered permanent.

'In conclusion it was remarked, that it was important to keep a strict watch upon all those occasions where the young very often taste ardent spirits for the first time, and to remove, when practicable, the temptations which are thus thrown in their way;—that many persons, no doubt, may date their habits of intemperance from the time when they first tasted ardent spirits on Boston Common, and acquired a relish for it;—that many others acquire the same relish for it at the Theatre;—that if spirits were banished from the Common and from the Theatre, many would be saved from habits of intemperence, and that there are many other occasions and places which might be made the subject of the same remark. It was particularly recommended to sea captains and ship owners, that they should endeavour to bring up the young men who enter their vessels, to labor without any use of rum.

'The Report was concluded by offering the following resolutions for the consideration of the meeting; and after being advocated by Dr Z. Boylston Adams, Dr Channing, Rev. E. S. Gannett, Hon. Wm Sturgis, Dr J. B. Flint, and Rev. Wm Collier, they were passed unanimously.

'1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting there is sufficient evidence that ardent spirits are *not* necessary as a refreshment or a support to the strength during labor; but on the contrary, are absolutely injurious to health; that to the general *moderate* use of them is to be *chiefly* attributed the prevalent habit of intemperance; and that entire abstinence from their use, except when prescribed as medicines, be recommended to all classes of society.

'2. That it be recommended to ship owners, masters of vessels, farmers, mechanics, proprietors, and superintendents of manufacturing establishments, and all others having the care of young persons when first entering upon laborious occupations, to endeavour to induce those under their charge, to form the habit of of labor without any use of ardent spirits.

'3. That it be recommended to all having the charge of the education of the young, to endeavour to produce upon their minds a strong impression of the dangerous tendency of even a moderate use of ardent spirits.

'It was then voted, that the Report and Resolutions be printed for distribution; and that the proceedings of the meeting be signed by the President and Secretary of the Society and published in the newspapers.

JOHN C. WARREN, *President.*
JOHN WARE, *Secretary.*'

Boston Sunday School Society.—This Society, of which we have already given some account,* held its first annual meeting for the choice of officers on the 28th of November. Rev. Joseph Tuckerman D. D. was chosen President; Mr Moses Grant, Vice President; J. F. Flagg, M. D. Corresponding Secretary; Mr F. T. Gray, Recording Secretary; and Mr B. H. Green, Treasurer.

A public meeting was held on the evening of the 12th of December in Federal Street Church. The house was well filled, and reports, relating to the condition and management of the Hancock, Howard, and Franklin, the West Church, Twelfth Congregational Church, and Cambridgeport Schools, were read by their respective superintendents, and listened to with great attention and interest. A report from Hollis Street Church School, for want of time to read it, was reluctantly omitted, and the Corresponding Secretary reported in general respecting those schools, with the superintendents of which the Society is in correspondence. Judge Simmons and Hon. Jonathan Phillips then addressed the meeting. The deep interest they felt in the institutions for whose multiplication and improvement the society was formed, was apparently communicated, by their impressive appeals, to the whole assembly; and the words of encouragement they uttered, and the strong sympathy of the occasion, we trust, will long continue to animate the exertions of the teachers in the good cause in which they are so laudably, and at the expense of so many sacrifices, engaged. We congratulate the Society upon its success and prosperity thus far. By a judicious application of the fund of information and experience it cannot fail to accumulate, it will in time do much for the advancement of pure religion and of human happiness. But the results of its labors will fail of much of the good they might effect, if not given to the public at large, and we hope the reports abovementioned will all be published.

Dedication and Installation at Saco, Me.—In Saco, Me. a new church was on Wednesday, the 28th of November, dedicated to the worship of the One God, and Rev. Thomas Tracy installed as the pastor of the society for whose use it was erected. Rev. Mr Wells, of Kennebunk, Me. offered an introductory prayer and read a selection from the scriptures. The prayer of installation and dedication was offered by Dr Nichols, of Portland, Me.

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* See page 277 of our present volume.

and the sermon delivered by Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, of Boston, from Acts, xvii. 19. 'May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest, is?' Rev. Dr Parker, of Portsmouth, N. H. gave the charge; Rev. Mr Walker, of Charlestown, the right hand of fellowship; Dr Nichols addressed the society, and Mr Walker offered the concluding prayer. Mr Greenwood's sermon has been published under the title of 'The Peculiar Features of Christianity.'

Dedication at Lechmere Point.—A new church, erected at Lechmere Point for the use of the Third Congregational Society in Cambridge, was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, on Tuesday, December 25th. The services were as follows;—introductory prayer, by Rev. H. Ware, Jr, reading of scriptures, by Rev. Mr Barrett, dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Mr Parkman, sermon, by Rev. Dr Lowell, of Boston;—concluding prayer by Rev. Mr Walker, of Charlestown. Dr Lowell's sermon was from Acts, xi. 26. 'The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.'

Ordination at Stoughton.—On Wednesday, Nov. 21st, Rev. William L. Stearns was ordained pastor of the First Church and Society in Stoughton. The introductory prayer was by Rev. Mr Storer, of Walpole. A sermon 'on the nature and extent of christian liberty,' was delivered by Rev. Mr White, of Dedham, from Galatians, v. 1. 'Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.' Rev. Dr Harris, of Dorchester, offered the ordaining prayer, and Rev. Dr Ripley, of Concord, gave the charge, Rev. Mr Gannett, of Boston, the right hand of fellowship, and Rev. Mr Huntoon, of Canton, offered the concluding prayer.

Edition of the New Testament.—A gentleman perfectly qualified for the task, is engaged in publishing 'The New Testament in the Common Version conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text.' The Epistle to the Romans and the two Epistles to the Corinthians are already before the public, as specimens of the work. It is 'an attempt,' says the editor, 'to afford to the English reader the benefit of Professor Griesbach's restorations of the sacred text. The labors of that eminent critic are well known to have obtained the nearly unanimous approbation of learned men of all denominations. The Common Version is here reprinted, with no other alterations, either of words or of punctuation, than the amended text requires.' Any judicious attempt to present the records of our religion to common readers in a more perfect state than they can now obtain them, must meet the approbation of all enlightened men. We hope this will be so favorably received as to encourage the gentleman referred to, to complete his design.

Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society.—This institution has, from October 1st, 1826, to January 1st, 1828, received the following donations:

1826.			
Oct.	Cash of Rev. Dr Edes' Society, Providence, R. I. to constitute him a life member.	$15	
	Contribution at Semi-annual Meeting in Salem	130	
Dec.	From Domestic Miss. Soc. in Rev. N. Parker's Society, Portsmouth, N. H.	55	
1827.			
Jan.	From Evang. Treasury of the Second Church in Boston, Rev. H. Ware, Jr	50	
Feb.	From Society for Benevolent Purposes, in Twelfth Cong. Church, Rev. Mr Barrett	50	
March.	Society of Rev. Mr Peabody, Springfield	22	
	Cash by Rev. Mr Shaw, of Eastham, from a friend to the Evang. Miss. Society	5	
April.	From Society of the Rev. Mr White, Dedham	9	60
May.	Cash from Twelfth Cong. Church, Boston, to constitute Rev. Mr Barrett a life member	15	
	Cash from the Female Benevolent Library Association, Marlborough	6	
	Anniversary Contribution, Boston	59	67
June.	Cash, Rev. Mr Ripley's Society, Concord	5	
	Cash, Female Benev. Society, Princeton	15	
	Female Auxiliary Evang. Miss. Society, Salem, Rev. Dr Prince and Mr Upham	35	
	Female Association in Rev. Mr Brazer's Society, by Hon. L. Saltonstall	43	
Aug.	Society worshipping in King's Chapel, Boston	50	
Sept.	New South Society, Rev Mr Young	82	
	Female Cent Society, in Rev. Dr Bancroft's Society, Worcester	41	39
Nov.	Semi-annual contribution by Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, who officiated at Worcester	73	
	Ladies of the East Church Society, Salem, to constitute Rev. Dr Flint a life member	30	
Dec.	Ladies of the Society of the South Parish in Portsmouth for the Encouragement of Domestic Missions	50	
	From Evang. Treasury of the Second Church in Boston, Rev. H. Ware, Jr	50	
		$881	66

The object of this Society, as is well known, is to afford assistance to such parishes as are unable to support the gospel ministry from their own resources. As must be obvious from the above list of donations, which make a large proportion of its whole disposable income for more than a year, the aid it can give, in single instances, is but small, when the great number of calls constantly made upon its treasury is considered. We doubt however, whether there are many channels into which the benevolent can turn their charities with a better prospect of effecting good.

Mr Adam of Culcutta.—This gentleman has resumed his missionary labors in India.

Obituary.

Died in Philadelphia, October 16th, Mrs Susan Sturgis, wife of Nathaniel R. Sturgis, of this city, and daughter of the late Samuel Parkman, Esq. The character of this deeply lamented lady, combining in such rare union the firm with the gentle attributes of christian excellence, and adding to both the graces of a delicate and polished mind, will, by all who had opportunity to estimate it, be long affectionately remembered among those which have beautifully illustrated to them the power of christian faith. It was a happiness and a privilege, worthy of grateful acknowledgment, to witness the unostentatious, but uniform and consistent sense which her life expressed, of the various obligations of a disciple of Jesus; the testimony which it bore to the claims of piety; her exemplary walk in the sphere of social relations; her conscientious use of prosperity, and, in sorrow, her sustained trust, and peace, such as the world giveth not;—in short, the diligent devotion of her days to duty, and the filial submission of her will to God. Such a memory is blessed, not less in the purifying influence which it exerts, than in the consolations which so richly it communicates.

List of New Publications.—A Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the Bethlehem Church, in Augusta, Maine, October 18, 1827. By Alvan Lamson, Minister of the First Church in Dedham, Mass. Augusta; Eaton & Severage. 1827. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Exclusive System. A Discourse delivered in Groton, Mss. at the Installation of Rev. Charles Robinson, Nov. 1, 1826. By James Walker. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 1827.

The Christian Spirit. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of Mr G. W. Wells, as one of the Ministers of the First Parish in Kennebunk. By Charles Lowell, Minister of the West Church in Boston. Cambridge. Hilliard, Metcalf & Co. 1827.

☞ In the account of this ordination given in our last number, we should have stated that Mr Fletcher gave the charge, and Dr Nichols made the address.

The Works of Joseph Butler, LL. D. late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author, by Dr Kippes; with a Preface, giving some Account of his Character and Writings, by Samuel Halifax, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

Annals of Salem from its First Settlement. By Joseph B. Felt. Salem. W. & S. B. Ives.

Poems; by Richard H. Dana. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn.

The Doctrine of Pronouns applied to Christ's Testimony of Himself. By Noah Worcester, D. D. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 12mo.

A Delineation of the Characteristic Features of a Revival of Religion in Troy, in 1826 and 1827. By J. Brockway, a Citizen of Troy.

Johnson's English Dictionary, as Improved by Todd and Abridged by Chalmers, with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined. By J. E. Worcester. Boston. Charles Ewer.

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Errata.—Page 510, note, for 'improbabilities,' read 'probabilities.'
" 518, last note, for 'Scholiis,' read 'Scholis.'

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